

RARE BOOK

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal..

Edited by Mohàmed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere
They only live who dare!

—MURRAY



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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly note whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little task but we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of October at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

Morocco.

PARIS newspapers state that Germany desires modification of certain points which were regarded as settled, these entailing a set-back in Moroccan negotiations. The French Premier has assured a deputation of financiers that there is no fresh disagreement with Germany, but only a difference of phraseology.

Persia.

A TELEGRAM from Teheran states that the Government troops defeated Salar-ed-Dauleh in the vicinity of Tahriz. The latter

lost four hundred killed. Seven guns were captured. A message from Nobaran states that Salar-ed-Dauleh has retreated to a position there, leaving his guns and ammunition. The Government Army is pursuing him.

Lord Kitchener

LORD KITCHENER arrived at Alexandria and on landing proceeded to the Consulate, where he received the Premier and four Ministers. He afterwards visited the Khedive, and, later, presented the Khedive with his credentials. He then proceeded to Cairo. In presenting his credentials to the Khedive, Lord Kitchener, speaking in French, said that the King commanded him to express His Majesty's highest esteem for the Khedive and his sincere wishes for the well-being of Egypt. Lord Kitchener said he was proud of his mission and was happy to renew the pleasant recollections of the country to which he was attached by ties of deep affection. Lord Kitchener has arrived at Cairo. He was welcomed by huge crowds, who displayed unprecedented enthusiasm.

SIR H. RILEY AND LORD NORTHCLIFFE have died.

THE Nawab of Awadh in the Hazara district has given a donation of one lakh of rupees to the projected Islamic College at Peshawar.

It is understood that a despatch will shortly be sent to the Secretary of State on the subject of the proposed Muhammadan University at Agra.

TOTAL collections for the Moslem University up to the end of September were 15 lakhs and 508, of which 12 lakhs 3 hundred are in the Aga Bank.

GHALIB'S GRAVE FUND

M. Tassadduq Hosain, Esq., Delhi	Rs	10
Shams-ul Ulama Moulana Altaf Hosain Sahib,		
Hah, Panipat	"	10
Syed Md. Majid, Esq., Calcutta	"	1
Dr. Denison Ross	"	10
M. Moazzam Ali, Esq.	"	5
Ismail Arif Bham, Esq., Calcutta	"	10
Amount received during the fortnight	Rs	46
Amount previously acknowledged	"	463
Total	Rs	509

TETE À TETE



MANY of our readers had been pressing us to open a Fund for the relief of the Turkish wounded and the widows and orphans of the Turkish soldiers killed in battle. We were fully disposed to open the Fund for an object so obviously humanitarian, especially as such funds had been opened during every previous war against Turkey. However, being anxious to take no step which might be looked upon with disfavour by the Government, or embarrass it in its international dealings, we thought it advisable to ascertain the wishes of H. E. the Viceroy in the matter. We are glad to announce that His Excellency's reply to our inquiry is all that could be desired. We publish below the text of the telegraphic communication sent to us by the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Simla, 7th October 1911, 16 hours, 30 minutes

Mohamed Ali, 109, Ripon Street, Calcutta.

Your letter of 3rd just received. The Viceroy sees no objection to your raising fund for the purely humanitarian purpose which you indicate.

P. S. V.

WE DEEPLY regret the delay in bringing out this issue of the *Comrade*. This is the first time that we have offended in this respect. The reason of the delay was that we were waiting for the reply of H. E. the Viceroy to our communication.

It is with the deepest feelings of grief that we have to record the untimely and sudden death on the 24th September of Mr. Abdus Salam, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Aligarh, Trustee of the M.A.O. College and Honorary Secretary of the Old Boys' Association. Mr. Salam, while on his way home from Aligarh, had a sudden attack of cholera, and shortly after he reached home he succumbed to the fatal attack. He was elected Secretary of the Old Boys' Association in March 1910, and a Trustee of the College in September of the same year. The deceased was a gentleman of great affability of manner and native courtesy and was endowed with various gifts and charms of personality. His career of usefulness has been cut short in the prime of life. We are sure his loss will be mourned by a vast circle of admirers and friends, especially by that vast brotherhood of the Aligarh College, young and old, of whom he was a prominent and useful member and trusted representative. Our heart goes out in deep and sorrowful sympathy to the family of the deceased and to his brother Maulvi Abdul Ghaffar Sahib, Deputy Collector, in the terrible affliction and bereavement that has befallen them. The members of the M.A.O. College Day Scholars' Club held a condolence meeting on the 25th September

in which resolutions of sympathy were passed and the following message was wired to the deceased's brother. "The members of the M.A.O. College Day Scholars' Club express their profound regret at Maulvi Abdus Salam Sahib's untimely death and offer to the bereaved family their sincere condolence and heartfelt sympathy."

All those interested in Bombay Cricket will be glad to learn that at a recent meeting of the Bombay, Poona, Cricket at Bombay. Hindu, Islam and Parsi Gymkhanas it was unanimously resolved "to admit Muhammadans to international cricket" thus making the contest a quadrangular one. The Moslem team, according to the resolution, may be composed of players drawn from any part of the country. Those who remember the triumphs of the Aligarh cricketers in Bombay a few years ago, and again last year, will be certain to count on the ability of the Islam Gymkhana in Bombay to put forth a formidable combination in these matches. We are sure the decision of the Gymkhanas to make the contest quadrangular will be hailed with gratification by all lovers of good cricket, as it is bound to increase the general interest and importance of the annual contest. The Hon. Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola took an important part in helping the Gymkhana committee to arrive at the decision. He is entitled to the hearty thanks of the Islam Gymkhana as well as of the Mussalman cricketers in general, for helping to secure the recognition of their status in the international cricket at Bombay. Considering that some of the finest cricketers in the country are Mussalmans there can be no doubt the recognition was long overdue.

If for nothing else, the Punjab Hindu Conference was conspicuous at any rate, for the thorough-going exclusiveness of its ideals for a Hindu nationality. "Back to the age of the Vedas" was the note that rang loud and insistent throughout the deliberations of its recent session held at Amritsar. The Gurukul Institution, with its Vedic ideals of education, is a remarkable experiment the results of which are bound to be startling in more ways than one. For, in repudiation of all accepted theories of education evolved by modern experience, the Gurukul experiment has proceeded to substitute for home and other natural influences an artificial environment, conceived in the spirit of the Vedic life of thousands of years ago, and train the Hindu youths in the image of the *brahman* *haryas* and *rishis* of old. Several educated Hindus, however, regard the activities of Gurukul as extremely reactionary, and in some ways mischievous. What the ultimate outcome of the experiment will be remains to be seen. It will no doubt add not a little to the exhilaration and piquancy of Indian life and politics when the first batch of young men, sprung as it were from a dead and remote past, with all its hopes and fears and prejudices, is let loose on Indian society. The Hindu Conference, too, has planned an entire range of life for the Hindu society on the lines of the Gurukul. In language, in manners, in customs, and in faith the Hindus have been exhorted to imitate the Past. They are to roll back the tide of history and resurrect the Vedic ages tone and tint. Whether any such achievement is possible it is for the "Evolutionist" to discuss. As symbolical of the tendencies of latter-day Hinduism, such an attitude, deliberately adopted by an assembly of educated and responsible Hindus, is profoundly significant. It is of a piece with the general wave of reaction that seems to have come over Hindu life throughout the country, in social hope, in intellectual outlook, in political faith. The Presidential Address had an undertone of bitterness and sore dissatisfaction at things as they are—the political situation, the Reform Scheme, the representation of Muhammadans, the decadence of the Hindus, etc. etc.—and wound up with a note of insistence on the exclusive organisation of the Hindu nationality in the image of the Past.

Among the important resolutions passed at the recent session of the Bengal Provincial Moslem Conference, none can be more weighty in its effect and urgent in its character than the one demanding the creation of a well-equipped Moslem College for Bengal. Moslem educational experience in this country has established this fact beyond all possibility of doubt that no effort to extend and popularise education amongst the mass of the community can hope to succeed unless the teaching of Western arts and sciences is combined with religious instruction and the training of character on Islamic lines. Educational institutions maintained by the State have failed to evoke any appreciable desire for modern education amongst the Mussalmans on account of their neutral character and indifference to the fundamental needs of the community. The Aligarh movement has succeeded so handsomely because its ideals furnish the only key to the difficulties of the situation. Among the reasons that have left the Bengal Moslems so grievously handicapped in the race, the most significant is the loss of communal consciousness and individuality which they have sustained under the pressure of the dominant communities around them. The loss of the sense of individuality means a loss of self-respect, of bold initiative, of a capacity to organise corporate efforts for great and useful ends. For their material and moral good the communal consciousness of the Bengal Moslems ought to be revived. And this can be possible only in the atmosphere of a great, efficient, well-organised educational institution, permeated with the spirit and ideals of Islam, responsive to the energy and stimulus of a healthy *esprit de corps*, "vocal with young voices and alive with the hopes and aspirations of young hearts." The splendid benefaction out of which the Calcutta Madrasa is maintained ought to be sufficient to maintain a well-equipped college. But even if the endowment needs to be supplemented, we believe the Mussalmans of Bengal will be self-respecting and self-reliant enough to come forward and help in the establishment of an efficient college, which alone can lead to their intellectual emancipation.

The question of female education in this country is one of a host of problems that weigh with serious anxiety on the minds of its public men. Unfortunately the question has had to wallow through a mass of prejudice and superstition, and it is only recently that informed and unbiassed discussion has been initiated on useful and practical lines. The efforts of the Hindu community have passed well beyond the stage of debate, and now it has earnestly set about to found schools and organise education for the training of Hindu girls. Amongst Moslem assemblies, however, the question still forms the subject of academic discussion, and the string of pious resolutions passed with the air of cold benevolence serves only to emphasise the fact that the Mussalmans are still dallying with the tremendous problem that lies at the root of social efficiency. The conditions of the Moslem society render the practical organisation of female education a very difficult matter indeed. The want of trained female teachers, the absence of a well-defined curriculum of studies specially designed to meet the needs of women, the enormous difficulties that stand in the way of reconciling public-school system with the exigencies of *purdah* and Moslem social customs together form a heavy programme of work, very delicate and anxious in its character, and supremely important for the welfare of the community. We earnestly hope all those interested in the question of Moslem female education will waste no more time in bandying theories in the spirit of the academician, but consider the practical ways and means and apply them to the speedy solution of the question. The Government help and patronage is also very necessary to supplement the efforts of the community. The Moslem Education Conference of Bengal has done well "to draw the special attention of the Government to the needs of Muhamedan female education in the Province and

to request that fair allotments be made for the purpose, and the distribution of such allotments be left to the discretion of the Inspectress of Schools for Female Education." Much depends upon the sympathy and encouragement of the Government judiciously applied, and we are sure the request of the Conference will evoke the favourable response that it so much needs and deserves.

MR. S. A. A. ASGHAR moved a resolution at the last sitting of the Moslem Conference "that as the vernacular has been made compulsory in several examinations of the Calcutta University, and that almost all the text-books and recommended books in Bengali and Oriya are full of Hindu mythology and traditions not suited to the religious and national traditions of the Muhammadan students, this Conference requests the authorities of the Calcutta University to prescribe books which may satisfy the requirements of the Muhammadan students in this regard." The resolution lays bare an evil the mischievousness of which it would be difficult to over-estimate. We have referred elsewhere to the loss of communal consciousness amongst the Bengal Moslems. But can a more effective and thorough-going method to denationalise them be conceived than to nurture the mind of the younger generation on Hindu mythology and traditional lore. That such is the state of things it is, we frankly admit, entirely the fault of the Mussalmans themselves. Had they been alive to this grave danger they would have, long ago, brought the fact to the notice of the authorities, and we are sure the University could not have refused to meet their most reasonable and urgent need in the matter. However, the recognition of the evil, though tardy, is none the less urgent, and we trust the Mussalmans, for the sake of their very existence as a self-respecting community, would not rest on their oars after passing the resolution, but work systematically and hard until they have secured a thorough revision of the text-books in the light of the special needs of the Moslem students.

THE growth in the circulation of the *Comrade* during the month of September has not been inconsiderable. One hundred and fifty-five new subscribers were added to the list during the month, for which our hearty thanks are due to the large number of our readers who have been working so steadily to expand the sphere of usefulness of the paper. We may, however, note that the rate of growth has not kept pace with that of July or August when 206 and 207 new names were respectively enrolled. During the first six days of October 36 new subscribers have been enlisted, and taking this as a basis of computation, the average for the whole month will again fall short of the one reached in August or July. We hope our readers will keep up their labour of love for sometime more as vigorously as they have so kindly done in the past and thus enable us to try the bold experiment of materially reducing the rate of subscription in order that a still larger number of persons may be in a position to avail themselves of the *Comrade*. We are gratefully sensible of the voluntary efforts of our sympathisers on behalf of the paper, and we are sure they will do all they can to enable us to meet the requirements of those who want to subscribe for the *Comrade*, but cannot afford to do so at its present rate of subscription.

Anecdote.

A SUPERINTENDENT of a city Sunday School endeavoured to give the summer meetings added attractiveness. Upon a certain warm Sunday in August lemonade was served. At the close of the service the Superintendent announced that slips of paper would be passed round and the pupils allowed to make suggestions as to methods of making the meetings still more attractive. One youngster wrote: "Put more sugar in the lemonade."

The Comrade.

Some Aspects of the War.

THE Italian Note to Turkey, handed to the Grand Vizier at 2.30 on Thursday afternoon (28th September), "after reciting Italian grievances, viz., constant Turkish hostility to Italian enterprises and disregard of all remonstrances respecting disorders and neglect in Tripoli, declared that Italy had decided to occupy Tripoli and Cyrenaica. *Italy trusted that the Turks would give orders for the occupation not to be opposed.*" Such were the terms of the now classic Ultimatum which preceded the most wanton war of aggression in history. The sentence that we have italicised strikes the keynote of the attitude in which Italy conceived her *coup d'état* and has delivered it in the teeth of Europe. The European press has expressed, in becoming tones, its resentment of this cynical repudiation of what is called international law and right, but the indignant press and the outraged moral sense of nations have together failed to impress the Chancellories of Europe with the scandal and enormity of the *coup*. After the tall talk and humanitarian gusto of statesmen and states about peace and arbitration and reduction of armaments, after the tremendous activities of the pacifist and the confident expectations with which he greeted the dawn of this century as the herald of greater sympathy and more humane standards in international dealings, the cool indifference of Europe in face of so gross an international wrong has come with the shock of an ugly revelation. Modern civilisation may after all be destitute of the moral resources with which its champions so loudly imagine it to be endowed, and there may be no room for straight dealing and justice in the moral sense of States. These are, however, matters with which the future historian will have to deal when estimating the influence of this War on the development of international conscience. For those who live in this age of great illusions and greater disillusionments, no broad perspective of distance and detachment is needed to perceive that Italy has felt herself strong enough to despoil Turkey of an important province of her overseas dominions, that she has set aside every consideration of right and justice and plunged straightway into the havoc and horrors of war on the sole and stark plea of might and opportunism, that the Turkish appeals to the Powers, in themselves not a little galling to a proud nation with a glorious history, have met with a polite rebuff, that Turkey finds herself in complete isolation, deserted in the supreme hour of trial by those who never ceased to remind her of their love of fairplay, alone to defend her rights and honour and integrity.

The vindication of right and justice demands that Turkey should not humiliate herself, or take the blow of the aggressor, lying down. Her defence would not simply mean a stand for her safety and integrity, but for all those weighty achievements which constitute the moral sense of the race, and which humanity will not willingly let die. In this war the international sense of righteousness is on its trial, and even if Turkey were to be utterly wiped out of existence, there would be a moral victory in her death. Every successful war of aggression means a grievous set-back in the ethical development of nations. The effects of generations of peaceful preaching and exhortations for more just and humane standards of conduct are wiped out at a stroke by the glamour of a success, be it national or individual, which has over-ridden Right and has for its sole justification the primeval one of Force. The cynicism that guides the counsels of modern diplomacy and politics is the result of the great reaction that has set in against the powerful humanitarianism of the nineteenth century. Amongst the causes that have contributed to the growth of this reaction—the pseudo-scientific theories of Evolutionary Science, the growth of Nationalism and Colonial Imperialism, etc.—the example of the success of Bismarck, with his methods of blood and iron, has been the most powerful. That grim and cynical personality has done more than any other single cause to brutalise the methods of international dealings and to raise expediency and force to be the master canons of statecraft. That is why we have been treated to the spectacle of the Italian Consul in Calcutta rushing into print—a rather pathetic proceeding for a member of the consular service—to justify the conduct of his

nation on ludicrously puerile grounds. His effort is an edifying study in the application of the unabashed doctrines that would have delighted the soul of Bismarck. The mailed fist of the Iron Chancellor, however, was concealed under the velvet-glove. But his Italian Majesty's Consul in Calcutta seems to think that pretensions strongly tempered with swagger need only to be dignified by the name of "rights" in order to be implicitly believed. We have heard of the right of the strong to crush the weak, yet we confess we had to wait for an Italian Daniel to come to judgment and expound a system of "rights" which even Machiavelli himself would have rejected as too frankly piratical. We are told that "the rights of Italy in Tripoli come from ancient times when between this African country and Italy an active current of trade and emigration was going on. . . . The increase of the (Italian) population—at the present time about 38 millions—is finding the limits of the Alps and the seas too narrow and wants means of an exodus to colonies. Concerning the political rights of Italy against Turkey, it may be stated that on the 28th of August Italy presented a Diplomatic Note to the Cabinets of London, Berlin, and Paris asking, in her position of signatory of the Algeiras Act, for compensation in case of an agreement between Germany and France regarding Morocco."

It is difficult to overrate the grasping thoroughness of these tremendous "rights." The trade relations of Italy with other countries, it would seem, confer on her the right of occupation. The increasing population of Italy must find an outlet in any country it may lay its hands on, and drive the native population to the wall. We wonder what the Italian Consul would have to say if Germany were to ask the Italians to quit and make room for the surplus German population. As for "the political rights," that "Diplomatic Note" of the 28th August has established "then, beyond dispute. . . . The occupation of Tripoli has been studied, discussed and claimed by the nation for years and years." All we can say in respect of these "rights" is that any civilised nation with a little sense of humour as well as of honour would have been ashamed to hold them up as its justification in a wicked war of aggression.

Turkey has got to fight against a country that has based its calculations of victory solely on the strength of its navy. There can be no doubt that she will have to contend against considerable odds. But Turkish powers of endurance are remarkable, her resources in Tripoli are not inconsiderable, and her antagonists are not very famous for grit and courage. The disgraceful *débâcle* in Abyssinia proved that the Italian soldier is not of the stuff of which valiant heroes are made. Nor is the average Italian a very fine specimen of civilisation. Some of his highest achievements are confined to the practice of the arts of gambling and Anarchism in foreign lands, or ministering to the pleasure-haunts of Europe. Yet we find a "Liberal" Bishop of Italy issuing a "pastoral letter" to his fold, in which he approves of the war as a "hard necessity for the triumph of civilisation." The hypocrisy of this astounding deliverance will be hard to match in the long list of crimes perpetrated in the name of "civilisation." If Christ were to return to earth, he would be struck with horror and astonishment to find some of the ministers of his Church no better than hungry wolves in sheep's clothing, urging nations to carnage and rapine in his holy name. If "the triumph of civilisation" consists in inciting the pugnacious fury of the mobs to acts of plunder and brigandage, and in pronouncing on such acts the benediction of religion, the militant "Liberal Bishop" has yet to get his deserts, and stands in need of some similar "civilising" operation. This "Liberal Bishop"—the custodian of the divine message of peace on earth and good will among mankind—is a grim travesty of the charity and forgiveness of the Sermon on the Mount.

Apart from the hypocritical talk about "civilisation," we have also heard much about Moslem "fanaticism." The theory would seem to be that the Mussalmans should accept all spoliation of their territories and destruction of their liberties with becoming humbleness and gratitude. Any expression of resentment against the aggressor or sympathy for the victims is a crime as unpardonable as savagery. The comical absurdity of such an attitude has, however, been most tragical in its consequences in some of the recent developments in human history. The handy label of fanaticism has been freely used by interested politicians of Europe to crush the progressive tendencies of

the peoples in some parts of the Islamic world. And now again, when the unprovoked invasion of a Moslem Empire has shocked the feelings and the conscience of the Moslem world, we hear the cries of "fanaticism" hurtling ominously through the air. Not very civilised yet Christian Italy, with a mass of people in the varying stages of unregenerate existence, goes to war against a Moslem Power, inspired by no higher motive than the pure lust of dominion. The great European Powers, with their flaunted love of justice and fairplay, stand aside and let Italy work her wicked will. The Mussalmans are astounded at the spectacle and their hearts go out in sympathy to their brethren who have to fight for the safety of their hearths and homes. Forthwith comes the cool assurance from some of the elect of the modern "civilisation" that all this is "fanaticism"! Whether they will outlive this aspersion against the essentially pacific character of their religious sympathies and aspirations will remain doubtful as long as Christian Europe exercises an intensely narrower kind of fanaticism under the cloak of "civilisation." In some of its acts "European Concert" has been moved by the spirit of the crusader against the Turks. In the Greco-Turkish War, when the victorious army was knocking at the gates of Athens, Europe thought fit to intervene to save a "historic people" from destruction. Turkey was obliged to retire without reaping the fruits of her victory. Mr Gladstone came out of his hermitage and issued the famous *fiat* that "not an inch of Christian land" shall go to the Turk. Then again, Austria saw her opportunity and annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina when Turkey was in the throes of revolution. Europe, after some faint expressions of surprise, accepted the ruthless transaction as *bona fide*. The aggression of Italy has been similarly condoned and quite serious proposals are being pressed on Turkey to accept indemnity. In the face of these eccentricities in European diplomacy, how can the Mussalmans resist the conclusion that somehow or other the "Concert of Europe" has been systematically working to the overthrow of the political prestige and power of the Mussalmans? If, therefore, their hearts beat in sorrow and sympathy together at the fresh blow aimed against the honour and integrity of the Turkish Empire, if they find even reformed and reformed Turkey failing to receive justice and fairplay in the counsels of the dominant Powers of Europe, if their faith in the beneficent mission of modern civilisation receives a rude shock and they appeal to Western sense of fairness and righteous dealing, they are only human in their appeals or indignation, and have been moved by a sense of grievous wrong and not by the dark and fierce forces supposed to be locked up in "fanaticism." We are sure the Mussalmans of India will comport themselves in a situation like this with dignity. Time for appeals to the sense of justice of Europe has passed. They would not humiliate themselves by unnecessary excitements, and would trust the Lord of all good in Whose hands is the life and honour of nations, that He would, in His own inscrutable way, produce some good and beneficence even out of a wicked war. They are not a little proud to feel that the sympathies of the British nation are on the side of Right. Their confidence in the sense of justice of their Rulers is unshakable, and they entertain nothing but the deepest feelings of gratitude for the Government which has afforded them every opportunity to improve their moral and material condition. Nothing could be more touching to them, than the offers of generous hearted Englishmen to fight for the Turkish cause and their fine expressions of sympathy. While doing nothing that may be embarrassing to themselves or the Government, it is but natural to think that the sympathy of the Indian Mussalmans for their co-religionists in trouble may take the form of some philanthropic help to relieve the human misery and suffering that a modern war entails.

After trying every expedient compatible with her honour to avert the aggressive attack on her Empire, Turkey has at last stiffened her back and accepted the inevitable with that calm courage which never forsook her even when sore-stricken with disasters. When the brute forces of plunder and spoliation, that govern the fortunes of states to-day as much as they did in the dark and savage past, have rendered her peaceful progress and development impossible, when indeed the question of life and death has been forced on her in all its nakedness, it is her unmistakable duty to make good her claim to live. She needs no unusual inspiration to preserve herself in an age of conflict. For good or evil, she stands alone, and she means to live. She may be deficient in some

of the material resources of great modern states. But she is not deficient in self-respect, in those proud traditions of a great and glorious career which are the life-blood of a nation. The strength of her arm which carved out for her one of the most magnificent empires of history in the ages of fierce wars of creeds and races, will yet teach her how to fight for her life. But if the forces of hostile aggression are too formidable for her honourable existence, the descendants of Muhammad II and Suleiman "The Magnificent" should know how to die.

Muhammadan Education in Bengal.

It is no exaggeration to say that the 5th of October, 1911, will stand out in the history of Moslem Education in Bengal as a distinct landmark. There are already in existence several Moslem associations of some antiquity, but they are too moribund in condition to give promise of a bright future. His Excellency the Viceroy showed an almost uncanny knowledge of the real condition of these societies when he refused to receive an address of welcome from them—almost the only object which they seem to have in view in their calculating senility. We do not mean to belittle the good work that they have done in the past. In their earlier days they did not a little for Muhammadan education under the leadership of men like the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali, the late lamented Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif Khan and Nawab Amir Hasan Khan. As the poet says:

Weakness never need be falseness, truth is truth in each degree,
Thunder-pealed by God to nature, whispered by my soul to me.

But the one defect of these bodies was the isolation which they imposed on the Mussalmans of Bengal. The ideal of independence is eminently deserving of praise; but it is sometimes apt to degenerate into self-sufficiency, which is seldom a virtue and often a vice. The attitude of the Mussalmans of Bengal towards the attempt to educate them made by that distinguished administrator, Warren Hastings, many of whose great merits have been tarnished by a great political callousness and cynicism, was most unfortunate, even though we may recognise it to be natural and even though we may confess to a sneaking sympathy with their stiff-neckedness. With much political sagacity the Hindus of the Province took easily to English education, and thus practically monopolised all the multifarious advantages arising out of the choice of Calcutta as the future metropolis of the British Indian Empire. Far be it from us to suggest even remotely that the Hindu community of Bengal was in any way to blame for this. Whatever blame there is must fall to the lot of Mussalmans, and too well have they paid for the wrong choice of their predecessor a century ago. With an educational disparity so tremendous as existed between the two great communities of Bengal, it was all the more necessary for the Mussalmans of this Province to seek aid from their co-religionists in every part of India. But for some reason or other, Bengal segregated itself from the vitalizing movement of the greatest Mussalman of the nineteenth century, and the results are only too obvious to-day. Whereas the Mussalmans of the United Provinces are now a good deal ahead of the Hindus in the matter of higher education, and those of the Punjab, which derived almost as great a benefit from Aligarh as the Province in which the College is located, is fast advancing to a position of equality, the Mussalmans of Bengal are deplorably backward. Out of 13,875 students who have graduated from the Calcutta University ever since its foundation, only 675 or less than 5 per cent. have been Mussalmans, while their population in the two Bengals is about 50 per cent. Out of the 45 colleges of Bengal no less than seven have been founded by the Hindus and are maintained by them; but the Mussalmans have "progressed backwards," and even the Calcutta Madrasa has recently abolished its college classes. In Western Bengal 6,500 Hindu students were on the rolls of the various Colleges in 1909-10, against which the Mussalmans numbered less than 500 or 7.6 per cent. when their proportion should have been 17 per cent. In Law they were only 3.52 per cent., in Engineering 2.90, and in Medicine only .42. In High Schools, Hindus numbered 74,508 and the Muhammadans 9,275 or 12.45 per cent. But the successes in the Entrance Examination reduce this somewhat hopeful proportion to a mere 6.86 per cent. As the President of the sixth session of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference said in his address, "the intellectual output

of our community, which is the only test of our success in the field of High Education, may easily be estimated by the number and nature of newspapers and books that are published in this Province. Compare the number of newspapers, both English and Vernacular, which are owned and edited by the Hindus and think of the books, both in English and Bengali, which are written and published by Hindu authors of Bengal."

Bengal resisted the vitalizing influence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for long and paid the penalty of its isolation. But in 1899, a year and a half after his death, his successor, the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, induced some of the leaders of Bengal to invite the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference to Calcutta, and to some extent brought Aligarh nearer to Bengal. But one such conference was not sufficient. More than a decade had passed when His Highness the Aga Khan, who is most anxious to bring the Mussalmans of the two Bengals into line with their more advanced co-religionists, decided to open his campaign for the Moslem University in the metropolis of the Indian Empire. Some people regarded this as a rather unfortunate choice, and although the amount promised and still more the amount realized may appear to confirm this view, we have not the least doubt that the decision of the Aga Khan has greatly benefited the Mussalmans of Bengal. The scales of isolation have fallen from their eyes. They are no longer self-sufficient and contented with their miserable position. The myopia which afflicted them seems to be a thing of the past, and they now see with a clear gaze where they stand in comparison with other communities and with their co-religionists in other parts of India. This is the first symptom of recovery. A healthy discontent with their present condition has now been created, and they have at last decided to seek aid from their brethren in Aligarh. It was a direct result of the visit of H. H. the Aga Khan that the Mussalmans of Bengal invited one of the leading workers at Aligarh to preside over the sixth session of their Conference, and they found in the Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan not only an earnest worker, but one whose acquaintance with the true facts of Moslem Education in India is unrivalled.

We say again that the 5th of October, 1911, will stand out as a landmark in the history of Moslem Education in Bengal, for it has now brought Aligarh and Bengal so close to each other that nothing can possibly separate them. The reception that Calcutta gave to Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan on the morning of the 4th instant was a warm one, but it was nothing compared to the ovation which all Bengal gave to him at the conclusion of his final speech when summing up the work of the session. Our own experience of Calcutta is too meagre, but we are informed by some of the oldest residents that never before did the Mussalmans show a tithe of the genuine enthusiasm in the cause of education which moved them on the last day of the session. The Presidential Address, to which we shall refer in greater detail later, was deserving of all the applause that it received. In it the Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan first dealt with the three factors of the present situation—the English Government with its great and unique powers "engaged in the grand task of regenerating India," the Hindus with "a clear and definite idea about their destiny and striving with a set purpose to reach the goal," and the Mussalmans, "small in numbers and scattered in various and distant provinces under uncongenial and unfavourable circumstances, plunged in apathy and steeped in ignorance, and with all this engaged in an ever-increasing friction with the other great community of the country." He put an important question to his audience and one that demands an immediate answer. "How far are we prepared to take our proper and legitimate share in the solution of the Indian problem?" As he very truly said, it was not merely the destiny of 70 million people that hung in the balance on the answer to this question. "Through us it is our beloved faith which is on its trial; it is the name and reputation of Islam which are at stake in this great experiment What contribution shall we, the followers of Islam, the most energising force that ever moved humanity, make towards the solution of the great Indian problem? This is the test which the civilized world of to-day as well as our own posterity will apply to all our achievements as a community in this country." He regards a "rational and earnest faith" in the Moslem religion and "sound

education and training" as the two great agencies of Moslem salvation. "In my humble judgment," said the President, "in order to acquire the grit and force which are indispensable for a living and successful people in the present age the frame-work and the constitution of our ideas and characters should be based on the latest knowledge and experience of humanity, but the spirit and the soul should be Islamic. Our religious faith without effective life and character would remain crippled, and our life and character, however modern or enlightened, without religion would be lifeless."

He emphasized the two aspects of the character of the Prophet of Islam and of every one of his followers, *abdiyat* or submission to the Divine will, and *niabat-i-islami* or the position of a vicegerent of God on earth with a distinct duty and a message of great meaning.

Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan acted wisely in giving copious extracts from the speeches of Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors of the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the subject of Aligarh and its ideal of a Moslem University. When we find some of the leading journals of Calcutta labouring under vain delusions and possessing a rather hazy notion about the character of Aligarh as it was designed to be and as it actually is to-day, we can well sympathise with Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan's difficulty. As he says, "Judging from certain writings in the Anglo-Indian press, it seems clear that the generation of Englishmen who knew and appreciated the work of Sir Syed has now practically passed away, and it is now time that their opinions of Aligarh and its movement be placed before the public and particularly those who are taking interest in our University movement." It is, indeed, a wearisome task to discuss first principles with all sorts of people, whether friends or foes of India, when after the labour of forty years the coping stone is to be put on the great fabric of the Moslem University, the foundation of which was laid in 1871, and the use, purpose and necessity of which have been talked about and written about almost *ad nauseam*. But things being as they are, it is necessary to publish broadcast the facts of Aligarh's history and make clear to all whose opinion is known to carry weight, whether deservedly or not, what an impetus the Moslem University would give to Moslem Education. The contrast between the present position of the Mussalmans of Bengal and the establishment of a Moslem University is so staggering that people here are apt to be misled into hostility or at least indifference. But if murmurs are to be galvanized into activity it is not the addition of a limb or two that is needed but a heart beating in unison with the life around it, and the tidal wave of the University, even if it could be felt in its greatest force at Aligarh itself, will not leave the most distant creek stagnant.

But while the President dealt at length with this all-absorbing question, he did not do so disproportionately. Nearly half of his address was devoted to the position of Muhammadans in Bengal. We are in hearty agreement with him that the bane of Bengal is the Madrasa system of education. It is not merely on *a priori* reasoning that Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan bases his forcible judgment of this antiquated system. He has brought into the witness-box some eminent people of Bengal itself whose acquaintance with its conditions is first hand. The only remedy is the establishment of an efficient and well-equipped residential College for Bengal, and we have every assurance that one of the first efforts of the authorities of the Moslem University would be to bring such a College into existence. This consummation is devoutly to be wished, but it will not be possible if any reactionary efforts are made in the direction of the isolation of the past. Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan has not been content with delivering addresses and helping the delegates to pass resolutions. He has interviewed the real workers every day at his residence and offered them sound practical advice. But it is not only the Mussalmans of Bengal or the rest of India that have a duty to perform. The Government of the Province owes them a great duty, and we are not so sure if it is as conscious of it as it should be. The Mussalmans may or may not be "the favourite wife," but it is the general experience of polygamous humanity that it is not the favourites of the Harem that has the best of times. It is the termagant and the untamed shrew that always carries her point!

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

THE Turkish transport *Derna* landed at Tripoli a hundred soldiers and a quantity of munition. The vessel entered the harbour in view of the Italian fleet. The Italian newspaper *Stampa* declared that the landing was a *casus belli*.

All Italian merchant vessels in Ottoman waters had been recalled. Large bodies of troops had been moved into Rome, Florence, Milan and other cities to check the attempts of Socialists and Anarchists to provoke anti-militarist disorders. Some rioting occurred at Milan, and hundreds of persons were arrested. The majority of the population acclaim the expedition to Tripoli, but at some stations crowds lay on rails to prevent trains conveying reservists. The passing cavalry cleared the line, while the reservists cheered for an "Italian Tripoli."

The *Daily Telegraph* states that the question of the passage of Turkish convoys in the direction of Tripoli and Egypt is being earnestly considered by the British Government and that the Porte is hourly expected to raise the question.

The Right Hon. Mr Ameer Ali, writing to the *Times* as one deeply interested in the growth of amity between Christianity and Islam, calls attention to the unthinkable consequences of the projected Italian invasion of Tripoli. The writer says that the fury created by such an invasion would be sure to react throughout the Moslem world and that the work of conciliation would be thrown back centuries. Mr Ameer Ali describes the attempt of Italy to provoke a war of creeds and races by the spoliation of Turkey as inexcusable, and appeals to every lover of peace and goodwill to protest against the flagrant breach of all canons of international morality by a nominally Christian country. The *Westminster Gazette* in an editorial article endorses Mr Ameer Ali's letter and says the Powers must localize the quarrel and save at least the Turkish flag in Tripoli and see that all other quarters where Turkish rights are threatened are carefully guarded.

The Foreign Minister of Italy on Tuesday night, the 26th September, despatched to Constantinople a Note reciting Italian grievances, viz., constant Turkish hostility to Italian enterprises and disregard of all remonstrances respecting disorder and neglect in Tripoli and declaring that Italy had decided to occupy Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy trusted that the Turks would give orders for the occupation not to be opposed. Subsequent agreements would be made for a definite settlement. Italy had asked for a reply within twenty-four hours. The first expedition of 23,000 was ready to sail on 3rd October for Tripoli and 13,000 were to follow shortly afterwards. A Naval Squadron is concentrated at Augusta near Syracuse, in readiness to sail. There was much enthusiasm at Toronto when the Duke of the Abruzzi left commanding a flotilla of destroyers and torpedo boats. Italy has informed the Balkan States that the dispute refers to Tripoli alone and that she contemplates no aggression in European Turkey.

A proclamation of the Grand Vizier exhorting the people to observe calm and prudence was read publicly in Tripoli. The Minister of the Interior had addressed to the Provincial authorities a circular assuring them that the Government would defend the national honour and ordering the suppression of attempts at an Italian boycott as relations with Italy were yet not ruptured. Italians in Tripoli have almost all embarked except officials. The Italian Consulate has placed two large steamers at the disposal of Europeans of any nationality. It was stated officially in Berlin that Germany was endeavouring to prevent an outbreak of hostilities.

A message from Constantinople says that the Italian ultimatum was handed to the Grand Vizier at 2.30 on Thursday afternoon, 28th September, during the weekly diplomatic reception. The Grand Vizier immediately brought the reception to an end and proceeded to the Palace where a special meeting of the Cabinet was held. It is reported that the Government has decided to reject the Italian demands and has addressed an explanatory communication to the Powers. A meeting of seventeen deputies yesterday demanded the immediate convocation of the Chamber. The feeling of the meeting was hostile to the Cabinet.

A telegram from Tripoli stated on the 27th September that ten Italian battleships and cruisers were cruising within sight of the coast.

The English papers are unanimous in condemning Italy's action, while some reprehend in the strongest terms "the cynical and brutal aggression and act of piracy." The more moderate

journals dwell on the perilous enterprise upon which Italy is embarking and which they declare involves the danger of a European conflagration, if Turkey takes reprisals in the Balkans. They also refer to the provocation of Islam which would result, declaring that such provocation would be specially serious for Mahomedan Power like Great Britain. The publicist, Mr Lucien Wolf, has reason to believe that Turkey's rejoinder will take a most sensational form, possibly the seizure of Thessaly. The *Daily News* says that it is difficult to believe that Sir Edward Grey is following a course so opposed to our real interest as not merely declining to intervene on behalf of Turkey but officially sympathizing with Italy. The *Daily Graphic* declares that the inactivity of Sir Edward Grey, which the paper states is so inconsistent with his attitude at the time of the Bosnian crisis, requires explanation. The French press unanimously condemns Italy's ultimatum to Turkey which is described as harsh, humiliating, and threatening and which it is declared might give rise to a general conflagration.

It was officially announced on the 29th September that as Turkey had not acceded to Italy's demands, a state of war prevails between Italy and Turkey from to day (29th September) 2.30 P.M. The blockade of the whole of the Tripolitan coast will be immediately notified to the Power. An Italian cruiser has destroyed a Turkish destroyer in the harbour at Preveza and landed soldiers. A Turkish battalion has been ordered to Preveza. The Italians have landed at Benghazi in Tripoli. M. Venizelos, the Italian Premier, states that he received a telegram from Vonitza, in the Gulf of Arta, announcing that Italian cruisers pursued and fired at two Turkish transports with troops aboard. The transports ran themselves ashore near Preveza which is a seaport in Turkey in Europe. Despatches to the Italian Press from Tripoli state that the population was awake all night on Thursday. Italians and foreigners gathered in the Italian Consulate while the Moslems prayed in the mosques. There were no disturbances. An Italian destroyer landed an Italian officer with a white flag on the afternoon of the 29th September who demanded the surrender of the forts. According to despatches to the British Press the Turkish commandant refused to surrender. According to a despatch received at the Ministry of War, the Italians began to disembark troops in the afternoon but the Turks sank the first two barges. Apprehensions are felt for the safety of the Turkish fleet, which is hastening to the Dardanelles from Beirut. It is reported that the Italian warships have appeared off Smyrna and Salonika. Britain has recalled all British Naval officers serving with the Turkish fleet. The Turkish Cabinet has resigned. Said Pasha, President of the Senate, has been appointed Grand Vizier and Kamil Pasha, Foreign Minister. Mahmud Shekret remains Minister of War. The Committee of Union and Progress has decided upon the boycott of all Italian goods, the expulsion of Italians and an anti-Italian agitation in Tripoli. The German Press is unanimous in condemning the action of Italy. The papers say it is astounding even in the present age of material policy. The Austrian Press is apprehensive of an outbreak in the Balkans and accuses Italy of endangering the peace of Europe. The Ottoman Embassy informs Reuter that it has received no confirmation of the reports regarding Turkish intentions in Greece. The Embassy added "The Porte does not intend to copy the immoral example of other Powers." It is understood that the Porte's reply to Italy expresses surprise at Italy's action and hopes that Italy will desist from the measures contemplated. The reply emphasises Turkey's desire for a settlement of pending affairs and promises to protect Italians and suspend military measures during the negotiations. Turkey again requested the good offices of the Powers. The Turkish squadron was returning from Beirut to Constantinople. Italian officers serving in the Turkish Gendarmere have been recalled to Italy. Italian war vessels of all descriptions were leaving the ports amidst fervent enthusiasm for various destinations, some under sealed orders. The Italian warships attacked two Turkish torpedo boat destroyers on the morning of the 29th September off Durazzo in the Adriatic. Germany is sounding the Powers with a view to combined efforts being made to localise the conflict.

The Committee of Union and Progress has issued a proclamation to the nation declaring that it prefers honour to life and that it will employ every means against the enemy. Italians will be expelled from the schools and Italian businesses closed. The proclamation begs the population to remain tranquil and to leave the Government to apply measures necessary, calmly demonstrating that Ottomans are more civilized and more equitable than Italians.

The Italian Ministry for War has been inundated with applications from volunteers for service in Tripoli. An Italian semi-official statement declares that the Naval operations in the Adriatic are destined solely to protect Italian ports. The Austrian semi-official *Fremdenblatt* welcomes Italian assurance of adherence to the

status quo in the Balkans and declares that any aspirations against the status quo are foredoomed to failure. The journal adds that Turkey can rely on the support of the Powers in the Near East if he continues to exercise a restraining influence on the Turkish public.

Said Pasha has been hitherto unsuccessful in forming a Cabinet. Kiamil Pasha has declined the Portefeuille for Foreign Affairs.

It is officially stated at Rome that Italian destroyers sank two Turkish torpedo boats near Preveza on the 29th September and captured a yacht and also a steamer with 167 Turkish troops and a large number of munitions on board. Entrance to Brindisi harbour after nightfall has been forbidden. The lights are extinguished. A Paris telegram received from Tripoli stated that the Italian warships bombarded the town on the morning of the 30th September. Messages from Constantinople confirm the news of the sinking of two other Turkish destroyers near Preveza. It is reported that the Italians started landing at Preveza under cover of the warships.

A mob at Salonika on the 30th September tore down the escutcheons on the Italian Consulate, Post Office and Schools. The Italian fishing boats were also confiscated. A wave of patriotic fervour swept over Rome. Crowds marched in procession through the streets and halted in front of the German Embassy, where cheers were raised for the friendly ally of Italy.

A meeting of sixty Deputies yesterday sent a deputation to the Sultan, who in his reply said:—"I desired to convene the Chamber, but the opposition of Hakkî Pasha prevented me from issuing a decree for the immediate convocation of Parliament. I am a great reader of history, but I have never encountered a worse case of violation of rights than has been committed by Italy. When visiting Adrianople and Salonika I inspected the fortifications. I wish the whole Empire were so well guarded, but, unfortunately, Tripoli has been neglected owing to the indolence and carelessness of Hakkî Pasha and his Cabinet. The Italian Fleet is spreading in all directions in the Eastern Mediterranean for the purpose of protecting Italian trade and preventing the Turks from attacking the long line of Italian transports going to Tripoli. The affair at Preveza resolves itself into an Italian flotilla forcing one Turkish destroyer ashore at Aenire and driving the other on to a bank in the harbour. Germany has assumed the protection of Italian subjects and interests in Turkey. The Porte addressed a fresh appeal to the Powers in which it expressed its pained surprise at the action of Italy and appealed to the humanitarian sentiments of the Powers to prevent useless bloodshed. The Government is strengthening the troops on Greek and Montenegrin frontiers. The Italian Expeditionary Force will comprise eight regiments of infantry, two of Bersaglieri and sharpshooters, totalling 25,000, and a thousand cavalry, artillery engineers, etc., altogether 35,000. Soldiers have been instructed as regards the customs and religion of the Tripolitans and have been ordered strictly to respect them. General Ganeva will command the expedition. The chartered transport have already been fitted out and transferred to the Navy. They are now only awaiting the embarkation of troops.

The bombardment of Tripoli is hitherto unconfirmed, except that a second telegram *via* Paris mentions that the bombardment ceased almost immediately. The message adds that the Turks are retiring into the interior where the Turks are preparing for resistance. Amid a host of contradictory reports it appears certain that the Italians have not landed in Tripoli and that no fighting has occurred except on the coast of the Adriatic, where two or three torpedo boats or destroyers have been captured or disabled. Sixteen hundred Italians landed at Preveza after the destruction of the forts. The Italian newspapers remind the English press that Italy was the only country which stood by Great Britain during the Boer War. Italy understood that the cause of civilization was then at the stake as now and hopes that the English papers will reconsider their judgment.

Turkey has informed Greece that the latter has no need to be offended at the military movements on the frontier which are due to the war. This is regarded as disposing of the reports of the invasion of Thessaly.

The Turkish Squadron from Beirut has arrived safely in the Dardanelles Bar. Turkish torpedo boats are scouring the southern Adriatic. The Commander of the Turkish Fleet reports that he circumvented the Italian squadron which sought to intercept it before it reached the Dardanelles.

The *Daily Mail* states that a torpedo boat driven ashore at Preveza is lost. The captain of the vessel was killed by a shell and eight of the crew were drowned.

Shipping is at a standstill. Italian vessels are unable to leave Corfu owing to the torpedo boats outside. The lighthouses in Italy and in Italian possessions on the Red Sea have also extinguished their lights. The Porte has issued a notification that the Turkish lights in the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles, the Aegean and the Adriatic have been extinguished since yesterday. It is officially announced in Constantinople that Greece is mobilising, which would seem to forecast Turkish action against Greece. On the other hand, the mobilisation is officially denied in Athens. The Turkish Embassy in London is being inundated with offers of

service. An attempt to attack the Italian Post Office in Stamboul was frustrated by the police. The Porte has addressed a fresh appeal to the Powers hoping that there is still time to avert war and stating that pending a reply Turkey suspends all measures which she is entitled to adopt as the result of Italy's declaration of war. The Porte has also issued a communication to the newspapers stating that no measures will be taken against Italian subjects or Italian interests, pending the result of the appeal. Like elsewhere, Italy's action does not find any defenders in Russia, but the opinion is held that Turkey's misguided international policy is responsible for her isolation. The press points out that despite peace tribunals and associations, recent events show that might is still right.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The King of England has replied to a telegraphic appeal from the Sultan regretting his inability to intervene between Italy and Turkey. The German Emperor in reply to a similar message expressed real friendship and veneration for the Sultan and declared that he had already instructed the German Ambassador to make an effort to intervene but that the isolated action of Germany, unsupported by other Powers, had been without effect. However, in deference to His Majesty's wishes the Emperor would, circumstances permitting, make another proposal for mediation and submit a similar suggestion to other Powers.

The German Ambassador has explained to the Grand Vizier that it is most unlikely that the German Emperor's action will have any result. A message from Constantinople to the *Daily Telegraph* states that Germany has already twice approached Italy, the second time pressing, but that Italy was immovable and indicated that any further attempt at intervention would be made at the risk of a dislocation of the Triple Alliance. As this was contrary to the interests of Turkey, Germany regretfully concluded that nothing more could be done.

King Victor Emmanuel, it is stated, insists on being consulted about orders in connection with the Tripoli expedition. His Majesty is anxious that the expedition shall be a demonstration of the efficiency of the Italian Army and Navy in the eyes of Europe.

British officers, serving with the Turkish fleet, were landed on the arrival of the fleet in the Dardanelles. Rear-Admiral Williams, lent for service with the Turkish fleet, has notified the Ottoman Government that he will discontinue his duties. The landing at Preveza is most emphatically denied in Rome, where it is declared that Italy will not on any account attack European Turkey. The steamer *Castle Garth* on the 2nd instant brought in 1,300 Maltese refugees, who were miserably huddled together on the deck, clamouring for food and water. They suffered great hardship during a storm, which lasted for three days.

There was no war news on the 3rd instant. Communication with Tripoli has been cut off. The papers discuss in hopeful terms the prospects of a speedy end of the conflict. This optimism is based on the official announcement made in Berlin on the 2nd instant that Baron Marschall Von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador to Turkey, is in active communication with the Porte with a view to ending hostilities. It is understood that immediately Italy has definitely occupied the Tripolitan ports she will be willing to discuss terms and pay Turkey an indemnity for occupation. The activity of Italians on the Albanian coast has irritated the Austrian press, which warns Italy against further operations in that quarter.

A telegram from Constantinople states that Parliament has been convoked for the 14th instant. Turkish appeals to the Powers have failed to produce more than benevolent expressions, Italy having thoroughly prepared the way before taking any action by timely consultation of the Powers, which cannot thwart her. It therefore only remains to be seen what will happen in Tripoli and other ports. The Italian expedition is ready to sail if it has not actually started, regarding which the most stringent censorship prevents the slightest leakage of news. It is impossible to attempt a landing until the Turkish forts and forces have surrendered, or been reduced to impotence by bombardment. The belief prevails that there will be no resistance, except perhaps by the Arabs, who cannot be controlled. The Italians are anxious to avoid bloodshed, and are prepared to pay two and a half millions sterling for Tripoli.

The sole war news on the 3rd October consisted of a Turkish report that an Italian warship sank two motor barges off Hodeidah and chased a destroyer in the Red Sea. The destroyer, however, escaped. A report comes from Corfu that Duc De Abruzzi has demanded of the Vali that Preveza shall surrender the warship in the harbour, otherwise he will bombard the town. There is no news from Tripoli beyond the report from Admiral Faravelli published in Rome stating that he gave the Turkish commander a respite till the 3rd October noon. The Italian Admiralty does not believe that the whole of the Turkish Fleet has reached the Dardanelles and understands that it divided at Samos, where it sailed in different directions. The Italian Admiralty has posted a strong line of ships from Greece to the African coast to prevent the Turkish warships from approaching Tripoli.

It was officially announced in Rome on the evening of the 3rd instant that while preparations for fitting out transports were proceeding most actively, the departure of the expeditionary force would be

delayed until undisturbed passage across the Mediterranean was assured. Vice Admiral Faravelli telegraphed that he bombarded Tripoli forts from 3-30 in the afternoon until sunset on the 3rd instant. The land batteries replied though without effect. The greatest care was taken not to damage the town. He was to resume the bombardment on the 4th instant.

The Turkish Embassy in London says that Turkey will never consider monetary compensation. Meanwhile the powers are apparently still active with advice to Turkey. The Austrian Ambassador had a long interview with the Grand Vizier yesterday. The Russian Ambassador will confer with the Grand Vizier to-day.

Enver Bey, leader of the Turkish Revolution, is going to the hinterland of Tripoli *via* Egypt to stir up a Guerilla war.

The proclamation of British neutrality in the Turko-Italian conflict has been published in the *Gazette*.

The Italian ultimatum to the Vali of Preveza demanding the surrender of Turkish warships in the harbour has been withdrawn. The Italian Government has renewed its peremptory orders to the warships not to carry out militant operations on the Turkish coasts, in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. An official despatch from Tripoli states that the Italian flag was hoisted on the Sultania Fort at noon on the 5th instant. The ceremony was greeted with salvoes from the artillery. The fort was occupied by the landing parties, who were protected by the fleet anchored partly in the harbour and partly at a short distance from the dismantled fortifications.

War enthusiasm in Italy is growing. The Liberal Bishop of Cremona has issued a pastoral letter in which he approves of the war with Turkey, which he describes "a hard necessity for the triumph of civilisation." Many of the highest nobles and deputies are going to the front. A fleet of ten aeroplanes has been assembled at Naples. Five thousand native troops in Eritrea have volunteered for service in Tripoli.

The Sultan has ordered prayers to be offered up in mosques invoking the aid of the Prophet against Italy. Boycott of Italian goods has begun.

Vice-Admiral Faravelli reports that the Italian cruisers entered the harbour of Tripoli and that two officers were landed who found the outer batteries dismantled and evacuated. The only dead bodies found were on the quays. The batteries of the inner fortifications have been spared up to the present but the bombardment will be continued unless the town capitulates.

Greece has mobilised two battalions on the frontier in response to Turkish mobilisation in Epirus.

An *Englishman* special cable dated 5th October states — Mr. Harold Cox speaking at a meeting of London Moslems, said Italy was guilty of the most shameless act of brigandage committed in this generation. Mr. Stead, writing to the *Times* urges the Powers to insist on a reference to the Hague Tribunal.

Italians now occupy Tripoli. They landed a further force with guns and mitrailleuses after a number of Arabs had boarded the flagship, tendering submission and asking for cessation of bombardment. The German Consul-General requested the Admiral to assume control and preserve order as Turkish troops had abandoned the town. Admiral Boreaolmo has been appointed Governor of Tripoli. The German Consul stated that no foreigners had been injured, nor any residence damaged during bombardment. A German correspondent in Tripoli reports that the bombardment did comparatively little damage. He says that there are still four thousand Europeans in the town. Six soldiers and ten Jews were killed and five soldiers and one Jew severely injured. The Mussalmans took no part in the resistance but prayed to Allah that the bombardment might be discontinued. The message is not dated and may refer only to the first bombardment. According to a wireless message from Tripoli, the harbour and town were flooded all night by Italian searchlights to prevent an attack. The Italians are garrisoning the ruins of Sultania Fort. The Italian press is jubilant over the realisation of its long entertained aspirations.

A telegram from Pirina states that, according to advices from Hudeidah, two Italian warships fired twenty-one shells over the town. One sank a launch belonging to the British ship *Guildhall*.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Bulgarian Minister has assured the Porte of Bulgaria's neutrality.

Heavy firing was reported to the seaward north of the Dardanelles between Dede-Agatch and the Gulf of Saros. The bombardment of Derna and Benghazi had been ordered for the 5th instant. The bombardment of Tripoli was continued on the 4th instant. The Turks abandoned the forts and are now occupying and fortifying the hills in the interior. The Socialist Deputy, Senor de Felice, who is enthusiastically in favour of war, describing the bombardment says, the whole fleet filed past Tripoli in review order, dressed with bunting, as a last attempt to induce surrender, but the Turks were unmoved and manned their guns. Italian warships pursued the torpedo boats, which, however, escaped in the darkness. The first contingent of the expedition to Tripoli, 20,000 strong, was ready to start, but was delayed owing to reports by Italian cruisers

of the presence of Turkish torpedo boats on the route the expedition will follow. It is proposed to land forty-thousand men in Tripoli within a week. Over five hundred prisoners were reported to have arrived at various ports. They will be accommodated in large barracks at Caserta.

The Turkish Ambassador informed Count Von Aehrenthal that Italy was preparing to land troops in Albania, and asked Austria to insist upon Italy's observance of the *status quo* in the Balkans. Count Von Aehrenthal replied that Austria would await developments. Said Pasha has formed a Cabinet at the eleventh hour. Reshid Pasha, Ambassador in Vienna, is Foreign Minister. The Cabinet does not include Kiamil Pasha, or Hilmi Pasha, both of whom refused to be directed by the Committee of Union and Progress.

Lord Lamington presided at a meeting of the Moslems in London held in support of Turkey on the Tripoli question. A letter was read from the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali protesting against Italy's aggression but deprecating inflammatory language and dwelling on Turkish magnanimity. A special cablegram to the *Englishman*, dated London, 4th October, says:—The war news is very contradictory, but there seems little hope of intervention by the Powers at the present stage. The special correspondent of the *Chronicle* at Constantinople says that Turkey is determined to make a desperate resistance.

According to the latest telegrams from Constantinople the Turkish Squadron has arrived in Bosphorus from the Dardanelles. No explanation is to hand yet regarding the heavy firing heard to the northward of the Dardanelles. The bombardment of Tripoli was a one-sided affair, every shot from the insignificant Turkish guns falling far short of the mark. A force of Marines and bluejackets probably formed the first landing party to clear away local resistance.

Dovens of newspaper correspondents are cooped up in Malta and Tunis, seeing nothing and not being allowed to proceed.

A telegram from Port Said states that the Italian Consul has protested to the Governor of Suez Canal against the Turkish transport *Kaiser* making a permanent stay in the harbour as a breach of neutrality of the canal. She has been there since 30th September.

The Moslem feeling in India.

News of the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Italy over Tripoli has been received at Simla with keen regret. Although the prospect of any European complications is considered remote, yet it is difficult to anticipate how far the alarming situation will react on European politics. It is, however, earnestly hoped that it will not prevent the Royal visit to India. It will naturally create a deal of sympathy among Indian Moslems for their co-religionists the Turks.

The Shiah community of Calcutta comprising all nationalities assembled at the Embarah of the late Aga Karbalai Mahmud Khan, No. 10, Portuguese Church Street, and prayers were offered for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire during her present crisis. Prayers were also offered for the prosperity of the Persian and British Governments.

At a meeting of Persians and members of the Anjuman-i-Mozaffari held at No. 4, Medical College Street, on Sunday the 1st instant, to express indignation at the unjustifiable aggression of Italy, it was resolved to send the following telegram:—Ottoman Consul-General, Bombay—Persians in India are surprised and indignant at the unjustifiable aggression of Italy and their hearts throb with sympathy for their brethren of the Ottoman Empire and pray for the triumph of the just cause. Home Secretary, Simla—Persians in India are alarmed at the attempt to dismember the Ottoman Empire and pray for the good offices of England to prevent progress of conflict in the interest of Islam and humanity. The Foreign Minister, Parliament, Union and Progress, and Anjuman Saadut, Constantinople—Persians here greatly resent the sudden selfish provocation of Italy and sincerely sympathise with their co-religionists and admire their attitude.

A representative meeting of Mussalmans was held in Calcutta at the residence of Moidul Islam Aga Syed Jalaluddin to protest against the iniquitous outrage on international morality perpetrated by Italy in Tripoli and to express practical sympathy with the Ottoman Empire in its present crisis. Great enthusiasm and indignation prevailed. The following telegrams were sent by the President, the Hon. Mr. Aniff:—(1) Home Secretary, Simla—Representative Mussalmans in meeting assembled respectfully request intervention of Great Britain as the greatest Muhammadan power and lover of justice and fairplay to check Italy in her career of aggression and outrage on international morality regarding Tripoli. (2) Foreign Secretary, London—Loyal Moslem subjects aggrieved and indignant at Italy's aggression in Tripoli. Pray for intervention of England greatest Muhammadan power. (3) (i) Grand Vizier, (ii) President, Parliament, Constantinople.—Heart of Islam throbs in sympathy with

Ottomans and expects Turkey to defend Islamic honour and prestige. A central committee was formed with the Hon. Mr. Golam Hossein Ariff, as President, Haji Ahmad, Haji Abdul Latif, Treasurer, Aga Moidul Islam and Hon. Dr. Suhrawardy, Secretaries, with a strong representative committee, the committee to be called "Aid to Ottomanized Crescent Society," shortly "Indian Red Crescent Society," for taking steps for the prevention of hostilities in the interest of humanity and collection of funds for the relief of sufferers of the war. The meeting expressed satisfaction with unanimous condemnation of Italy's aggression by the British and Continental press. It was also resolved to communicate with important centres in India requesting formation of local committees on similar lines.

A Muslim public meeting to protest against the war was held at Madras on the 5th instant under the presidency of the Hon. Abdul Kuddus Badsha Sahib Bahadur.

In pursuance of a Resolution passed at the second meeting of the Indian Red Crescent Society, prayers were offered on Friday the 6th instant in all the Calcutta mosques, for victory to the Ottoman arms. The following is an excerpt, rendered in English from the Arabic prayer offered by the Hon. Dr. Suhrawardy.—Thou art our Protector. Give us victory therefore over the transgressing nations; and overwhelm them, overcome them, crush them, confound them, and overtake with thy justice, the wicked, the iniquitous, the treacherous, and the deceitful. Land and sea separate us from our brethren; we are helpless and powerless, but Thou art nearer to us than our vital veins. Haply the voice of prayer and supplication from the distressed hearts of the hapless and the helpless followers of Thy Prophet may reach Thee. Lord of Peace who loveth not war! Consume them, who have kindled it, with the fire of war. Lord of Earth, Water, Fire and Wind! let Thy earthquake and Thy mountains cast forth fire, and engulf the armies of the oppressor. Let Thy wind and sea overwhelm and scatter the fleet of the aggressor. Command the fowls of the air, to overtake the enemy, and destroy them, even as Thou didst the army of the elephant. Didst Thou not cause their straggling to miscarry? And send against them birds in flocks (ababils). Claystones did they hurl down upon them and made them like stubble eaten down! (Koran, Sura cv.) Help us by the grace of Thy Prophet who declared "A single victory on sea, superior to ten victories on land."

The news of the outbreak of war between Turkey and Italy has created quite a sensation among the Muhammadans of Calcutta and anxious enquiries are being made wherever possible as to the latest situation. Prayers were offered to-day at the local Jamath Mosque by over 5,000 men for the protection of the Ottoman Empire from its present crisis.

The Mussalmans of Chittagong, about 5,000 in number, assembled to-day at 3 P.M. in the compound of the Juma Masjid to condemn the aggressive policy of Italy in attacking Turkish Tripoli without cause, and to offer prayers to the Almighty for the success of the Turkish army. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.—Resolved that prayers be offered in every masjid for the victory of the Turkish army every Friday after the Juma namaz; that all the Italian goods henceforth be boycotted by Mussalmans; that a Red Crescent Society be formed to help the injured and sufferers from the war; that a telegram be sent to the Home Secretary, Simla, praying the British Government to repress the Italian aggressors and that copies of these resolutions be sent to the Turkish Consul-General, Bombay and all the leading newspapers.

The text of the despatch regarding British neutrality during the Turko-Italian war has been communicated to the Government of India and gazetted. The Governor-General in Council directs that the orders of neutrality are to be obeyed by all persons within His Majesty's dominions and possessions in India.

Tripoli: a Sketch.

TRIPOLI is a Turkish vilayet (regency) in North Africa. It is bounded north by the Mediterranean and has a coast line of over 1,100 miles. It comprises five distinct regions.—Tripoli proper, the Barca plateau (Cyrenaica), the Anjila oases, Fezzan and the oases of Ghadames and Ghat—which, with the intervening sandy and stony wastes, occupy the space between Tunisia and Egypt and have a collective area of about 400,000 square miles, with a population estimated at from 800,000 to 1,300,000. The physical features of the country are, with the exception of the oases and Barca plateau, bleak and utterly unpromising. Apart from the vast interminable stretches of desert, five parallel mountain ranges traverse the land. The Barca plateau is by far the most favoured region of the vilayet. Its many natural advantages of climate, soil and vegetation led to the establishment of several Greek colonies, the oldest and most favoured of which was that of Cyrene dating from about 630 B.C. From this place the whole region took the name of Cyrenaica. The Anjila oases present collectively the aspect of a long winding valley. Ghat, which is skirted eastward by the Akakus range, is a sandy plain dotted over with clumps or

groves of date-palms. In the centre is an open space where is held a great annual fair, and to this combined with its position on one of the caravan routes across the desert, the oasis owes all its importance. For several years, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the only caravan route used from the Niger countries to Tripoli was by way of Ghat. There is, in the oasis, a population of, perhaps, 10,000, about half of whom live in the town of Ghat, which is successor to *Rupsa*, a great commercial centre and military station under the Roman Empire. *Ghadames* is, on the contrary, an ancient town noted in Roman history. The oasis stands on a lofty plateau and is enclosed by a circular rampart over 3 miles in circumference. The town has a population of about 7,000. Owing to its perennial springs and artesian wells, the oasis yields an abundance of dates, figs, apricots and vegetables, besides some wheat, barley and millet. It has extensive trading relations with the markets of Tripoli, Tunis, and the Sudan.

The explorations of competent travellers during the second half of the 19th century showed that Tripoli was not only inhabited by primitive men, but was the seat of a flourishing Neolithic culture, in many respects resembling that of Iberia, Brittany, and the British Isles. There is reason to believe that the builders of the prehistoric monuments to be found in the country are represented by the Berber people, who still form the substratum, and in some places the bulk of the inhabitants of Tripoli proper. But even here the Berbers have been for the most part driven to the Ghuman and Tarhona uplands by the Arab nomads, who now occupy the Jefara flats about the capital, and are in almost exclusive possession of Cyrenaica, Marmanica and the Anjila oases. In Fezzan the Saharan Berbers are dominant, but are here largely intermingled with Negro intruders from the Sudan. But even in the uplands many of the Berbers have been Arabized. Other early intruders are the Jews, some of whom arrived from Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies, and still lead the life of troglodytes in lime stone caves. They are also numerous in the large towns where there are also colonies of Turks and Maltese, Italian, Cretan, and other South European traders and artisans.

Tripoli (*Tarabulus-el-Gharb*, i.e. Tripoli of the West), is the capital of the vilayet and is situated on a promontory stretching out into the Mediterranean. An ancient citadel, dating from the time of the Spanish occupation, serves as the residence of the governor. The aspect of the city is picturesque, the houses (many possessing beautiful gardens) rise in terraces from the seashore. The Turkish quarter contains whose minarets and cupolas break the monotony of the flat-roofed and white washed houses. By the harbour are several houses built in European style but the general aspect of the city is oriental. Many of the streets are arcaded the *suks* or markets are the scene of much animation. A few small manufactures of carpets and silks as well as "Cordova leather" are carried on, but Tripoli is essentially a trading town, being the chief Mediterranean gateway to the Sahara. The population, about 60,000 is very mixed—Berber, Arab, Turk, Jew, Maltese, Italian and Negro. The Maltese inhabitants number 4,000, the Jews 8,000, and the Italians 1,000. The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Jews and Maltese, only the shipping in the port is to a large extent Italian.

The trade of the country consists chiefly in the export of esparto, barley, eggs, cattle, sponges, mats and henna, all articles of local production, and from Central Africa, ivory, ostrich feathers, tanned goat-skins and a little gold dust. The cattle go mainly to Malta, the esparto, barley, eggs and ivory mostly to England, the feathers to Paris and London and the skins to New York. The henna and mats are sent to Turkey, Tunis and Malta. Tripoli imports chiefly food-stuffs (flour, rice, sugar, tea), cotton goods, tobacco, metals and hardware. About two-thirds of the import are from Great Britain. There is an active contraband trade with Greece and Malta in firearms and gunpowder.

Up to very recently both civil and military authority was exercised by the Vali, or Governor-General, appointed by the Sultan of Turkey. But owing to the serious developments of the political situation of which the Italian war of aggression is the outcome, the civil and military functions were separated only a month ago, and a military Commander-in-Chief was appointed. The system of Government, executive and judicial, resembles that of other Turkish provinces, but with some modifications in the direction of local autonomy. Bengazi or Barca is a separate sub-province with an administration responsible direct to Constantinople. Revenue is derived chiefly from customs, tithes, and a poll-tax called *vergi*. Owing to expenditure on the army, some 10,000 Turkish troops being stationed in the regency, the receipts from revenue are generally below the cost of administration. The receipts in the period 1900-1903 averaged about £150,000 a year and expenditure £170,000, of which amount some £100,000 was on military requirements.

The early history of Cyrenaica and Tripoli is distinct though similar. Cyrenaica was first colonised by Greeks, afterwards it fell under the sway of the Ptolemies and from them passed to the Romans. Tripoli, on the other hand, was originally a Phœnician colony. Later it was dependent on Carthage and followed its

fortunes. From the Romans the province received its present name. In the 5th century both Tripoli and Cyrenaica were conquered by the Vandals, whose power was destroyed by the Byzantine general Belisarius in the following century. In the middle of the 7th century the whole country was overrun by the Arabs, and Christianity gave place to Islam. From this period, for many centuries, Tripoli was subject to the successive rulers of Tunisia. In 1321 the Beni Ammar established an independent dynasty, which lasted with an interval until 1401 when Tripoli was reconquered by the Tunisians. In 1510 Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain took Tripoli, and in 1528 it was given to the knights of St. John, who were expelled in 1553 by the Turkish corsairs Dragut and Sinan. After the death of Dragut the connection between Tripoli and Constantinople became weakened, and the Tripolitan pirates soon became the terror and scourge of the Mediterranean; half the states of Europe seemed at one time or other to have sent their fleets to bombard the capital. In 1714 Ahmed Pasha Caramanli achieved practical independence and he and his descendants governed Tripoli as a regency, the claims of the Porte being recognised by the payment of the tribute. In the early part of the 19th century the regency was twice involved in war with the United States. In May 1801 the Pasha demanded from America an increase in the tribute (\$83,000) which the Government of that country had paid since 1796 for the protection of their commerce from piracy. The demand being rejected, a war began which dragged on for four years, the Americans in 1803 losing a frigate, the commander and the whole crew being made prisoners. Soon afterwards peace was concluded, the reigning pasha receiving about £12,000 as ransom for the prisoners. In 1835 the Turks reasserted their direct authority, and since that date Tripoli has been an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. After the occupation of Tunisia by the French (1881) the Turks increased their garrison in Tripoli considerably.

The *khonan* (ikhwan) or semi-religious semi-political Moslem fraternities are powerful in Tripoli. The most remarkable is that of the Senussites. They count millions in numbers and the adherents of the sect are scattered all over North and Central Africa. Their centre, however, is in Tripoli. They are the most powerful body of religious men in Africa, well armed and organised and implicitly follow the lead of their spiritual master. The Sheikh of the Senussites was, only a few days ago, in Constantinople.

The Strength of the Combatants.

THE comparative military and naval strength of Italy and Turkey may be judged from the following figures:—The Turkish regular army or "Nizam" numbers 260,000 with 120,000 as a reserve. The auxiliary forces number 620,000, the total thus being about one million men. The Turkish army is, of necessity, spread over the Ottoman Empire, Albania and the Yemen still requiring military attention. Italy professes to have a total force, regulars and auxiliaries, of 3,330,000 men, but of these less than 50,000 are with the colours, and many of the auxiliaries are practically untrained. The Italian navy consists of ten battleships, of which the *Dante Alighieri* is a Dreadnought of 18,300 tons displacement, nine armoured cruisers, and 14 protected cruisers besides smaller craft. Three larger Dreadnoughts are in course of construction. The Turkish Navy consists of four armoured ships of which the two largest (9,900 tons displacement each) were recently bought from Germany and were both launched in 1891; and of seven cruisers, all of which are small and none of which was launched subsequent to 1906. In smaller craft also Turkey is very much inferior to Italy.

Press Opinion.

The "Statesman."

I. WITHIN a few hours from the arrival of the ultimatum which the Italian Government thought fit to send to the Porte an Italian cruiser attacked and sank a Turkish destroyer in the harbour of Prevesa, and a telegram received by the Greek Premier stated that Italian cruisers had pursued and fired at two Turkish transports with troops on board. The transports saved themselves by running ashore near Prevesa. It appears, moreover, that the Italian cruiser which sank the Turkish destroyer landed troops at Prevesa. Prevesa is a decaying port at the entrance to the Gulf of Arta, on the west coast of European Turkey, so that Italy has not been long in violating her pledge that she would engage in no aggression in the Turkish dominions in Europe. Her proceedings in Tripoli were of a piece with these unprovoked hostilities against a friendly Power. Without a shadow of a justification she has landed troops in the Turkish colony and has demanded the surrender of the forts, presumably some old forts which were erected for the defence of the harbour of the town of Tripoli. These ancient structures could scarcely offer any resistance to modern guns, but the Turkish commandant is reported to have refused to comply with the demand for a sur-

render, and presumably the Italians will proceed to bloodshed and destruction. There is even a possibility that, profiting by the short notice which was given of the outbreak of hostilities, Italy may be able to attack at a disadvantage the Turkish fleet which is on its way from Beirut to the Dardanelles. So far, in short, the Italians have had everything their own way, as is usually the case when a Power, having resolved upon unscrupulous aggression, secretly prepares beforehand for war against another Power which has made no preparations. Even without framing a policy of this kind, Italy was almost assured of getting the upper hand in a naval war with Turkey. The Ottoman navy is inconsiderable. Four old battleships built as far back as 1870 and earlier, with small guns and a speed of 13 knots, may be dismissed as useless. The *Messoudiyeh*, launched in 1874, armed with two 9½ inch and twelve 6-inch guns, and having a speed of 16 knots, may yet be serviceable, but the Turks must rely mainly upon two battleships which were once in the German navy and one battleship constructed in 1910. In the same year two Dreadnoughts were ordered, but their completion has not been reported. The effective strength is thus only three battleships, whereas Italy has eight modern battleships and three old ones. The Turks are at a still greater inequality in regard to cruisers. They have only three as against 27 possessed by Italy. It is true that the Ottoman navy has for two years past been undergoing reorganisation under two British Admirals and a staff of British officers. Reorganisation cannot, however, compensate for the lack of numerical strength, and it is to be feared that the Turks have very little prospect of being able to challenge successfully Italy's naval superiority. As in this contest sea power must be the dominating factor Turkey is virtually helpless against the act of aggression of which Italy has been guilty. Without an adequate fleet to protect her transports, Turkey cannot send troops to Tripoli or engage in reprisals by landing an invading force on the Italian coast. The military strength of the Porte which might otherwise have been a formidable factor thus goes for nothing in the present conflict. Nevertheless we cannot believe that the Turkish Government will submit meekly to unprincipled spoliation. It is doubtful indeed whether the new Constitution will survive unless action of some kind is taken. The Turkish Army is not likely to surrender a surrender which is dishonourable to the Turkish people and to Islam itself. Precisely what form of retaliation will be adopted cannot be predicted, but, despite the disclaimer of the Ottoman Embassy in London, Mr. Lucien Wolf's anticipation that the Turkish Government will by the occupation of Thessaly or some other bold move force the intervention of Europe seems not improbable. Such a proceeding ought, however, to be necessary. The whole of the European press has denounced the occupation of Tripoli as a selfish and cynical act of piracy. This must be the feeling of the civilised world. It is incredible that the Powers of Europe will allow an outrageous piece of plunder merely because the naval strength of Turkey happens to be inferior to that of Italy. International morality forbids the recognition of the brutal doctrine that might is right, and mere prudence points to the danger of acquiescing in the theory that any Power in Europe is at liberty to filch its neighbour's property if it can. Moreover there lies in the background the Pan-Islamic menace. Islam was never more conscious of its unity than it is at the present day, and a flagrant wrong, inflicted on a Muhammadan Power by a Christian Power with the tacit assent of the Governments of Europe is calculated to stir angry passions throughout the Muhammadan community. We can see no excuse for the apathy which courts the resentment of Muhammadans all the world over. The notion that Italy is to be left in peace because she will not yield seems not only ignoble but reactionary in the last degree. What is the value, of Hague Conferences, treaties of arbitration, and efforts to limit the growth of armaments if any Power which has chosen to turn pirate is permitted to roam the seas unchecked? As a preliminary measure a Conference of the Powers ought to be summoned to consider the situation and to put pressure upon Italy to disgorge. If in this way or by some other means Italy is not induced to return to honest courses there seems to be little hope of peace or disarmament in Europe. Successful piracy makes a laughing stock of international law and blasts all the hopes which rested upon the recognition of moral principles in the relations of the Powers.

II. Though the conflict provoked by the aggression of the Italian Government threatens to cause no small inconvenience to trade and shipping the Powers of Europe appear to be as little disturbed by that prospect as by the land-grabbing which has led to the outbreak of hostilities. It is a sorry reflection upon European morality that Turkey alone is following a fair and reasonable policy, aimed at the maintenance of peace. Instead of hastening to violent courses, the Turkish Government have appealed once more for the intervention of the Powers and have resolved, pending the receipt of a reply, to suspend the measures which they would be entitled to adopt in consequence of the declaration of war by Italy. The Sultan has supplemented the appeal of his Government by sending a personal message to the King of England and to the German Emperor. The King-Emperor is, of course, bound to act according to the advice of the

Ministers, and his answer has been an expression of his regret that he is unable to intervene. The German Emperor replies at greater length. The situation has given him an excellent opportunity of posing as the friend of both the combatants, and so skilfully has the occasion been utilised that he will probably be acclaimed by both as a real sympathiser. It will be seen that in Rome, where patriotic fervour drove large crowds to march in procession through the streets, the enthusiasts halted in front of the German Embassy, where "cheers were raised for the friendly ally of Italy." Doubtless a similar scene will be observed presently in Constantinople, for the Kaiser has been at great pains to explain how strenuously he has laboured to induce Italy to adopt a more reasonable attitude. He claims in fact that he has done his utmost, but that "the isolated action of Germany, unsupported by other Powers, has been without effect." The natural result will be that Germany will be hailed as the friend of Turkey as well as of Italy and the other Powers will be looked upon as responsible for the cool and immoral plunder of which Italy has been guilty. Sir Edward Grey can scarcely be complimented upon a diplomacy which has produced this impression. Mischief enough has already been done by the false move and the indifference which have permitted the growth of German influence at Constantinople. The outcome of the present apathy may prove to be still more unfavourable, for the action of Italy has roused the indignation of the Muhammadans of the world, and we cannot imagine a less desirable proceeding than one calculated to show the Muhammadans of India that England is prepared to look on unmoved while a friendly Muhammadan Power is being robbed without excuse. Well may the Sultan say—"I am a great reader of history, but I have never encountered a worse case of violation of rights than has been committed by Italy." This is a just and accurate description of what has occurred, and to every Indian Muhammadan it will appear strange that England should acquiesce in such an outrage upon the moral code of nations. In the circumstances the least that Sir Edward Grey can do is to offer some explanation of his refusal to interfere. The fact that Germany has sought to secure the intervention of the Powers is a sufficient proof that the proposal was not wild and impracticable. The German Foreign Office is not given to idealism, and the German Government understand as well as any Government in Europe the art of appropriating the territory of others and the considerations by which its practice may be justified. If, therefore, Germany thought that there was a case for intervention we may be sure that it rested on good and substantial reasons. As a statesman who desires the peace of Europe and the substitution of pacific means for war, Sir Edward Grey should let the English people know why in this instance he has preferred war to peace. Everyone recognises that the probability is that Tripoli has been neglected and misgoverned for centuries. But everyone is also aware that we have now to deal with a reformed Porte and that it is too early to expect the new Turkish Government to put every portion of the Sultan's dominions in order. Are we to understand that Sir Edward Grey refuses to make any allowance for the difficulties of the new Turkey and that he is prepared to support any Power which, relying on the naval weakness of the Porte, seizes its territories overseas? Does the Foreign Secretary in fact regard Italy as having done right or, while condemning the behaviour of Italy, does he shrink from action? If he vindicates the conduct of Italy, it is hard to see why he should take exception to the occupation of Agadir. Agadir is a trifle when set against Tripoli. Further, if he was ready to go to war with Germany over Agadir, why does he refuse all intervention when the booty of the pirate consists not of a solitary port but of a whole province? It is a pity that Parliament is not sitting, so that Sir Edward Grey might be pressed for some exposition of the reasons by which he was guided in arriving at two wholly incongruous policies. Meanwhile the absurd and wanton conflict provoked by Italy has already endangered commerce in the Mediterranean and between England and the East. The belligerents are within their rights in extinguishing the lamps of the lighthouses. Italy is entitled to close the harbour of Brindisi after dark. But these precautions necessarily interfere with the speed, if not with the safety, of navigation, so that England and India must suffer to assist Italy in wrong-doing. On this ground alone war should have been averted. Hostilities are now too troublesome to neutrals to be lightly sanctioned. But this is a small matter in comparison with other risks which are incurred. Turkey cannot afford to pocket the affront offered by Italy. Unless something is done the new régime will be imperilled, and in self-defence the Turkish Government are bound to strike the imagination of the people by some bold move.

The "Empire."

THE blaze which an irresponsible Government kindled on Friday in the Mediterranean littoral has speedily attained the proportions of a conflagration that will apparently require serious efforts to extinguish. It is fully clear that Italy's ultimatum to Turkey was not meant to give the "sick man of Europe" an opportunity of even considering her legitimate demands much less of negotiating upon

them. A pistol was held at Turkey's head and in spite of the Porte's placatory utterances the Quirinal, upon the expiry of the few hours it had allotted, promptly let loose its navy upon the Turkish possessions both in Africa and Europe. Already Italy has shown that her professions of maintaining the peace in Europe were mere empty words. She has not only attacked and sunk Turkish vessels in Turkish European waters, but has also landed troops on the Turkish coast, which appears to indicate the inclusion of an invasion of Turkey in Europe in her plan of campaign. Some 36,000 troops will be ready to sail to-morrow. On Friday it appeared that the army which was being mobilised was intended for service in Tripoli, but the seizure of Preveza and the landing of troops suggest that even more formidable aggression is contemplated. If such be the case Italy is making a serious mistake in military policy. In Tripoli she would, it is admitted, have had matters all her own way. The Turkish forces which garrison that colony consist only of one independent division of at the most four regiments of infantry, twelve batteries, and a regiment of cavalry, a combination too small to secure any successes against an army of 36,000. But in Turkey in Europe a very different result may be forecasted. The troops in Turkey in Europe consist, under the reorganisation now taking place, of nine army corps of over thirty divisions, which are garrisoned in Constantinople, Thrace, Macedonia and Armenia. The majority of the battalions are massed on the frontiers. Troops are already being moved to resist the invasion and it may not be long before Italy learns that she has not improved her position by a rash movement upon a country which will be ably defended.

Unfortunately Turkey appears to be in a disheartened condition already. At the first blow the Cabinet resigned and the attempts to form another Government have failed. The Sultan can find nothing better to say in reply to a deputation asking for the convocation of the Chamber than to revile his ministers for the neglect of Tripoli, which is crying over spilt milk, and to condemn Italy's violation of Turkey's rights. The only encouraging feature is the patriotic proclamation of the Committee of Union and Progress at Salonika. The Powers, to whom Turkey has made a third appeal so far, remain strangely quiet. The Turkish trust in at last inducing the Powers to take action is almost pathetic, but it appears that if they will not come to her aid voluntarily the means of forcing their hands by a movement upon Greece is being seriously contemplated. An official announcement issued in Constantinople that the Grecian Army was mobilising has been denied in Athens but the rumour serves to show the trend of Turkish thought. Meanwhile the concentration at Malta of a large British force has doubtless been arranged with a view to securing the safe passage of British shipping through waters that are now filled with the navies of the contending powers.

The "Pioneer."

IT WILL be some time in all probability before we are in a position to gain a perfectly just appreciation of all the events that have led up to the Italo-Turkish war. As matters are it is only too easy to lay undue stress upon particular incidents of the story as revealed to us in isolated scraps of intelligence. Before we indulge in hasty generalisations it would be as well to be sure of the facts and to be sure too that the deductions we draw may be fairly drawn not from some of those facts but from all of them. All that we really know at present is that Italy has long entertained ambitions in regard to Tripoli, that the list of Italo-Turkish incidents during the last two years is, as the *Times* Constantinople correspondent has remarked, a "long" one; that Italian Ministerial assurances have not sufficed to satisfy the demands of the "forward" party, that, as the present mail papers show, a vigorous Tripoli campaign had been started in the Italian papers as early as the beginning of September, and that this campaign had caused considerable uneasiness in Constantinople and had already provoked (according to the *Fenn Gazette*) a boycott of Italian goods at Tripolitan ports. What actually happened in the interval we are unable to say. Nor have we been afforded as yet any very clear idea of what went before. It may be that the Italian Government had real apprehensions for the safety of its subjects in Tripoli, it may be that they had long made up their minds as to the policy they were to pursue and were more than eager to listen to the arguments of those who urged them to strike while Turkey was quite unprepared to ward off the blow. The Sultan, it will be seen in his reply to the Turkish deputies, blames Hakkı Pasha and his Cabinet for not looking after the defences of Tripoli, and telegrams in the new mail papers indicate that popular feeling in Constantinople was already strong at the beginning of September against that Cabinet for its friendliness towards Italy. Hakkı Pasha and his colleagues so far bowed to the storm that they announced their decision to strengthen the garrison and fortifications of Tripoli as a "precautionary measure." It is quite possible that the Italian Government may have come to the conclusion that they could not afford to wait till the Tripoli garrison had been strengthened and that they deliberately set about to take advantage of the first pretext that came to hand for issuing an ultimatum. But while we may admit that the facts as they are slowly emerging do not seem to justify Italy's action in the matter

there are obviously a good many gaps in our knowledge that ought to be filled before we seek to arrive at a definite pronouncement as to her guilt. Perhaps the most curious feature in her case is that her intimate friends and allies can find nothing at all to defend in her conduct. She is merely the wayward child of the Triple Alliance who will have her own way despite the earnest entreaties of those who love her best.

We have since the outbreak of the war had a good deal of adverse comment on Italian action from the English, German and Austrian Press, but the one paper, in London at all events, that scented any danger in the Italian Press campaign that preceded the ultimatum to Turkey was the *Daily Graphic*, the same enterprising journal that has lately been calling for explanations from Sir Edward Grey. In an article published on the 9th September that paper denounced the claims put forward by the Italian Press as "preposterous" declared "We trust there is no truth in the allegation, published by certain Italian newspapers, that the British Government is countenancing a scheme by which the Cabinet of Rome proposes to seek 'compensation' for the extension of French influence in Morocco by a thinly disguised seizure of Tripoli." In light of what has happened since, the *Daily Graphic* might be excused for regarding itself as a wonderful prophet. And little wonder, too, that when it had published beforehand this story of an Anglo-Italian understanding the *Daily Graphic* should seek for explanations from Sir Edward Grey. The story might at first sight appear to explain at least two remarkable features in the situation - the bold confidence of Italy in issuing her ultimatum and her refusal to be guided by her friendly allies. The Kaiser, it may be observed, in his extremely friendly message to the Sultan referred to by Reuter to-day, speaks of the "isolated action of Germany, unsupported by other Powers," in attempting to bring about a cessation of the war. Can it be that Italy all along has had the support of the British Government behind it? And if that is the case, what is the justification for the British Government's attitude? With the Radical record of the past to look back on, it is natural that some suspicions should be entertained of the fairness of the present Government's policy towards Turkey. The facts, however, as we know them can easily bear another and simpler interpretation. Because Britain has refused to intervene in the struggle and put pressure on Italy it does not necessarily follow that the British Government was completely cognisant beforehand or approved of Italy's designs. What it is possible for the allies of Italy to do in the way of friendly mediation is not possible in the case of a Power outside that Alliance. Any attempt made by Great Britain to act as peacemaker in the squabble might have been regarded in Rome as an unfriendly act, and even sympathy for Turkey should not make us forget that Italy in the past has been our very good friend. The Kaiser, of course, is making as much capital as he can out of Germany's efforts to intervene in the struggle, while Italian crowds are cheering their great ally, His Majesty endeavours to persuade the Sultan that Germany is Turkey's only friend. He will do his best, says Kaiser Wilhelm, but he fears that that best will not amount to much. This is all very interesting, but meanwhile, in view of Muhammadan feeling in this country, we would all like to hear a little from Sir Edward Grey.

The "Englishman."

WE SUGGESTED after the second of the appeals made by Turkey to the Powers to put a stop to the aggression of Italy that pleading and entreaty were very foreign to the warlike genius of the Ottoman. It is true that it has always been the policy of the Turks to play one Power off against another rather than to rely upon a vigorous foreign policy of their own, but once war really threatened Turkey has never hesitated to take up arms. In the present instance the Italian demand for Tripoli has been followed by definite acts of war, and yet we find that Turkey instead of showing a proper resentment has issued a third appeal to the Powers and is taking the most extraordinary measures to quiet any warlike feeling amongst her populations. One possible explanation of facts so surprising is that the Committee of Union and Progress, which after all governs Turkey, is anxious to gain time. The appeals to the Powers may be a mere blind to cover the preparations for a severe blow somewhere, which even if it does not directly hurt Italy, will have the effect of causing the Powers to interfere. The suggestion that such a blow may be struck at Greece is by no means wild. Italy with her strong fleet is secure, and unless she takes the step of landing troops elsewhere than in Tripoli it is impossible to strike her. The only course for Turkey is to make such use of her position as will make the European Powers sorry that they have given Italy a free hand. In a small way Turkey, by putting out the lights in the Red Sea, has already brought home to Britain one of the dangers of permitting the war to continue. These lights were put up about eight years ago as a result of earnest representations from the Board of Trade supported by the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal and Bombay. The British Government was prepared to put up the lights themselves, but as the islands and headlands on which they were required were Turkish property the Porte finally undertook the duty. Now the Red Sea will again become dangerous for shipping. The

Turkish excuse, of course, is that the Italians have the small colony of Eritrea on the Somali coast, but British and German traffic will suffer more than the Italian. But as indicated above, it is with respect to Greece that Turkey has an opportunity. It is significant that it should be officially announced in Constantinople that Greece is mobilising. The story is denied at Athens, and one must look for a reason why it should have been circulated in Constantinople.

But the strongest card in the possession of Turkey is Islamic sentiment. In spite of the bitter animosities of various religious sects there is a feeling of nationalism amongst all Muhammadans in every part of the world, and before the magic phrase of "Sub Islam haiblah" the differences between Shi'as and Sunnis melt away. There are reasons, of course, why Indian Muhammadans, for instance, should not look with very much favour on the Committee of Union and Progress, which dethroned Abdul Hamid, but that little act of desecration may very easily be forgotten in the present excitement, and the present Turkish Government only remembered as the Protector of the Holy Places and, therefore, entitled to the veneration of all Islam. The moral support, possibly supplemented by gifts of money, of the Indian Muhammadans would be very valuable to the Turks. But in Africa itself Turkey can look for more than moral support. A little fact that has escaped general attention is that the Senussi is at the present moment in Constantinople. This extraordinary man, who has his headquarters in the hinterland of Tripoli, has formed a militant sect, the adherents of which, numbering hundreds of thousands, are scattered through the whole breadth of Northern Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic. The French have always seen in the Senussi a menace to their colonies in Tunis and Algeria, and lower down, and there are residents in Egypt who are not without uneasiness. The Italians, therefore, although the Turks may not be able to oppose their landing in Tripoli, may find the hordes of the Senussi upon them within a few months, and a certainly is the Turkish policy to encourage a Senussi advance to the coast.

The "Madras Mail."

IT HAS BEEN officially announced in Rome that a state of war now exists between Italy and Turkey and the blockade of Tripoli is to be notified to the Powers at once. Italian Colonial ambition, which at the present moment is being demonstrated in such an aggressive manner, has not in the past been attended by any conspicuous good fortune. In the more recent past, that is, for it cannot be forgotten that, in the Middle Ages, Venice built up a Colonial Empire, insignificant compared with the Colonial Empires of to-day, but in its own time of an astonishing grandeur. Nor is it only the recollection of past exploits that directs Italians in the way of Colonial enterprise. Italy has a large and poor population. Year by year emigrant leave Italy for the United States, for Brazil, for the Argentine, and so on, in very large numbers, and the Italians, like the Germans, feel a certain natural dislike that their fellow countrymen should merely assist greatness of other countries and do nothing to extend the political power of their own. This reflection receives fresh point by the fact that this process is going on, not only in remote countries like the Republic of South America, but at the very doors of Italy. Italians swarm in the French possessions of Northern Africa. Tunis belongs to the French, but Italians constitute the bulk of the European inhabitants. In Algeria it was estimated a few years ago that Italians, naturalised and unnaturalised, form 50 per cent. of the European population.

It is under these circumstances that Colonial ambition has sprung up in Italian breasts, but, as soon as they began to look round for Colonial possessions, the Italians found the unoccupied places very few indeed. They have, indeed, succeeded in occupying Erythrea on the Red Sea and a large slice of Somaliland. But these are expensive rather than profitable expansions. Erythrea, for example, requires contributions from the Italian Treasury amounting to more than double the Colonial revenues, and of the total revenue thus formed more than half is spent upon the troops stationed there. Massowah, the chief port, is the natural outlet of Abyssinia, and if Italian policy in that part of the world had been more conciliatory and less acquisitive, Erythrea would probably have benefited considerably. A certain hostility in Abyssinia was to be expected when Italy occupied Massowah and cut Abyssinia off from the coast. And the Abyssinians, it will be remembered, were scarcely conciliated by Italian statesmen. Instead of attempting to overcome Abyssinian suspicions, they began to form plans for the entire conquest of the country. There were wars, and the Italians cannot yet have forgotten the disaster at Adowah, with which their ambitions came to an unexpected end.

But the conquest of Abyssinia was only the first step in a great Colonial programme which was never, so far as we remember, actually acknowledged by Italian Ministers, but which was assuredly in their minds. Italian influence was to be further and further carried westwards across the African continent, and at the same time the break-up of the Turkish Empire, an event which seemed much nearer in the eighties and nineties than it does to-day, was to give them Tripoli, from which they would stretch southward to meet their other zone of influence somewhere near Lake Chad. This somewhat ambitious plan never got far. The violent Italian

policy in Erythra leading to the defeat of the Italians, there was in reality a fatal blow. Another was the Anglo-French Agreement of 1899, which made the French and English zones continuous and left no gap through which the Italians could penetrate northward. Thus, in consequence of these two events, the Italians have been restricted to a narrow strip on the Red Sea, in which the coast lands are unhealthy and the few strips of plateau that their territory includes are sterile. They are building a little railway which is to connect Massowah with Asmara, the seat of Government. The commence of the Colony is trivial. The foreign trade of Abyssinia which passes through Massowah is stated to be less than £500,000, and that is not likely to grow until Abyssinia has been developed, which, again, is improbable until the old faults of Italian policy have been entirely forgotten.

While the Colony of Erythra is thus slumbering in neglect, having entirely failed to accomplish what was expected of it, the thoughts of Italian statesmen have turned more and more to the acquisition of Tripoli. In itself it does not seem very attractive, its products are few and scanty, but what it lacks in wealth it makes up for in position. It would doubtless offer a most convenient Colony for Italy, and Fezzan might offer possibilities of development. It appears that Italy disappointed in Erythra and tired of waiting for the dismemberment of Turkey, is taking advantage of the present situation to repeat the policy of violence she has already practised towards Abyssinia. If there is no intervention, she probably has a better chance of success in her later theatre of activity. It is quite obvious that, with her fleet commanding the approaches to Tripoli, Turkish reinforcements either would never reach their destination or could easily be starved out, and it is not unlikely that Italy has reckoned that the European situation is too complicated to admit of serious intervention. Whether she is right or not remains to be seen, but, in any case, her policy is not admirable, and the observer may well wonder if she has acted wisely in hampering her economic progress with the large Army and expensive Fleet she maintains. She is probably over-influenced by the memories of the past. The successors of the Romans should not play a mediocre or an insignificant part in European politics, her vanity has said. She has, therefore, strained every nerve to imitate the powerful armaments which older and far wealthier States than she cannot support with ease, and by so doing she has done much to prevent the growth of that wealth which is essential to international greatness. A very well-informed observer has said that she would have done far better to confine herself to a more purely economic activity.

Had her Fleet and Army been modest, she would not have been a member of the Triple Alliance; but, on the other hand, she would easily have been able to contract Alliances which would have amply protected her from the only Power from which she is in the least danger of attack. It is true that she would not then have carried any weight in the council of the nation; but it may well be questioned what advantage she has gained from her military activity. She is too poor to be really effective, and by maintaining large forces she has taken the most certain course to prevent herself from becoming rich. Even now, should her Colonial dreams be realised, she will find the greatest difficulty in supplying the capital needed for the development of the country, and the chances are that the success of her present scheme will merely lead to an additional heavy charge upon an already overburdened Treasury. So that considerations of political reality apart, it is not clear that success in her present policy will bring any particularly solid advantages with it. From a wider point of view, her action is to be deprecated as likely to arouse Muhammadan ill-will throughout the East and perhaps to kindle a conflagration in the Near East. —The *Madras Mail*, Saturday Evening, 30th September 1911.

Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina satisfied most of us that ethical considerations are of no account in statecraft, but Italy's action in regard to Tripoli surpasses even that classic example of international brigandage. Not a shadow of excuse has yet been put forward by Italy to justify the war she has sprung so suddenly on the Turkish Empire. It is a piece of political opportunism, dictated solely by material considerations, and throwing all codes of international morality to the winds. Nor can we acquit the other European Powers of a large share of responsibility. Italy has embarked on this business. If not with their approval, at all events without exciting their active opposition. Turkey, it would seem, stands alone. Her appeals to the Powers have not been responded to because none of them have any interest in sustaining her integrity. Russia probably regards Italy's action with entire unconcern. Why should she help to keep together the Empire from whose break-up she once hoped to profit? Austria-Hungary has other, but equally powerful, motives for non-intervention. Italy is merely following her own example, and, apart from that, when Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, she gave a specific assurance not to stand in the way if Italy desired compensation elsewhere. France has already by treaty accorded Italy a certain measure of freedom in Tripoli, and Germany's interests pull her in two different directions. As a professed friend of Turkey she cannot openly countenance Italy's action. On the other hand, she probably regards with secret gratification a piece of piracy which counterbalances French predominance in Morocco. There remains only Great Britain to whom Turkey could look for protection and apparently Britain has also failed her. Turkey,

therefore, stands alone, and being in that position she is practically helpless. Her navy is still under construction—Italy took care not to wait for its completion—and without a navy to guard the transports the despatch of military forces to Tripoli is next to impossible. Italy, it will be seen, has from the naval and military standpoint every likelihood of achieving her object. Only the intervention of the Powers can stop the piracy; and apparently the Powers have much or as little regard for international morality as Italy herself.

The "Bengalee."

WE HAD hoped that the intervention of the European Powers would stop the further progress of those hostilities, the end of which no man can foresee. But the expected intervention has not come. The Sultan has again and again appealed to the European Powers to use their good offices; but, so far, all in vain. King George has replied to a telegraphic communication from the Sultan, expressing his inability to intervene. The German Emperor, in reply to a similar message, expressed real friendship and veneration for the Sultan, and declared that he had already instructed the German Ambassador to make an effort to intervene, but that the isolated action of Germany, unsupported by other Powers, had been without effect. However, in deference to His Majesty's wishes, the Emperor would, if circumstances permitted, make another proposal for mediation, and submit a similar suggestion to other Powers. The German Ambassador has explained to the Grand Vizier that it is most unlikely that the German Emperor's action will have any result. So there is to be no intervention on the part of the great European Powers, at least for the present, and Turkey and Italy are to be left to settle their differences by the arbitrament of the sword. The moderation and self-restraint of Turkey, the eager solicitude of the Sultan to prevent blood-shed by peaceful settlement, constitute the most pleasant features of this disagreeable controversy. Here we have the spectacle of a great Christian Power trampling under foot all laws, human and divine, and setting at defiance the opinion of the civilized world, in the eager greed for conquest. On the other hand, we have an Oriental nation full of the martial spirit and with great traditions of conquest, deliberately using all its influence in favour of peace and appealing to the Powers for a peaceful settlement. The contrast is striking. It demonstrates that the possession of those qualities which form the richest heritage of a nation is not the monopoly of the West, but under favourable environments is the common legacy of the race. It has been said that Turkey is not ready for the fight, and that these are all diplomatic manoeuvres resorted to with a view to gain time to make the necessary preparations. That may or may not be so. We have no right to put a sinister interpretation on the conduct of a great nation, which, though full of the martial spirit, is slow to resent an injury and which hesitates to embark upon a war which may prove the signal for a general conflagration. Having done what lay in her power to prevent hostilities, Turkey would be justified in all measures that she may think fit to take for the integrity of her Empire and the vindication of her honour. There is no disposition on the part of the leaders of the Turkish nation to tamely submit to the spoliation of Turkish territory. The Committee of Union and Progress played a prominent part in the revolution which has given Turkey her constitution. They have shown unique determination in the present crisis. They have issued a proclamation declaring that the nation prefers honour to life and that it will employ every means against the enemy. Italians will be expelled from the schools, and Italian businesses closed. The proclamation begs the population to remain tranquil, and to leave the Government to apply the measures necessary, calmly demonstrating that the Ottomans are more civilized and more equitable than the Italians. In the meantime the Muhammadan feeling is rising. We cannot help the conviction that the war will deepen the Pan-Islamic sentiment which is beginning to make itself felt all over the world. The whole of Islam is watching the progress of events, and Asia and the Orient are also interested spectators. The Persians in Calcutta have held an influential meeting and they have addressed a telegram to the Government of India in which they express their alarm at the threatened dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and pray for the good offices of England to prevent the progress of conflict in the interest of Islam. England's responsibility in this matter is heavier than that of any other European power. The world remembers how when Greece lay prostrate at the feet of Turkey after the war of 1897, the European Powers interfered to preserve the independence of Greece. Does not justice demand that they should now intervene to prevent the unrighteous spoliation of Turkish territory? That they have refused to do so, has produced a painful impression in the Oriental mind. It has shaken public confidence in international morality and has given rise to the belief that it is the unpreparedness of Turkey, the weakness of her navy that has provoked the attack. The spectacle of a great European nation embarked upon a war of spoliation against an Eastern State, rapidly assimilating the methods of Western Government, and the rest of Europe looking on with quiet unconcern, is saddening and disappointing and is humiliating to the boasted morality and civilization of the 20th century.



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GUP

"AS LARGE a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

—As You Like It.

September 11th

MONOPOLY of good things is the ardent desire of humanity, and who can say that the sun-dried—and hill-moistened—bureaucrat is inhuman? But what Society belle was ever gratified by the mere possession of the latest effort of her milliner unless she could show the creation to her best friend of the female sex who did not possess it and rouse in her the passion of envy? Bureaucrats and belles are not so far apart after all. What could make the possession of Elysium in Simla more valuable to the little tin gods of the Government Pantheon than an invitation to the non-officials to come to the hills just for a dream-while and envy their lot? Incidentally, the short spell of the Simla Session would also accentuate the miseries of the plains

Summer Session, scorned of the gods, this is both the hill birds trill,
Beauties of the plain are plainer when you've walked on Summer Hill.

So, on a bright morning one saw a stream of hurrying rickshaws of the non-officials, running along the Mall and struggling up the steep ascent of Olympus whence Jupiter sends down his thunderbolts to the plains stretching below his feet in submissive subjection. But the number of the representatives of the people was exceedingly small.

They that had fought so well,
Roared there and thundered,
Made the Council Hall a Hell,
Bellowed and blundered.
Came from the dusty plains,
Perched and destitute of reins,
Came through the jaws of Death,
Climbed the hills quite out of breath
Though they'd never numbered
St. Stephen's o'er six hundred,
Still their strength was ten times three;
But of these gallant men and free
There came now but a paltry eight—
For too trains a fitting freight—
Lighter heads a Light Brigade,
But great the desperate charge they
The apes of Jakko wondered,
While hotel-keepers plundered,
When can its glory fade?
The Honourables' Light Brigade,
All that was left of them,
Of thirty—not six hundred.

The hill pony carried the bantam weight of the Sword of Ali sheathed in a tight-fitting frock-coat, while six sturdy hill men, tired and panting, performed the Sisyphean task of dragging upwards that sport of the Laws of Gravity, the sacrosanct and weighty person of Burly Raja. But head and shoulders above the rest rose the person of Longfellow, shaming the pines and dwarfing the deodars in its loftiness. Even the heights of Jakko held their head down in utter mortification at the sight of this Mount Everest (29,002 feet) among mole hills.

In anticipation of the thinned ranks of the opposition the trusty official henchmen did not come from the Provinces, although they were ready on their own Provincial hills to swoop down on the non-officials in the airy aeroplanes of Sandow Second at a moment's notice. For ordinary purposes of occasional skirmishing the Government of India contingent was necessary to overawe, and, if need be, to annihilate the thinned ranks of the non-officials. And then there was the Government of the Punjab on Chhota Olympus which had its representative on the spot to throw in his lot with the *du majores*. The *genius loci* of Ebassam was also deriving considerable pleasure, much guidance and possibly some wisdom from his stay on the Hills, so that the Measurer was also present. All trooped forth into the cool penetralia of the Vi Lounge towed in by A.D.C.'s into the Banqueting Hall which had hitherto resounded only with the oratory of popping corks from gold-wrapped bottles, of merry laughter and whispered nothings. Instead of the sardine tin of Calcutta, here was a grand and spacious hall where the Council would have been lost were it not for the saving grace of sheathed and plumed beauties, the Junos and the Venuses of Olympus who outnumbered the mere man. Greetings were exchanged, hands were shaken, heads nodded graciously, flitting smiles hovered round official lips, and in the midst of all this the double bass of Bootlair Sahab greeted the Burly Raja as "Hullo, rapacious landlord of Calcutta!"

Not-Owen Meredith of the Punjab, and Gordon Not-of-Khartoum of the Public Waste Department were sworn in to vote conscientiously (or otherwise) with the Government. Then Sandow II. laid on the table two statements showing how costly the experiment of sedition had proved and how desirable it was to give it up on account of its prohibitive cost. Thereafter, Madge the Melancholy, the solitary swallow of Summer Hill struck a note of interrogation.

When these preliminaries were over, Bootlair Sahab discoursed sadly, if briefly, on the technique of holy matrimony. Seemed to

be in terrible hurry and intimated to the Council that he would demand the passage of the Bill when the Council met a week later. Truly, a case of "*Chat guari mangni aur jat mera biak*."

MacLagan of the Sag-Sabzi Department brought in the Forest Bill. Wanted Local Governments to carry out certain functions without having to obtain the previous sanction of the Government of India and startled the whole Council by announcing that this was in general accord with the ascertained wishes of Local Governments! What utter self-denial—on the part of Local Governments.

The Strong Man of Bombay rushed through the introduction of two little Bills before he came to the most pressing need of the day, the Airships Bill. Wanted to control "the manufacture, possession, sale, use and import and export of airships" as if airships were being manufactured at a break-neck speed, possessed in abundance by the Man in the Street, sold in every market-place, used in numbers suggestive of a cloud of locusts, imported like whiskey bottles and exported like wheat and pensions. Gaily optimistic about Indian progress, drew a vivid picture of Councillors wending their way to Simla in aeroplanes instead of coming up in a corkscrew railway. Rather hard on a corkscrew, this. Should think the Strong Man when in need of stronger drinks would have willingly bartered an aeroplane for a corkscrew. Simla air often spoken of as vapourized Champagne and what could be a more appropriate preliminary than a corkscrew railway leading to it? Anyway, the picture of a few stalwarts like the Kuar Sahab and Raja Pertap Bahadur Singh lightly winging upwards from the plains and alighting Ariel-wise on the flagstaff tower of the Viceregal Lodge was certainly fascinating and full of possibilities. But for all practical purposes the Airships Bill a mere airy nothing. Castles in the air had often been built, but Sandow II. desirous of rivalling Spanish architects, had now built airships in the air. However, a humble suggestion may be offered. Either some airships should be imported into India, or the new Bill exported to a country that needs it.

The Moslem Dowager introduced the Calcutta Improvement Act Validation Bill. High Court of Calcutta must be extremely grateful to the Executive that instead of deliberately taking action, knowing that the Provincial Legislature had not jurisdiction to take such action, it was left to the Imperial Legislature to clothe the High Court with power to hear appeals of "Panpered Vampires." Generous Executive! Dignified Judiciary! Punctilious Legislature!

September 18th.

A duller day, but better attendance. As if Bombay's strength had not been sufficiently indicated by Sandow II., it sent another Hon. Mr. Headstrong to represent it. When he had been duly sworn in, Bootla Sahab served on the table another course of his answer to the sugar-coated Pandit's interrogatories. Then the Hon. Headstrong, without letting any grass grow under his nimble feet, rose to ask a question about the Gold Standard Reserve and while Sir Guy was busy wading through cash balances and Council bills, Hon. Members snored peacefully or wished there was more gold about the people and less reserve about the Government. Many more dull questions and duller answers until Dig-er-Patty enquired and learnt about the satisfactory progress of Sarah's bridge. Nobody in the Council knew why Sarah wanted such a cumbersome thing as a bridge, and if she was to have one why Rachel and Ruth should not have even a causeway or a culvert. After one or two more railway questions came the question of questions about a High Court at Dacca. Dig-er-Patty's chest heaved tremendously and a sigh of relief escaped from him as wind rushes out of the bellows when Sandow II. informed him that the Government of India had received no proposal to establish a High Court at Dacca. Happy Dig-er-Patty! Litigation, if nothing else, provided an excellent excuse for absentee rule over his East Bengal tenantry and constant presence at Calcutta.

The Hon. Cross-Bencher's innocent question about third class carriages, which could have been answered by Sandow II. in two unilluminating sentences of half a dozen words each, led the Railway Sleeper into the risky paths of authorship. Stood up and

recited the three quarto volumes of his reply in the tone and manner of Polonius. "There are very strong reasons for believing that third class passengers like wagons for travelling." A frank admission this of the convenience and comforts of third class carriages!

After the questions the Council passed four Bills and like all pious people congratulated itself for having done an excellent day's work. Then the Moslem Dowager introduced the Readymoney-Cash-Down-Baronetcy Bill and paid a well-deserved compliment to the Merchant Princes of Bombay. It was not a fitting sequel to the introduction of the Bombay Baronetcy Bill that the Strong Man of Bombay should introduce a Lunacy Bill immediately afterwards. It offered to the economical reporters the irresistible temptation of wiring in an all too brief compass about the introduction of "the Baronetcy and the Lunacy Bill," as if the one was a necessary corollary of the other. When the Lunacy Bill was chaperoned into the Council by Sandow II., he looked knowingly at Sir Guy, who in his turn passed on that knowing look, with a still more omniscient gesture with the thumb, to the non-officials. This was the last of the Bills to be drafted by Mac in his career of 34 years, an appropriate *coup de grace* deservedly commended by Sandow II. Could picture Mac tenderly nursing the last of his legislative babies, the pet child of his old age, a piece of perfect creation to the production of which submissive service under eight Viceroys of various temperaments and nine Law Members of sundry complexions must have contributed largely. And after years of secret toil and loving patience, what a pleasure was his to bear those words of eulogy from a connoisseur of lunacy and to feel that so long as a lunatic breathed the air of this glorious Empire, the name of Mac would be remembered with gratitude and his memory kept green in all lunatic asylums!

The Administrative Orphan introduced a Bill further to be permitted to tinker the Post Office Act. Such was his avidity for "indecent literature" that he wanted a general permit to open newspapers, samples and book packets containing such "literature." Decent people, however, are thankful that letters of the most erotic character still left to them as an inviolable private luxury. Council curious to know why "decency" could never be associated with "literature," while it was enough for matter to be "indecent" to become "literature." Perhaps some questioning Councillor would elicit a reply from the literary critics of Government. Will not Dig-er-Patty try?

Petty Larceny.

(By OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[MOTTO.—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it wherever you find it."—*Rigmarole Veda*.]

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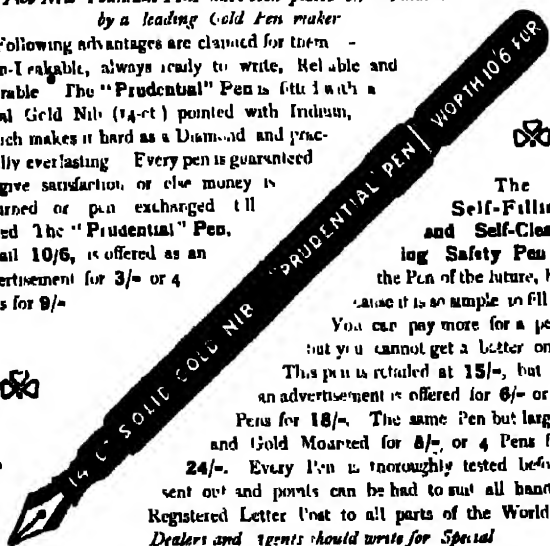
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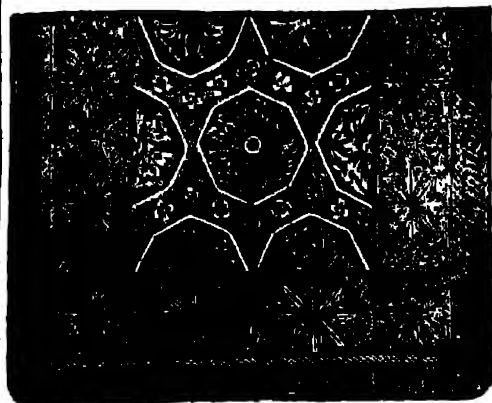
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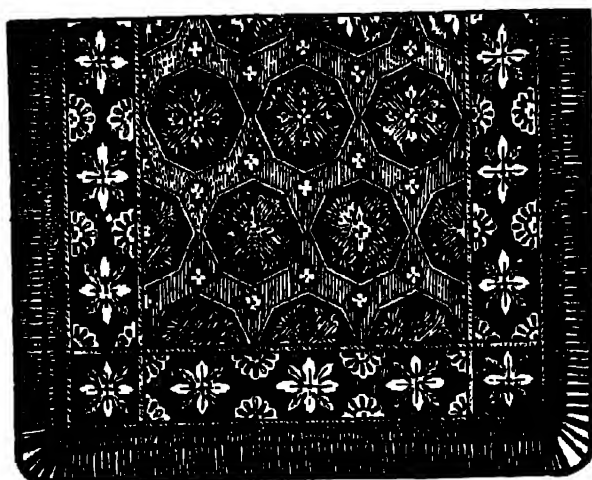
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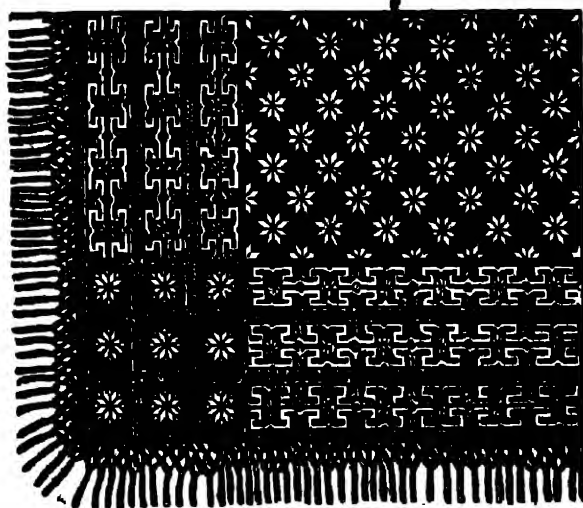
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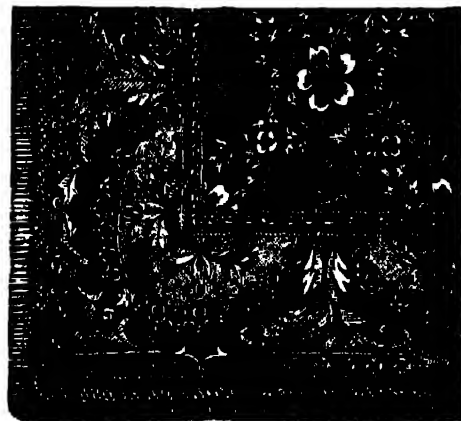
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The Week.

Home Rule.

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, speaking at Belfast, declared that the Government would not flinch from their resolution to pass Home Rule. The Minister added that the rights of the Ulster Protestants would be amply safeguarded. Mr. Balfour speaking at Paddington said the Unionists would maintain the opposition to Home Rule as in 1886. They would see that the United Kingdom was a United Kingdom still. It was for the Unionists to rebuild the new Second Chamber, which must be a strengthened chamber with a representative element. Mr. Balfour declared that Canada's decision must have beneficial results for the Empire and showed how impossible it was to maintain the present fiscal system. He

said the colonies were not believers in Free Trade and that we must meet them by establishing a system of commercial defence which was as necessary as any other defence. The Unionist papers welcome Mr. Balfour's enunciation of policy, particularly the prominence given to Tariff Reform. They describe his constructive policy, embracing also a reformed Second Chamber, multiplication of small landownerships and reform of the Poor Law, as an ambitious programme on which the Unionists may unitedly fight to a successful issue. The more militant element, however, represented by the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Express*, demands insistently that there shall be no more vacillation and weakness. The *Daily Express* is incensed at Mr. Balfour's declaration that the differences of Unionists over the Parliament Bill are a thing of the past, and even declares that the leader of the Unionist party is of less account than the soul and spirit of the party. Mr. Redmond speaking at Swindon said that nobody has asked for a repeal of the Union but merely for a subordinate Parliament similar to the twenty-eight subordinate Parliaments already existing in the Empire, which had everywhere created loyalty, contentment and prosperity. Dealing with the religious question, he said that if French Catholics could be trusted to fight Great Britain's battles, the Irish Catholics could be trusted to fight. The cry of intolerance about the Catholics of Ireland was unjust, dishonest and unintelligent. The Irish Nationalist clergy have collected a sum of £5,000 in Queensland. They were met on their arrival here by an enthusiastic crowd and were welcomed by Mr. Fisher, Premier of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Murray, Premier of Victoria.

The Home Rule campaign is in full swing. Demonstrations against Home Rule were held in Dublin and Glasgow addressed, respectively, by Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith. A demonstration in favour was held at Whitechapel addressed by Mr. Redmond. Sir E. Carson said that the Home Rule of 1886 was a policy of despair. To-day it was a policy of madness. Ulster would not accept it under any conditions, and there would be a rude awakening for those who ridiculed her action. Mr. Redmond at Whitechapel said that the Unionists were hopelessly divided on all else and they thought to reform their disheartened ranks by concentrating on a policy of calumny and hostility to Ireland. He and his colleagues would travel the length and breadth of Great Britain to answer their defamers. It was now a fight between the democracies of Great Britain, Ireland and the Dominions against the forces of privilege and reaction.

Morocco.

THE resumption of the Moroccan conversations is still delayed, presumably as the negotiators are occupied with the Tripoli question. The *Westfaelsche Zeitung* thinks the moment propitious to break

off the negotiations and end the Morocco question by seizing the Sus country, as "the bulk of the British Fleet must be sent to the Mediterranean in view of the Italo-Turkish war." Reuter wires from Paris.—At a Cabinet Council, M. De Selves announced that the Franco-German negotiations were proceeding favourably. It is officially stated in Berlin that the first part of the negotiations concerning the status of Morocco have been concluded and the agreement is ready for initialling. The formal signature will be deferred until the second part, dealing with compensation in the Congo, is concluded.

Reuter wires from Madrid.—The newspapers contain confused accounts of heavy fighting in the Melilla hinterland and of serious Spanish losses. It is further stated that the Minister of War is personally directing the operations. The fighting in the Melilla hinterland was the result of a fresh advance into the interior. It is officially stated that the enemy were routed after a ten hours' battle and that the Spanish losses were considerable. The Spanish movement in Morocco aims at securing certain strategical positions before the winter. The Spaniards claim that the operation has been successful.

Persia.

Reuter wires from Teheran.—On reaching Hamadan after his last defeat, Salar Ed-Dowleh dispersed his remaining troops and left for Europe via Bagdad. He declared that he is returning in the spring. He attributed his defeat to the use of shrapnel, which his followers regarded as miraculous. The Government troops entered Hamadan on the 4th instant within twelve hours of Salar Ed-Dowleh's departure, capturing thirteen guns.

Reuter wires from Teheran.—The Mejlis has sanctioned the appointment of Mr. George New of the Indo-European Telegraph Department as Administrator of Persian Telegraphs.

The *Times* on the 7th instant referring to the despatch of troops to South Persia, understands that the latest reports from Shiraz indicate some improvement in the situation. It is, therefore, possible, the journal says, that the British Government will be relieved of the necessity for the contemplated measures for the protection of the lives and property of Europeans.

Reuter wires from Teheran.—The Mejlis having confiscated the property of Shams Sultaneh, brother of the ex-Shah, Mr. Shuster, American Financial Adviser, sent five Gendarmes to take possession of the property. Two Russian Consulate officers with twelve Cossacks met the Gendarmes however and threatened to fire on them. The Gendarmes withdrew and reported to Mr. Shuster, who then sent one hundred Gendarmes, commanded by an American officer. The Cossacks thereupon retired. The Russian Consul General has lodged a protest against the confiscation, declaring that the property is mortgaged with the Russian Bank.

A Persia Society has been formed to promote sympathy between the Persian and British nations. Lord Lannington will be the President. Lord Curzon will speak at the inaugural dinner on the 15th November.

India Under Lord Curzon.

MR. LOVAT FRASER'S book "India under Lord Curzon and After" was published on the 3rd instant. The *Times* announced a special review by Lord Milner. In the preface to the book Mr. Lovat Fraser states that Lord Curzon is in no sense responsible for the book. He did not suggest nor inspire it nor has he seen a line of it. The author had no access to private documents or correspondence. The book covers the whole range of modern Indian politics and their development from Lord Egin to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. It contains much hitherto unpublished matter, including a remarkable account of the Kabul Mission and an explanation why the spheres of influence in Persia were defined on the present basis and a narrative from Russian official sources of the reasons which led to the unexpected decision to send large reinforcements into the Trans Caspia during the Russo-Japanese War. The book though evidently intended to defend Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty is frankly critical throughout and frequently

disagrees with Lord Curzon's policy and decisions. Sir Francis Younghusband's Lhasa Treaty is rather severely analysed. Lord Kitchener's reforms and the controversy regarding the Military Department are exhaustively discussed. The author says that later knowledge shows that the sincerity of the Home Government's decision cannot be impugned though it is to be deplored. A notable chapter declares that England is bemused with drugs and sham Imperialism and vigorously protests against the widespread belief at home that India is held by bayonets rather than by the merits of British rule. The *Times* on the 3rd instant published a long review of Mr. Lovat Fraser's book by Lord Milner, who describes the book as much more than an account of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, because the author ranges widely and boldly over the whole field of Indian politics. What interests Lord Milner most is Mr. Fraser's picture of the personality and achievements of the great administrator. He strongly emphasises the fact that the book is no indiscriminate eulogy, which greatly increases its value. Lord Milner proceeds to state, at great length, his own views of Lord Curzon based on Mr. Fraser's book. He acknowledges how much he owed in South Africa to Lord Curzon's energy and foresight and declares that but for his prompt despatch of reinforcements the Boer flag would have been flying over Pietermaritzburg and Durban in October 1899. While generously praising Lord Curzon's work in India, Lord Milner says that now Mr. Fraser has made him realise the full extent of his activities. He doubts whether he did not attempt too much. Granted that all his undertakings were necessary and urgent, Lord Milner thinks that they were sometimes pressed forward with too fiery a zeal. Lord Milner continues: "Lord Curzon cannot escape the defects of his qualities. The tendency to over-work and over-laborate is the besetting sin of his ardent temperament, combined with immense intellectual resources. The same defect is visible in his excessive copiousness and over-emphasis in speech and writing." Lord Milner quotes the famous confidential minute on the Partition of Bengal as an example. These minor defects, however, he says, are small by the side of the imposing monument of Lord Curzon's completed work, which will stand long after the friction and hubbub, that accompanied its erection, are forgotten. If the splendour of the first five years' of his Viceroyalty is somewhat dimmed by the bitter controversies marking its close, those controversies are now dead. When ample deductions are made for what may have been ill-judged or only of temporary importance, enough remains to Lord Curzon's credit to place him in the first rank of men who made and maintained the Empire.

Indian Archaeology.

IN a long letter to the *Times* Lord Curzon protests against the proposal of the Government of India to Lord Crewe to abolish the post of Director-General of Archaeology which was revived in 1902, and practically to disperse the department created to supervise the custody of the beautiful Indian monuments of which it is now the guardian. Lord Curzon instances many acts of vandalism under the old provincial system to which it is now proposed to revert in pursuit of the fetish of decentralisation or economy. Lord Curzon cannot believe that the lamentable mistake which is contemplated will be persisted in and he appeals to Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge. Lord Minto, in a letter to the *Times*, fully supports Lord Curzon's protest against the proposed abolition of the post of Director-General of Archaeology. It is impossible, Lord Minto says, to overestimate the magnificent work which Lord Curzon did for India in the constant care of its priceless Archaeological Treasures. While in the appointment of Mr. J. H. Marshall, he discovered a Director-General whose tactful and expert services were beyond praise, a reversion to the provincial system would result either in the neglect of India's ancient monuments or ill-considered and ruinous attempts at so-called restoration. The Government of India could not divest itself of responsibility for matters of Imperial interest, among which India's Archaeological possessions held an exceptional position. The India Society has written to

the Earl of Crewe earnestly urging upon His Lordship the importance of maintaining the Indian Archaeological Department upon its present lines

Sir Edward Baker.

SIR EDWARD NORMAN BAKER is resigning the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal owing to the continued illness of his son. He has intimated his intention of not returning to India on the expiration of his leave. So far as can be ascertained, his successor will not be appointed for some little time, and meanwhile the Hon'ble Mr. Duke will continue in office. Speculation is rife as to his successor and many names are mentioned. Mr. Duke is considered to have a fair chance of this appointment. The Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock of the Central Provinces and the Hon'ble Mr. Butler, the Education Member, are freely mentioned as likely men. Mr. Douie, the late Officiating Lieutenant-Governor in the Punjab, has also been mentioned.

Lord Crewe's Visit.

Now that it is officially announced that the Marquis of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, has been selected to be the Minister in attendance on the King-Emperor during His Majesty's tour in India, the Government will avail themselves of the opportunity of informally conferring with his Lordship at Delhi on the most important questions which are now pending. The points for discussion are now being prepared and formal consultations are being taken in hand.

Afghanistan.

A FRONTIER correspondent states that the Amir held a durbar at Kabul last month at which all his principal officials and "raies" from the neighbouring districts were present. In the course of a speech he announced his intention of making new roads throughout the country and of extending the system of irrigation. He intimated that he would visit Ghazni in the autumn and then proceed as usual to Jellalabad for the winter.

Plague in Mecca.

A few days ago telegrams were received in Bombay from the British Consul at Jeddah informing of the prevalence of plague at Mecca, Medina and Jeddah. In consequence of this Moulvi Abdulla Ahmad, Protector of Pilgrims in Bombay, with the approval of the Commissioner of Police telegraphed the news to the principal cities in India warning intending pilgrims against the risk they run in going to Arabia this year. This, however, seems to have had little effect as the number of pilgrims coming to Bombay en route to Arabia continues to increase and the daily number coming to Bombay now averages from 600 to 700. On account of this influx, the "Musafirkhanas" or pilgrim camps at Boras Road and both the Imambaras are now quite full. Thirteen steamers have already left Bombay with 12,000 pilgrims, about 3,000 are in Bombay awaiting an opportunity to get a passage and are 10,000 more expected to arrive before the season is over. It is apprehended that the late arrivals will be left behind as they would not be able to secure passages on account of the fact that only seven more vessels will leave Bombay during the season. The pilgrims do not so show any disinclination to get themselves vaccinated or re-vaccinated.

Sir H. Risley.

It is understood that with the death of Sir Herbert Risley, who was Honorary Director of Ethnology for India, the Department of Ethnography ceases. The periodical census reports will, however, give some details on castes and tribes, but that scientific investigation including anthropometric measurements and special ethnic details of the people of India, which had been brought to so much perfection under the late Sir Herbert, will be a thing of the past.

Hindu University.

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY Deputation visited different cities in the Punjab. Subscriptions amounting to Rs. 70,000 were promised at Amritsar, Rs. 16,000 at Rawalpindi and about one lakh at Lahore.

Items of News.

The *Madras Mail* says:—Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael and family leave London for Madras on the 2nd proximo and the Governor will land here on the 30th October. It is interesting to note that many of Sir Thomas' relations on his mother's side were connected with Madras and that Lord Napier, former Governor, was his father's first cousin.

The members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the heads of the various departments have been actively busy for some time in drawing up schemes for the curtailment of expenditure and a great deal has already been accomplished. It is expected that an expert committee will meet to deal with the army budget for next year and carry out *inter alia* retrenchments and effect economies whenever possible.

The Government of India have now received the new Indian High Courts Act of 1911, which lately received the Royal Assent. The Act applies to all High Courts and enables the Governor-General in Council to appoint temporary judges and confers upon them the power to create High Courts in any Province in India. The Government will now take up the question of strengthening the Calcutta High Court, and probably new judges will be appointed before the re-opening of the High Court after the long vacation.

Colonel C. H. Bedford, M.D., I.M.S., lately Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist, Burma, has decided to bequeath from the date of the death of himself or his wife, whoever may be the survivor, a sum of several thousand pounds, sufficient to afford ample endowment for two or more scholarships and to provide necessary working funds in connection therewith for the prosecution of scientific and technical research in connection with the development of Indian industries.

On the arrival of the mail steamer on the 6th instant in Bombay, Bepin Chandra Pal, who was a passenger on board, was arrested by the head of the Criminal Investigation Department on a charge of publishing seditious literature, *viz.*, "The Etiology of the Bomb in Bengal." The accused was later placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the charge proceeded with. Mr. Ferrers Nicholson, who prosecuted, said that the charge against prisoner was in connection with an article entitled "The Etiology of the Bomb" which appeared in a magazine called *Swaraj* of June 1909. Pal had been living in London, where he edited this magazine, copies of which he had sent to a person named Ganesh Balwant Modak to be distributed in Bombay. There would be no doubt that the accused was responsible for the sending of the magazine to Bombay, and no doubt that he instigated and aided and abetted the distribution there. After evidence had been taken the accused put in a written statement admitting his offence. He said that in writing the article he had no intention of bringing the Government into hatred and contempt nor to set class against class, and he was not conscious of having done so. He admitted that the authoritative views which had been taken of the articles by that court and afterwards by the High Court were absolutely unexceptionable. He pleaded guilty and expressed his sincere regret. His Worship framed charges under sections 124 (a) and 109. Mr. Nicholson pointed out that the offence took place two years ago, which was a long time ago, and also that the accused had pleaded guilty. In these circumstances he was directed to say that the Government would not press for a heavy sentence. His worship in delivering judgment said he had taken into consideration what had been said and also the fact that the accused had pleaded guilty and had thrown himself on the mercy of the court. He would point out, however, that the accused had instigated Modak to commit an offence within the jurisdiction of that court while he himself was in London, and consequently could not be brought before the court. Taking all the circumstances into consideration he would sentence the accused to one month's simple imprisonment. Accused then applied that he might be treated as a first class misdemeanant. His worship said that he would give a decision in the matter after consulting the jail regulations.

TETE À TETE



PERSISTENT rumour had already prepared us for the official announcement that Sir Edward Baker has resigned his charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. The main reason that is said to have influenced Sir Edward in deciding to retire is the condition of his son's health. We sympathise with him in his domestic anxiety, and we hope he will enjoy a long measure of peace and comfort in his retirement. Information has been received in some quarters that Sir Edward has accepted a seat on the India Council vacated by the death of Sir H. Risely. The consideration of the choice of Sir Edward's successor has been shelved till after the Durbar. Among the candidates that are supposed to be in the running for the Bengal satrapy, the Hon. Mr. Carlyle and the Hon. Mr. Craddock, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, are thought most likely to get the coveted billet. Speculation, however, as to the relative chances of the candidates is altogether futile. We may only remark that H. E. the Viceroy, when making the selection, will, we trust, bear in mind the needs and requirements of the diverse communities composing the population of Bengal. A section of the Press that is in the habit of posing as the representative of the wishes and sentiments of the people invariably represents a clique, small in number but very loud and persistent. This body of vested interests, which is usually poken of as "the people," wants to usurp all power and run the administration on lines of its own choosing. Every new Lieutenant Governor is welcomed to his office with expressions of fulsome praise and adulation. After a year or two some difference of opinion comes to light, and anon the idol of yesterday falls from his pedestal and no epithet is considered strong enough to describe his fall. The same happened with Sir Edward Baker. He entered on his responsible duties amidst the gratulations of "the people's" Press, but his prosecutions and the stout stand against Marwari high-handedness on the occasion of the Bakr Id riots left him alone, amidst the consolations of conscience and the imprecations of his previous admirers. This is bound to happen again. We, therefore, earnestly hope that in the interests of the real people of the Province, the new appointment will be made with reference to administrative efficiency alone, and irrespective of the whims and idiosyncrasies of "the people's" Press.

NATIONALISM after which we in the East hanker so eagerly has proved itself to be a subtle alchemy which has transmuted all the baser passions of the individual into the virtues of the nation.

Envy, greed, boasting, and even murder are held up for our approbation under the name of vigilance, expansion, patriotism and war. What wonder, then, if even the Western man of the worst type thinks of himself as "the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time" and counts "the gray barbarian lower than the Christian child." And yet Europe boasts of her great toleration

as if toleration was a term that could be applied only to religion. No religious bigotry in the world's long history has been so intense as the racial intolerance of Europe, which is only an exaltation of the pernicious system of caste without the saving grace of the law of Karma. The spirit of intolerance is the same whether it shows itself in the persecution of those whose spiritual ideas and modes of worship are different or in the exclusion and denunciation of those whose social habits and institutions are not the same as ours. But even in the matter of religious toleration, Europe cannot always legitimately apply the soothing unction to her soul. Is the present temper of Europe in this matter due to the influence of the Gospel and the imitation of Christ or has it been developed under the stress of political events, from fear, from necessity and often from religious indifference? The pogroms of Russia and less heinous exhibitions of the anti-Semitic feeling in the rest of Europe still show that Europe is not very far removed from the days of the Inquisition and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and from the time when Mary Tudor—no better and no worse than other sovereigns of that period—acquired the epithet of "Bloody" by the undisguised persecution of the Protestants burnt at Smithfield, when James I. burnt Arans, and the cry of vengeance was wrung from the heart of Milton for the

"Slaughtered saints, whose bones

"Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

Does it not remind us of the repeated persecution of the Jewries in every European country in the Middle Ages, when even in England the Jews were the chattels of the King, and of the action of the Crusaders who whetted their weapons on the Jews before setting out for the Holy Land to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslems, when we read that even in the year of grace, 1911, the Labour riots of South Wales resulted in a wholly unprovoked attack on the Jews? The *Jewish Chronicle* is fully justified in writing of these riots that "we have seen our co-religionists, while engaged in peaceful pursuits, exposed to assaults which remind us of nothing so much as the work of a drunken Russian mob . . . It is a chapter that introduces us for the first time to all the horrors of Continental anti-Semitism. After the events of this week nobody can again say that, as far as the anti-Jewish malady is concerned, Great Britain shows a clean bill of health . . . The Jewish packman of South Wales is the product of the Russian terror. Christendom in more than one land has closed the avenues to many sources of livelihood against the Jew. It has driven him to 'deal' and to 'peddle' and to ply his avocation among strange peoples who do not understand him and cannot sympathize with him. And so the oppression which makes pogroms in Russia scatters its bloody seed in other lands. Yesterday it was Siedlitz. Today it is Tredegar, Rhymney, Brynmawr, Ebbw Vale, and Cwm. To-morrow it may be—who knows? The oppression by Russia is thus a world-wide Jewish oppression. It threatens the peace of every Jewry unto the ends of the earth." In fact the toleration of Islam and of Christianity can be judged best by comparing the treatment of the Jews in "fanatical" Turkey and "tolerant" Christendom. If the Jew is a Shylock, on whose head must the sin of his being a Shylock fall? Heine wrote: "When I saw this play (*The Merchant of Venice*) at Drury Lane, there stood behind me in the box a pale, fair Briton, who at the end of the Fourth Act, fell a-weeping passionately, several times exclaiming, 'The poor man is wronged.' When I think of those tears I have to rank *The Merchant of Venice* with the Tragedies . . . Wandering dream-hunter that I am, I looked round everywhere on the Rialto to see if I could not find Shylock . . . But I found him nowhere on the Rialto and I determined to seek my old acquaintance in the Synagogue. The Jews were then celebrating their day of Atonement. Although I looked round the Synagogue, I nowhere discovered the face of Shylock. I saw him not. But towards evening, when, according to Jewish belief, the Gates of Heaven are shut, and no prayer can then obtain admittance, I

hear a voice, with a ripple of tears that were never wept by eyes. It was a sob that could come only from a breast that held in it all the martyrdom which, for eighteen centuries, had been borne by a whole tortured people. It was the death-rattle of a soul sinking down dead-tired at heaven's gates. And I seemed to know the voice and I felt that I had heard it long ago, when, in utter despair, it moaned out, then as now, 'Jessica, my child!'

THE pusillanimity of the British Foreign Office has not only weakened its hold on the confidence of the Persians, but has made them positively suspicious of the help which England could undoubtedly render in the reorganisation of Persian administration by a liberal and more courageous policy. It would seem as if Sir Edward Grey is mortally afraid of offending Russian susceptibilities and would not do anything on his own initiative which could, even remotely, suggest to Russia that he was strengthening the hands of the Government in the enormous task of reconstructing an independent Persia. The appointment of Major Stokes, who had won the confidence of the people by his sympathetic attitude toward the new *Régime*, was at once vetoed by the Russian Press and Government, and Sir Edward Grey, by executing a series of undifying shifts, landed the matter in an impasse which diplomacy is seeking to clear by the help of "negotiations." This experience could not fail to teach the Persian Government that the expressions of goodwill even on the part of an English Minister were wholly theoretical and unfructuous, that honest desire for improvement in Persian affairs was no more than a rebellious and criminal sentiment when looked at through Russian spectacles, that it was not in the interests of Russia to countenance the employment of foreign experts in carrying out administrative reforms in the country. That was why the Mejliss hesitated on the 19th September to sanction the appointment of Mr. New as Director of the Persian Telegraphs. A Reuters message of the 10th instant informs us that the appointment has been sanctioned. But, as the Teheran correspondent of the *Times* wired on the 20th September it was not sanctioned on the 19th September, when the contract for the appointment came before the Mejliss. "The House maintained a stony silence, some members even turning their backs on the speaker. Finally, the motion was unanimously rejected, though no speech was made against it." In order to make clear the reasons that united the House to reject the motion, we will quote the correspondent of the *Times*:—"Members profess to recognise Mr. New's admirable qualifications for the post and regret his position, but assert that England's action in the Stokes affair makes it impossible to offer a contract to an Englishman in any Persian service." That is how through the inordinate deference paid by the British Foreign Office to Russian wishes, England is forfeiting the trust that the Persians had hitherto reposed in her pledges and goodwill. She is not only losing thereby an opportunity to guide the fortunes of the new *Régime* to the lasting advantage of both Persia and herself, but squandering away her greatest asset that has so far maintained her ascendancy in Eastern Affairs, namely, her reputation for justice and sympathy with all efforts for progress and freedom.

IT WAS a shrewd saw of a hairless wit who declared that a healthy person lived and enjoyed life without ever suspecting there was such a thing as health. Most probably the wit indulged by implication in a sneer at the abject tribe of persons that have developed "nerves," invented health cures and shower baths, and tramp the length of continents in quest of health. They contemplate life, they criticise it, they shout about it, but they never come near living it. The spirit of the observation that prompted the epigram of the wit admits of a very wide application. The empire-builders of England were not so many Joseph Chamberlains "thinking imperially" and weighed down with the awful consciousness

of the Empire's destiny. They knew nothing of "Imperial Zollverein" and Coloured Races any more than of the jack-boot methods of the Tariff Reform League. The primeval energy of expansion had impelled them on their careers, and without ever knowing it, they played pilots and led the way to ever-widening streams of trade and emigration, which slowly crystallised into "Empire" and gave their burdens to the Imperial statesmen. The unconscious pioneer, humbly toiling to strike root in a virgin soil, or busy pushing his wares amongst alien races, boomed and blundered and founded an empire. The hyper-sensitive "Imperialist" hammering away at the task of governing the Empire and sore beset with a brood of evil memories which he sagely calls problems,—the colour question, the racial conflicts, the white man's burden, the closer union—may some day end by wrecking it. Is this shout for the Empire's safety, this hysterical solicitude for its welfare a sign of the decadence of the fibre and the muscle that built it? Has the race of giants, that unconsciously and silently bore a cosmic weight, given place to a breed of pygmies who shout for strength and power but have them not, and are too meagre of stature to bear the burden of their destiny?

LITTLE straws proverbially show the direction of the wind, and the sensational oddities of feeling in England about The "White Man's" "The Johnson-Wells Boxing Match" reveal the latter-day temper of Jingo Imperialism.

Many such matches have ere now been held in England and no one has ever heard of them outside the columns of the sporting press. But this "Johnson-Wells" affair has risen to the dignity of an Imperial problem, and a worthy parson has sought to rouse the Christian feeling of Great Britain to suppress the match, which would otherwise outrage the moral sense and majesty of the State. And why? There are various reasons, but the most weighty among them, which seems to lurk at the back of Rev. F. B. Meyers' protest, is that Johnson is a Negro and his triumph will seriously damage the prestige of the Empire. "The arguments with which we can support our appeal for a stoppage of the fight" told the Rev. gentleman a representative of the *Times*, "are growing stronger daily. For instance, one of the most significant facts is the agitation now assuming strong proportions in South Africa. There the Press is appealing to the Union Government to prohibit the importation of the cinematograph films if the fight takes place. The authorities evidently dread its effect on the relations between the white and coloured populations. Of course, this will not be confined to South Africa but may be duplicated in every part of the Empire, and elsewhere." And again, Mr. Eugene Sandow is reported to have said "that he agreed with those who were opposed to the contest on the grounds of public policy. He thought it would be a mistake, considering the position which Great Britain occupied among the coloured races of the world, to allow such a contest to take place." That Empire must be in a perilous condition indeed which depends for its safety on the whims of a Negro boxer. We cannot say whether it is some melodramatic scene in the drama of Imperialism, or a want of the sense of the ridiculous or a really grave symptom of decaying faith and nerve of the race, that "potent, grave and reverend signors" of "Churches and Free Church Councils" are trying to save Christian morality, civilisation and the white man's destiny from a terrible disaster—the possible defeat of Wells by Jack Johnson. The rich variety of arguments and the play of mood and motive and interest in this absurd comedy afford no mean diversions in themselves. Wells has been acclaimed as "the white man's hope,"—a far cry, and not very hopeful either, from "the white man's burden." Again, there is the humanitarian, declaiming against the brutalising effects of the contest. The spirit of Telemachus, the Eastern monk, who flung himself between the gladiators of Rome and by sacrificing himself killed the games, has been invoked, and we have the pious reflection that "by such an uprising of Christian opinion the work of Telemachus the monk may be repeated, and the world may move up to another stage of moral progress, humanity

and refinement,"—a hope which we heartily endorse. Then again, we have the Boxers' Union protesting against the agitation itself. In the appeal issued by the Union we read—"We ask our brothers of affiliated Trade Unions to stand by us at this time. Should the present opposition succeed, it would sound the death knell of boxing and throw out of employment many thousands. To the public we also appeal. If the public remains apathetic it may wake up some day to find that grandmotherly legislators, urged on by a faction of kill sports, have banned the most healthful and characteristic of British sports—boxing." And last, but not the least, is the standpoint of the organiser of the fight, Mr. White, to whom the sole aspect of the question that appeals is frankly one of £ s d. He is reported to have groaned to a press representative that "he regarded himself as a persecuted man, and considered the racial argument as 'mere buncombe'."

LORD MORLEY had not an easy time of it when he had to defend his policy as regards India in the House of Commons, and he could not have dreaded the Opposition half so much as some members of his own party who tried to outflank him.

The Political Montebank.

But howsoever troublesome Sir Henry Cotton and his friends may have been, there was not a shadow of doubt about their Liberalism. The same could not, however, have been said about Sir John Rees whose chief merit was a persistent narrowness of views. We do not know whether Sir John has yet published an *apologia pro vita sua* explaining how he came to sail under Liberal colours then, or why he crossed the floor of the House later. In the absence of such an explanation, opportunism appears to us to have been one of the possible—in fact, probable—motives. The springtide of Liberalism flooded England in 1906, and perhaps Sir John thought it prudent to land into the Parliament on the crest of the Liberal wave. But the theory of the swinging pendulum was probably too much for him, and prudence once more dictated the course of the turncoat. This time, however, the calculations of the burr-ent of easy political conscience and elastic creed were thoroughly upset, and the Tories are still ploughing the sands of Opposition. The support of Mr. Lloyd George, which Sir John clumsily and unsuccessfully tried to deny, had brought him into Parliament, and in its absence he now fell a limp heap, like a balloon from which the gas had escaped. But Sir John Rees is nothing if not persistent. The by-election in Kilmarnock Burghs gave him an opportunity of displaying his gutta purchasum to some advantage. The Young Scots were not enthusiastic about Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, and the Labour Party, feeling very sore after the riots and the firmness displayed by the Home Secretary, set up their own candidate in Mr. McKerral to oppose "Grandson Gladstone." The *Times* helped Sir John by making out that the workman will be paying 7d for a 9d worth of benefits obtainable under the Insurance Bill when Mr. Lloyd George has shown that he will be paying only 1d. The Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote to Mr. Gladstone, "if through wilful misrepresentation this Bill should fail, and these enormous boons thus do not reach the working classes, it will be a long time before any Government will face the financial and political burdens and risks of undertaking and putting through such a proposal. This result would, indeed, be a proud achievement for Tory and Socialist candidates who profess to have the interests of the working men at heart. If it be due to malice, then their action is deliberately setting themselves by deception to rob the workmen of this country of £17,000,000 a year provided for the dark days of sickness and unemployment: a crime against the people." We wonder whether Sir John cared a brass farthing for the working men or regarded himself as a criminal robbing the poor of seventeen million sterling a year. On the contrary, the *Times* wrote that he was "more confident now than he was at the opening of the campaign. His breezy and bright manner of addressing his audiences, whether from the platform or at the street corners, has earned for him a great deal of popularity even among the working men.

His resources of repartee, even amid a hostile audience never fail him, and those among his listeners who come to overwhelm him with awkward questions find themselves so much captivated by his racy and humorous answers that they not unwillingly join in the chorus of approving laughter which is evoked at the encounter. They recognise also that not only is the Unionist candidate a distinguished public man, but that he is a stranger appealing to their forbearance as well as for their suffrages." Just imagine a stiff-necked mandarin who would not permit any one in India to come "between the wind and his nobility" acting the part of the licensed buffoon at street corners! We have little doubt that Sir John with the antics of a chartered libertine, more suited perhaps to "Nigger Minstrels" on the piers of seaside resorts than to a public man seeking popular suffrage, made an appeal to the people's forbearance an absolute necessity. A glance at his latest creed also will not be without interest. Of course, he is an Imperialist and wants a strong Army and Navy. But Liberals, too, are often Imperialists and want a strong Army and Navy, and so far there is perhaps no change in his creed. But he is against Home Rule for Ireland because he does not want the Protestant minority to be put "under the heel of the Roman Catholics." He does not, of course, mention a word about the Welsh Non-conformists, the Scotch Presbyterians and the Irish Catholics being "under the heel" of the Church of England. He is not, however, averse to trying the sweet uses of flattery and is of opinion that Scotland can have Home Rule because "it is a country which is capable of governing itself." The example of Canada and South Africa are brushed aside as not analogous, although Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who twice contested a seat as a Unionist, is now convinced that Ireland has now proved herself worthy of Home Rule and that "the animosities of Ireland are tepid compared to the boiling racial passion which existed only ten years ago in Africa." But this is not all. Sir John Rees is, now, by the grace of God, a confirmed Protectionist! "He is in favour of protection for home industries and the taxing of manufactured goods from foreign countries that compete with our own." The *Times* adds that "some of his most effective criticism has been made against the financial extravagance of Mr. Lloyd George's policy. His view is that the existing labour unrest is largely due to the efforts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to stir up class hatred by the violence of his speeches and the reckless promises he has made to the poor." It is only now that Sir John Rees comes out in his true colours, for when he voted in favour of the Campbell Bannerman Resolution from which the Parliament Act originates and fought for the "People's Budget" and secured with his vote the Old Age Pensions and similar boons to the people, he never appeared half so convincing. The pity of it is that his true colours were not those which passed the winning post first at Kilmarnock Burghs, in spite of his popular repartees—at street corners—and all the catch penny phrases about Unionism, Protection, class hatred and Imperialism. He polled 4,637 votes against 6,923 of Mr. Gladstone and lost by a majority of 2,286, in spite of the fact that the Labour candidate diverted 2,761 votes from the Liberal poll. But given the antics of Sir John Rees, we may be sure he will not rest content where he is, but will try once more to be at the top of the poll, even if it is spelt otherwise and is—greased.

Anecdote.

AS A PRECAUTION

AN AMUSING story is told of the old journalist, Frederic Guest Tomlin.

One day he found his office locked and the office boy missing. When the boy appeared Tomlin reproved him for over-sleeping, a charge which the boy tearfully refuted.

"It's this way, sir," he said. "My uncle was hung at the Old Buley this morning, and, although we weren't on speaking terms with him, I thought, as one of the family, I ought to be there."

"Quite right," said Tomlin, "never neglect your family duties; but when another of your relations is to be hanged, please to leave the office key under the mat."

The Comrade.

Great Britain and the Moslem Kingdoms.

"MUHAMMADANISM," said Mr. Montagu the other day, "produces and teaches a sort of extra-territorial patriotism—if I may strain the words to describe it—love of a religion which seems almost to laugh at distance and material neighbourhood, in breathing and praying mutual sympathy." His own advice to the Indian Moslems was that "you need abandon not a jot of your fervour if you add to it principles of less exalted and more Western desire to help and to share the destiny of the country in which you live." Once more we see the Indian Mussalman showing unmistakably his "extra-territorial patriotism" and illustrating the living force of a religion that "seems to laugh at distance and material neighbourhood in breathing and praying mutual sympathy." His heart throbs in unison with the Moor of Fez who sees his country passing into alien hands, with the Persian of Icheran who feels the grip of the Russian Cossack on his throat, and with the Turk of Stamboul who has to watch an act of shameless brigandage with impotent rage. But he need abandon no jot of his fervour simply because he owes allegiance to a European and a Christian sovereign whose rule is a blessing that Providence has vouchsafed to him in order to work out his material and moral salvation. His loyalty is not such feeble stuff that the least political disturbance in Asia or Europe in which one party is Moslem and another Christian could affect it adversely.

If proof were needed, no better illustration of the combination of territorial loyalty and extra-territorial patriotism could be furnished than the spirit which actuated the Indian Mussalmans in 1897 when the fruits of victory had been snatched from the hands of the Mussalmans after the Greco-Turkish War, partly, at least, at the urgent instigation of an English statesman, and when the Indian Government was dealing with serious disturbances on the North-West Frontier of India. It is worth while recalling the words of Lord Elgin, who visited Aligarh on the 25th November, 1897, and, addressing its Trustees, said—

During the last few months, and at the present moment, the Government of India has most unwillingly been forced into an open conflict with the tribes who belong to your community and there have not been wanting those who have alleged there was a real and growing antagonism between British rule in India and its Muhammadan subjects. Gentle men, these matters—the causes of frontier war and the causes, such as exist, of internal disquiet—are far too large for me to enter upon with any view to conclusion on any occasion as this, but I would only just like to say this that I, for my part, have never believed that the Muhammadan of India would fail to recognise the benefits which he derives from the Government under which he lives, or the obligation of loyalty to the sovereign in whose name that administration is carried on and whose cause, as his Muhammadan subjects is known throughout the world, gentlemen in the course of these unfortunate disturbances we have again seen what we often have seen before. The loyalty and gallantry of Muhammadan subjects and soldiers of the Queen, and I am glad, even in this crisis, on a very few occasions, to recognise and to know that there is good in what this College under generous management is the true spirit of loyalty and devotion which has been shown in the field.

We can confidently say that the same spirit of loyalty and devotion actuates the Indian Mussalmans to-day, and, in fact, they understand better to-day than they did in 1897 that the future destiny of their community is bound up with the maintenance of an increasingly powerful and popular British administration. But if the Indian Mussalmans firmly believe this, one of the chief reasons for their belief is that they know their Government to be no less firmly convinced that nothing should be done which should needlessly offend their susceptibilities or wantonly go against their cherished ideals. One of the ideals which the Indian Muhammadans have cherished for long is that the British Government, which rules over the largest number of Mussalman subjects, should be bound in an alliance with Muhammadan powers and kingdoms so that their own territorial loyalty and extra-territorial patriotism should work in the same direction. It must be remembered that Great Britain has in the past often fought side by side

with Moslem nations. She went to war against Russia in the Crimea in spite of her total unpreparedness for such a campaign, and although she did not fight against Russia in 1878, many Englishmen, including our late Viceroy Lord Minto, volunteered their services in the field of battle, and it was the British fleet that saved Constantinople. Since the last Afghan War a solid alliance has been established between Afghanistan and India which has stood the test of time for more than a generation. Although a single frontier delimits the boundaries of Persia and British India, there has never arisen an occasion for resorting to the arbitrament of war. In Egypt, Great Britain had to interfere, but she never fought against the Sultan or the Khedive, and it was only the criminal extravagance and stupidity of the rulers of Egypt and the negligence of Turkey that led to the interference and the British occupation. Looking, therefore, at the past history of the relations of Great Britain and the Moslem kingdoms, there does not appear at the present moment to be an inheritance of hostility, a sort of vendetta requiring the settling of ancient scores, which could come in the way of a general alliance between Great Britain and the Moslem kingdoms.

An arrangement so obviously desirable from the point of view of an Indian Mussalman, so clearly practicable from the point of view of diplomacy, it is also strategically beneficial. As we have remarked more than once, the Empire of Britain, which is the largest that the world has even seen, if it needs coaling stations in distant seas, needs still more the oases of friendship and amity which prove invaluable in a desert of hostility. There was a time when British statesmen talked of the "splendid isolation" of Great Britain. But the lessons of the South African War were many, and one of them was the lesson that in politics to love sylvan solitude is to court destruction. Since then British diplomats, including our present Viceroy, have been busy making Continental friends for their country, and the most successful of them was His late Majesty, King Edward himself. From the days of the Armada, Catholic Spain had been hateful to Protestant England, but so far did the needs of the political situation carry English statesmen that a Protestant Princess was permitted to change her faith and given in marriage to the King of Spain. Similarly, France, with which England had always been on terms of neighbourly hostility from the earliest times, barring a short respite during the Crimean War, and with which Lord Salisbury was prepared to go to war on the slight provocation of the Fashoda incident, became the friend of England. And last, but not least, Russia, the bogey of British statesmen and soldiers, was attracted to the *entente cordiale* by France, the common friend of both. Even Italy among the Mediterranean Powers, was not left to herself, and a wedge of cordiality between England and Italy was inserted into the Triple Alliance. Turkey, enfeebled by misrule and internal disturbances, caused by external enemies, was still a European Power, and although the insensate hostility of Mr. Gladstone and the cynical attitude of Lord Salisbury who confessed that they had been backing "the wrong horse," had thrown the late Sultan into the arms of Germany, the Revolution changed all this, and created a new Turkey almost gushing in its friendliness to the old friend of all constitutional Governments and nations struggling to be free.

Thus had the pendulum swung from "the splendid isolation" of the Boer War in the direction of alliances, and it even came to be suspected that a cordon of alliances was being placed round the German people. It must be remembered that it was not Sir Edward Grey—although he came with a tremendous reputation for statesmanship and firmness—that had initiated this policy. He merely took it up and it now seems that he has followed it far beyond the limits originally contemplated. Although Mr. Lloyd George, the strongest man in the Liberal Cabinet, is well known to be inclined favourably towards Germany and the Labour Party, which has to be reckoned with in the framing of all Liberal policies, is openly hostile to the anti-German tendencies of English upper and middle classes, it appears that in spite of these considerable factors Sir Edward Grey has a mortal horror of Germany and his foreign policy seems to be dictated entirely by these disproportionate fears.

The first step in the policy of Sir Edward's "Blue Funk School" was the Anglo-Russian Convention. Its justification could

either have been that it secured the independence and the integrity of Persia, or that in case of its future dismemberment it secured to England a predominant, or at least a proportionate, share. On 5th September, 1907, the British Minister in Teheran explained to the Persian Government that the Agreement so far from infringing Persian rights was "based on a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Persia. You will perceive from the above statement how unfounded are the reports recently put about in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in that country. They have no sort of intention of attacking Persia's independence, which it is their object in concluding this agreement to ensure for ever. The two powers above mentioned hope that in the future Persia will be for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and will enjoy complete freedom to manage her affairs in her own way, wherefore advantage will accrue to herself and to the whole world." Need one ask how the promise has been kept?

What is the net result of the Anglo-Russian Convention? As the Stokes affair and the action of Russia in the matter of the belongings of Shua-us-Sultaneh show, it has certainly not secured the independence, and it may even cost the integrity of Persia. But if it is to be the loss of Persia, are we sure that it will be the gain of England? The worst of it is that even as a selfish concern the alliance would prove a failure. We cannot do better than quote the *Nation*, which is a Liberal paper and not likely to be unjust to Sir Edward Grey. It says—

It would be a waste of indignation to criticise Russian policy. She is acting after her kind. We knew and predicted when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed that it would end in the ruin of Persia and the humiliation of our own country. What is less a matter of course is the weakness of our diplomacy. We are satisfied that Sir Edward Grey did not contemplate and did not desire this outcome. We are sure that he would have wished to preserve the liberty and independence of Persia. We are certain that the last thing he desires is the return of the Shah, and that, left to himself, he would prefer to see the tranquil development of the constitutional regime with the aid of any expert foreigners whom it may fairly choose. But the more one admits and recognises this measure of goodwill, the more galling is the impotence of our diplomacy to give it effect. It has in its continual dread of a German hegemony in Europe, decided that it must purchase Russian friendship at the price of Persian independence. In its dealings with an unscrupulous ally, it has lacked the adroitness and the firmness to keep him straight or to maintain its own policy. The whole enterprise is bad as morals and contemptible as business. It is, we are well aware, less than nothing to an Imperialist that a gifted race should be submerged, after a promising effort to secure for itself progress and freedom, beneath the conqueror who has brought misery to Finns and Poles and Caucasians. But on the lowest plane of self-regarding calculation the destruction of Persia is an immense folly. It means the end of our reputation as the friend of struggling nationalities. It means the resentment of every awakening Moslem people. It means the setting for ourselves of a military problem such as India itself never presented. For a century we laboured to keep the snows of the Himalayas and the rifles of the Afghans between ourselves and Russia. To-morrow we shall face her in our Persian zone across a vague land frontier. That is the price, or a part of the price of our jealousy of Germany. So much we have paid to win the doubtful support of a rather weak and very uncertain ally. We might have had the friendship of Germany herself on much less onerous terms and with that friendship the end of a feud which burdens Europe and threatens the chief purposes of civilisation.

The next step of the "Blue Funk School" was the wretched inactivity of Sir Edward Grey, when at the instigation of Germany, which discovered in the Young Turks another strong link in the chain of British alliances, Austria usurped Rumania and Herzegovina. We are inclined to recall the memorable words of Mr. Lloyd George at the Mansion House Banquet on the night of 21st July last. He said:—

I believe it is essential in the highest interests not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige amongst the Great Powers of the World. Her potent influence has proved many a time in the past and may yet be in the future invaluable to the cause of human liberty. It has more than once in the past redeemed Continental nations, who are sometimes too apt to forget that service, from overwhelming disaster and even from national extinction. I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace; I conceive that nothing would justify a disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the gravest national moment. But if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement,

by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.

The pity and the irony of it is that these noble words were uttered not when Austria grabbed two Provinces of Turkey while the Young Turks were working manfully in "the cause of human liberty," but when another European nation, which had tried to throw dust in the eyes of the civilized world, was depriving innocuous human beings of the liberty which they had enjoyed for long ages. It was the new British Ambassador that was cheered by the crowds after the Revolution and not Marschall von Hieberstein. But after the behaviour of Sir Edward Grey, New Turkey discovered that she had chosen the wrong second in her duel against her enemies, that it was the Kaiser who was the Napoleon of the twentieth century and that the age of Pitts, Wellingtons and Waterloos had gone.

To-day the situation is this. On the one hand, France, one of the "friends" of England, has purchased the non interference of Germany in Morocco, by giving away a portion of the French Congo, and this unholy bargain has been struck with the active support of Sir Edward Grey—the only act of courage in a pusillanimous career at the Foreign Office—and on the other hand, Italy, ranged on the side of Germany and bound to her by a long-standing alliance, is permitted to usurp Tripoli. Those who understand the position of a constitutional monarch know that it is not His Majesty who is averse to intervention but Sir Edward Grey. The common factors in the two arrangements are, firstly, that both are immoral transactions and, secondly, that in both cases the usurpation is of Moslem territory. Had the usurpers in both cases been "friends" of England we could have found some explanation, even if no excuse. But that is not the case. Are we then to believe that England is anxious to intervene in favour of a friendly usurper and averse to interference against a hostile bandit so long as the land is Moslem? We entertain no such belief ourselves, because we do not identify Sir Edward Grey with England. But that is just what the action of Sir Edward Grey would seem to establish, and we cannot believe that even he could be so far insensible to the mischief that the growth of such a conviction is likely to create. However, far from endeavouring to explain his inactivity, a colleague of his, Lord Haldane, the admirer of Curzonian methods for India, and a Liberal, like Sir Edward himself, of the palest complexion, has been sympathising with "nations like Germany and Italy who have not had opportunities of territorial acquisition."

The morality or immorality of Sir Edward Grey's activity and inactivity may for a while be ignored. But judged as business, too, it is, to use the words of the *Nation*, contemptible. In Morocco, England gains nothing. In Tripoli she may even lose, for, on the one hand, the British position in the Mediterranean is sure to be weakened by an improvement in the position of a member of the Triple Alliance, and, on the other, the land frontier of Northern Egypt would march along that of such a Power. There are not wanting people who fear that Sir Edward has not been merely benevolent to Italy, but that an understanding has already been arrived at between all the Powers whereby Lord Kitchener is to annex Egypt or at least declare it a British Protectorate as the first act of his Agency and as the price of his opposing the passage of Turkish troops from Syria by way of Egypt to Tripoli. We state the suspicion for what it is worth. But we should like to add that nothing would shock the Moslem world more than such a bargain between the enemies of Turkey and the rulers of 70 million Mussulmans, and that only he could strike it who was either wholly ignorant of Moslem feeling or too callous to care for it. Every Friday, throughout the whole of the Moslem world, a hearty prayer goes up from every mosque "O, Lord! help him who helps the faith of Muhammad, and O, Lord! humiliate him who humiliates the faith of Muhammad." Hitherto not a single occasion has arisen for excluding the British nation from the category of those that have helped the faith of Muhammad, and we are confident that Sir Edward Grey has no ambition to be reckoned as the first British humiliator of that faith. British journals both in England and in India have with a remarkable unanimity condemned the inactivity of Sir Edward Grey, and we are convinced that it is they and not he or Lord Haldane that represent the true feelings of the nation. But if the seeming inactivity proves to be only secret activity hostile to Moslem

interests we consider it our clear duty to England to say that Sir Edward Grey would draw upon his head execrations such as even Mr. Gladstone in his enthusiasm for Homer and as a disciple of Peter the Hermit did not merit nor receive. Oh, for a Disraeli, with an imagination large enough to comprehend the possibilities of a British alliance with Moslem kingdoms, and a persuasiveness to carry the habitually phlegmatic, slow-moving, and too matter-of-fact Briton with him. We appeal to the Liberal Cabinet, to the Parliament and to the British Nation to consider the situation seriously and well, and we pray to the Lord of Nations to give them the guidance that they need.

The Deliberations of the Moslem Conference.

WE BRIEFLY dealt in our last with the state of Moslem education in Bengal and with the causes, historical as well as fortuitous, which are responsible for the intellectual stagnation and general inertia of the community. We showed, in particular, how grievously the Bengal Moslems have paid in status and influence by their failure to seek inspiration from the All-India educational movement of the Mussalmans which has its centre at Aligarh. A happy coincidence of circumstances has, however, brought Aligarh and Bengal together, and we trust this fact is full of happy augury for the future and will mark the opening of a new chapter in the history of Moslem education in this part of the country.

We hope the Moslem leaders in Bengal realise full well the fact that the problem that confronts them to-day is enormous in its scope and character. We also hope that they are not pigeon-livered, and feel in all its bitterness the humiliation of their present situation. It is no use disguising the fact that the situation is critical, though not quite hopeless and irretrievable. To save it, to organise an effective campaign against the supineness and indifference of their community, to infuse into a torpid mass the energy of hope and self-confidence and self-respect, to revive in it the consciousness of a historic individuality destined, through the recovered virility of its character and the catholic mission of its faith, to play an important part in the unfolding drama of the world, is a task of real magnitude, well worthy of the ambitions of the highest among them. Will they come forward to help their community at the supreme crisis of its fate, share in the toil and travail of effort, and bear the heat and burden of the day? This alone is the test of leadership. By this test they and their work will stand or fall.

Even a superficial glance at the kind and character of the resolutions that formed the subjects of discussion in the Conference will suffice to show that Moslem education in Bengal is as yet in its infancy and not far above the primitive stage as regards purpose and organisation. No effort seems to have been made in the past to study the causes of the deep-rooted aversion of the Mussalmans to modern education, and what little effort has come to be made through the charity or love of learning of individuals, lacks utterly in method and co-ordination. A pure historical accident has left for the Mussalmans a prodigious legacy in the shape of the Madrasa system of education, which has so effectually strangled their intellectual life, that the energies and fervour of generations of devoted aspirants after truth and knowledge have been burnt, as it were, as sacrificial fires at the shrine of glorified mummies. The Madrasas have not only kept the Mussalmans from the sources of modern knowledge and progress, they have also created a huge Trust in conservatism and reaction, which confronts the reformers at every step and which has done positive mischief to the best interests of the community. The problem of Moslem education without "the Madrasas" would have been far easier of solution than with the existence of these pampered and grandiloquent institutions, sitting athwart the life of the community as hydra-headed monsters and holding its heart and mind and will within the grip of their wiry tentacles. This tremendous Trust has got to be shattered. It is an absurdity, a monumental hoax. And, although we are beginning to hear the shattering laugh that kills absurdity, it is well to remember that ridicule alone would not suffice to uproot an evil which has come to root in aged institutions with some pretensions to a historical birth and antiquity.

Leaving alone for the present the Madrasa system, which requires a root and branch reorganisation, the Moslem educational reformer in Bengal has a comparatively clean slate on which to scrawl his effort in what characters he would please. He has to

draw up the whole plan of work, define his ideals and methods, and begin to build from the very foundations. The experience of Aligarh, by virtue of its success and universal acceptance, ought to be his guide. It has its well defined ideals, its methods and its organisation, which ought to furnish light and guidance in the practical working of any scheme for Moslem education. The ideals of Aligarh have been preached far and wide for upwards of 30 years past, and they must have found an echo, however faint, even in Moslem Bengal. The President of the Conference dealt with them in such a luminous and exhaustive manner, that it would be idle to discuss them in detail again. Stated in a nutshell, they aim at the evolution of the type of culture which would fit the Moslems for a full participation in the growing synthesis of mankind without losing their individuality.

"The first and foremost need," therefore, as the President so emphatically stated, "is the urgent want of a Provincial Muhammadan College of the type of the College at Aligarh." The nucleus is already in existence in the Calcutta Madrasa with its Arabic and Anglo Persian Departments. As the President suggested, the two Departments should be amalgamated into one College, which would teach according to the University curriculum, "making adequate provision for religious instruction as in the case at Aligarh." As regards the all-important question of cost, the Calcutta Madrasa has at present the total annual expenditure of Rs. 57,063. About Rs. 20,000 a year more would be quite sufficient to start a first-grade College. Even Aligarh, at the death of Sir Syed, with its residential system in full swing, had an annual budget of no more than Rs. 70,000. Now the question is, whence should come the extra Rs. 20,000? Will the Mussalmans of Bengal be so far lacking in public spirit and in the sense of communal needs that they will fail to subscribe the sum amongst themselves? For the sake of the future of the community, we hope not. And in our opinion the Government aid should also be applied for, and considering that large sums are annually set apart for grants to private enterprise in education, we doubt not that the first Moslem effort to organise Collegiate education for the community will not fail to secure Government patronage. Then, there is the magnificent benefaction for education called the "Mohsin Fund." We are afraid we will have to admit that a considerable dispersion of the endowment has been taking place in the past, if we are to judge its application by the unerring standard of the greatest good to the greatest number. The system of awarding scholarships to Moslem students indiscriminately and irrespective of their pecuniary circumstances defeats the purpose and the real object for which the endowment was made. The system should be altogether abolished, and the money should go to the maintenance of the College. A quite distinct system of scholarships should be organised, under the direct control of the College authorities, who would apply the financial help discriminately and to the really deserving scholars, who have not the wherewithal to receive higher education. We earnestly hope systematic work for the creation of the College, the organisation and judicious application of the financial resources, and the conversion of the so-called Madrasas into efficient well-equipped high schools will be undertaken immediately by a band of earnest workers, who feel the degradation of their community and are desirous of seeing it hopeful and alive, with re-vivified moral energy and intellectual emancipation.

Apart, however, from the organisation of Secondary and Higher Education, provision for the education of the masses and the Moslem girls constitutes a need at once big and pressing. And closely bound up with the question of educating the masses is the question of language, which is to be the instrument of their uplifting and enlightenment. It is pregnant with far-reaching issues and we reserve the consideration of it and of the question of female education for some future time. We are, however, glad to note that both these questions were earnestly and intelligently discussed in the Conference and much practical knowledge and sagacity were brought to bear on their solution. We believe the Mussalmans of Bengal are now fully alive to the dangers of their position. Let them be in earnest and above all practical and constructive in their efforts at self-amelioration. They have to make up a tremendous leeway before they will be abreast of the progressive movements that are fast carrying the diverse communities of this historic land to some higher form of life and purpose and ampler synthesis.

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

A SPECIAL TELEGRAM to the *Advocate of India* from its London correspondent stated that Sir George Birdwood, interviewed with regard to Tripoli, declared that the British attitude of neutrality was not embarrassing to millions of Indian Muhammadans. Personally he sympathised with Turkey. The inauguration of a Holy War was impossible. Referring to the general political situation in India, Sir George Birdwood said it would be hysterical to entertain the slightest misgiving. Unrest was rapidly subsiding and would continue to do so while Sir George Clarke remained in Bombay and Lord Hardinge in Calcutta.

The Porte has concluded peace in the Yemen with the rebel Imam Yahya. It is expected that the bulk of the Turkish reinforcements will return to Constantinople immediately.

It was officially reported in Rome that fire was teacherously opened from San Giovanni on the Albanian coast upon an Italian vessel flying the white flag. The Italian destroyer *Antigone*, patrolling the vicinity, returned the fire. The *Antigone* was slightly damaged and her Commander wounded in the foot. The damage to the enemy was not known. This was obviously a censored version of the affair. It was unofficially reported that three hundred Turks were killed. It was further stated that in order to avoid a repetition of such incidents the Italian warships in Albanian waters will be recalled. A Constantinople official account of affairs at San Giovanni on the 5th instant states that as two Italian warships were searching Austrian and Turkish vessels the Turkish troops fired on and sank an Italian rowing boat, containing an officer and five bluejackets, whereupon the Italians bombarded San Giovanni. It is further stated that the Government buildings were slightly damaged as the result of the bombardment and one soldier was wounded.

Signor Giolitti, who arrived at Turin to fulfil a political engagement, was met by crowds and bands and acclaimed as a "second Cavour." Reuter wired from Turin:—"A banquet was given in honour of Signor Giolitti. There were 1,100 guests including 500 Senators and Deputies." Signor Giolitti, who received an ovation, made a speech in which he said that no nation had so speedily accomplished such a complete transformation, political, moral and economic as Italy, who now claimed her share of the work of civilising the African Continent.

Reuter wired from Pisa:—"King Victor Emmanuel and members of the Royal Family arrived here yesterday from Racconigi and were acclaimed by large crowds. Troops leaving the garrisons in Rome and elsewhere to join the expeditionary force are the objects of frenzied enthusiasm. It is reported that Italian bluejackets have landed at Marsa Tobruk. The complete silence from Italy on the 7th instant suggested the probability that transports were underweigh. There still prevails some anxiety in Italy regarding the whereabouts of Turkish destroyers and torpedo-boats; hence the secrecy of the movements of transports. The newspapers report that over a hundred men from the Italian Squadron have occupied the town of Tobruk in Barca after meeting with some slight resistance from the little garrison.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—"It is understood that Rehid Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in Vienna, has renounced the portfolio for Foreign Affairs. The post will probably be offered to Amin Bey, Turkish Minister in Sofia.

It was officially declared at Athens that the Turks, on the 5th instant, landed five hundred soldiers at Samos, in violation of the rights of self-government of the Island. The Salonica Committee is said to be secretly contracting for large supplies to be delivered in Monastir and other centres in ten days. It is persistently rumoured that an invasion of Greece is contemplated.

Reuter writes from Salonica:—"The Government is mobilising various classes of reserve which will give an additional 52,000 men in the vilayet of Salonica alone. The authorities are also commandeering carts and horses wholesale. Four battalions have left Monastir for El Assou. A message from Sofia to the *Daily Chronicle* states that Bulgaria has made representations to Constantinople with reference to the despatch of troops. Reuter wires from Sofia:—"The Bulgaria Government has requested the Powers to make urgent representation at Constantinople to secure the discontinuance of mobilisation in the vilayet of Adrianople which Bulgaria describes as unjustifiable.

Admiral Boreadoulas, Governor of Tripoli, has issued a proclamation instituting martial law. The Turkish garrison has camped five miles distant in the fortified hills. According to Turkish official account of the bombardment of Tripoli, the casualties among the garrison were 11 killed and 23 wounded. People

arriving at Malta state that 11 civilians were killed and 20 wounded. The Italians are busy reorganising Tripoli. There will be no advance into the interior until the army arrives. The refugees are returning as speedily as possible. There is much satisfaction in Italy at the peaceful occupation of Cyrenaica which is the richest district in the province of Tripoli.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—"The Minister of Justice had informed the tribunals that Italians no longer benefit under the capitulations. Their cases must be submitted to common law. It was reported that the Porte has decided to order all Italians in Turkey to leave within three days but the moderate elements are urging the Porte to refrain from thus exacerbating the situation. It is probable that the execution of the plan will at least be deferred, as the Porte is once more sounding the Powers whether they are willing to intervene now that the occupation of the Tripoli coast is completed. Reuter wired from Milan:—"It is understood that the Powers will make representations to Constantinople pointing out that Italy will abandon the principle of limiting the war of Tripoli, if the Porte is unable to restrain the excesses against Italians in Turkey. Reuter wired from Rome:—"It is officially announced that at the request of Baron Marshall von Bieberstein, German Ambassador to Turkey, the Porte has suspended the expulsion of Italians.

It was reported in Vienna that the Turks had seized the British steamer *Orchis* with gunpowder on board and had brought her to Salonica. The British steamer *Orchis* which was seized by the Turks on the 5th, has been released. The seizure was the result of a misunderstanding.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—"Russia has protested to Turkey against making grain contraband, stating that the Russian Black Sea trade is already suffering severely thereby. A telegram from Constantinople stated that Baron Marshall von Bieberstein, German Ambassador, advised Turkey to exclude grain from the list of contraband articles as it would not affect Italy but would annoy the Powers, especially Russia and Great Britain. The *Times* stated that the Baltic exchange was thrown into consternation by Turkey's declaration that grain was contraband. From two to three hundred vessels of five thousand tons were held up in the Black Sea. October is usually the busiest month for the Black Sea chartering but yesterday business was at a standstill. Representatives of the owners went to the Foreign Office to protest. Late in the evening a telegram from Turkey agreed to allow free passage of neutrals through the Dardanelles and relieved the anxiety.

Reuter wired from Malta:—"The Italian destroyer *Borea* has arrived here conveying a steamer with all Turkish officials in Tripoli on board. The authorities have refused to provision the *Borea*. Reuter wired from Malta:—"The Italian destroyer *Borea* has been granted sufficient supplies to enable her to reach Syracuse. The commander's request for supplies to reach Tripoli was refused.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—"The Porte has called the attention of the Powers to the new situation created by the landing of Italians in Tripoli and has again urged mediation on the basis of satisfaction of Italian interests and the safeguarding of Ottoman rights. The *Tanin* comments violently on this action which it describes as running like beggars from door to door and suggests that the simplest course would be to hang out notices "Land for sale in European and Asiatic Turkey." The state of public feeling in Constantinople is disquieting and the unpopularity of the Committee of Union and Progress is a most remarkable feature. The efforts of the Young Turks to retain control of affairs by a Cabinet composed largely of men of straw has provoked the charge that the Committee is placing personal interests before those of the country. It is reported that the Committee is secretly distributing arms to its supporters in anticipation of adverse demonstrations. Reuter wired from Berlin:—"The request of the Porte to be informed as to Italy's terms is already the subject of exchange of views between the Cabinets of Europe.

Lord Haldane speaking at Aberdeen said that we had passed through a crisis unexampled in foreign affairs. We should be sympathetic with nations like Germany and Italy who had not had our opportunities of territorial acquisition. At the same time, however, we had to consider the requirements of our interests and safety. Sir Edward Grey had maintained peace for nearly six years and we would labour strenuously to preserve this record.

It was officially stated that the first contingent of the Tripoli expedition left Naples on the night of 5th October and landed at Tobruk, taking formal possession. According, however, to information leaking out in spite of the censorship the main expedition began to sail from various ports on the night of the 9th instant. The last ships left on the 12th. All were to meet east of Malta and were

expected to arrive off Tripoli on the 11th instant. Every available war vessel had been pressed into the service for escort purposes. Reuter wired from Milan: The expedition to Tripoli is being conducted with extraordinary precautions, as though a naval attack were feared. A fleet of battleships, cruisers and destroyers is escorting sixty transports. At night they steam with lights out. The whole convoy presents a front of five miles. Attachés of all Powers, including Japanese and Chinese officers, are accompanying the General Staff. Reuter wired from Rome: The Government has sent a transport with provisions to feed the inhabitants of Tripoli who are starving. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg: In consequence of the Italo-Turkish war, 500,000 tons of goods have accumulated at Taganrog and the neighbouring harbours. Of this, 70 per cent. is wheat consigned to Italy. Reuter wired from Malta: About 450 Maltese refugees are returning to Tripoli to-day.

Reuter wired from Constantinople. The Cabinet has decided upon the closure of the Italian Industrial, Financial and Scholastic establishments in Turkey and on the seizure of Italian steamers. Assim Bey has accepted the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Reuter wired from Rome. At 1.45 on the morning of 10th instant three hundred Turks in Tripoli attacked the Italian post guarding Boeteliana Wells. After half an hour's firing, the Turks were repulsed leaving the dead and wounded behind together with the rifles. The warships *Sardegna* and *Carlo Albert* bombarded the assailants. A reconnaissance made at dawn showed that the country along the whole of the Italian front was free of the enemy. According to special accounts from Tripoli the Turks attacked the Italian field works at 1 o'clock on the morning of the 10th. The searchlights of the warships, however, detected the Turks. The latter fought vigorously but were repulsed by heavy fire from mannes in the trenches who received aid from the warships.

Reuter wired from Perim: The Sultan has sent his thanks to Imam Yahya for his promise of fidelity and offer of his services. The Sheik of Taiz has cabled to the Sultan making a similar offer. Two battalions of infantry and some artillery have left Taiz for Sherif Seyed.

Mr. Ameer Ali, writing to the *Times*, draws attention to the immense ferment in the Mussalman world resulting from the Turko-Italian War. He affirms that Italians are bent on giving the war a religious turn. As a member of the British Empire who has worked for many years strengthening the bonds of sympathy between the East and the West, he appeals to England to put an end to the one-sided struggle.

Reports of Turkish mobilization in Macedonia are causing increasing irritation in Bulgaria. It is announced in Sofia that political circles there are by no means satisfied with Turkish assurances with reference to this mobilization, and it is believed that Bulgaria will demand the withdrawal of the troops in question. The Italian Government has received news of a message (massacres?) of thirty Italians who were working on the Hedjaz Railway.

The landing of the first contingent of the Tripoli Expedition at Tobruk, reported on the 10th instant, is considered to be the most important step in the campaign. Italians maintain that it gives Italy a port rivaling Bizerta and Malta, commanding the trade routes, and being within a striking distance of the Suez Canal. The first division of the Tripoli Expedition landed at noon without a hitch. The Italian authorities at Benghazi have found evidence showing it to be the centre of an extensive arms trade from Sahara to Wadai. The Italians have taken the most stringent precaution to close the last inlet for arms from the Mediterranean. A permanent garrison of 10,000 men will be stationed at Tripoli. Munir Pasha, the Turkish Commander in Tripoli, is reported to be gathering forces in the Gharian Hills behind Tripoli, where he has provisions sufficient for six weeks. He apparently intends to resist the Italians' advance as long as possible, and then gradually to retire to the Tunis frontier. The Maltese refugees returning to Tripoli are destitute. The Government has supplied them with rations for three days, and this grant will be supplemented by contributions from the people. The remaining refugees will be supported from a fund which is being opened by newspapers pending their departure.

It is stated authoritatively that the efforts of the Powers, especially of Germany, have been so successful that both Italy and Turkey have virtually agreed to an armistice, Turkey recognizing the inevitableness of the loss of Tripoli. Italy is continuing to send troops to Tripoli, but no hostilities are taking place. The *Times* states that it is reported in the city that the Turks have been laying mines in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. Altogether 22 Italian transports have arrived in Tripoli, protected by an immense chain of warships. The troops are being disembarked quietly. An Arab leader boarded the cruiser *Pisa* and tendered his submission. He promised to do his utmost to induce other chiefs to recognise Italy. The inhabitants are returning to the towns. The Agent of the Rubattino Line of steamers has just received a cablegram from his head office that the Italian Government has taken the necessary steps to protect mercantile navigation in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The Italian mail service between Aden

and the Italian colony of Massana, which was provisionally suspended, has restarted regular service. There is good reason to believe there will be no danger for the steamer *Rubattino* which is to sail from Bombay on the 15th instant for Genoa and intermediate ports.

The Moslem Feeling in India.

THE Punjab Provincial Moslem League and Sufi Conference at Delhi have passed resolutions protesting against Italy's breach of International Law in commencing hostilities against Turkey and urging Great Britain's intervention. The letter urge boycott of Italian articles.

A mass meeting of Muhammadans was held at the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. Sirdar Muhammad Ali Kazilbash presided. The speakers included the Hon. Muhammad Shafi and several others. A resolution expressing indignation at Italy's high-handed action and indicating sympathy with Turkey and urging the boycott of Italian goods was passed.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Red Crescent Society it was resolved to send the following telegram to the English Press:—"Moslems grateful to Lord Lamington, Messrs. Stead, Cox, Ameer Ali and the European Press. Hope their efforts will culminate in British intervention."

The following is a telegram from Comilla.—The Muhammadans of Comilla assembled in a mosque on Friday evening and prayed for the success of Turkey and Moslem prestige.

Prayers were offered in Lucknow mosques on the 6th instant for the speedy termination of the war and the success of Turkish arms.

At a mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Bankipore and Patna held at the Madrasa Mosque on Sunday the 8th instant the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque denounced in vigorous language the outrage committed by Italy upon Islam. He characterised Italy's action as pure and unadulterated brigandage. Prayers were offered for the success of Turkish arms.

A mass meeting of Moslems to protest against the Turko-Italian war was held on the 5th instant under the presidency of the Hon. Muhammad Abdul Kudus Badshah Sahib Bahadur. The proceedings were in Hindustani and the following resolutions were passed: (1) That this meeting strongly condemns the most high-handed and unjustifiable action of Italy in respect of Tripoli and respectfully solicits the King-Emperor that our beloved Sovereign will be pleased to use his high influence in averting the progress of hostilities. (2) That messages be sent to the Foreign Minister, London, the Grand Vizier of Turkey, and the Secretary of State for India. (3) That this meeting conveys its heartfelt thanks to the Press of the world in general and to the British and the French Press in particular for their condemnation of Italy's action and sympathy with Turkey. (4) That this meeting strongly suggests that Moslems throughout the world should boycott Italian goods. The last resolution when declared carried created enthusiastic demonstration by caps being thrown regardless of their recovery.

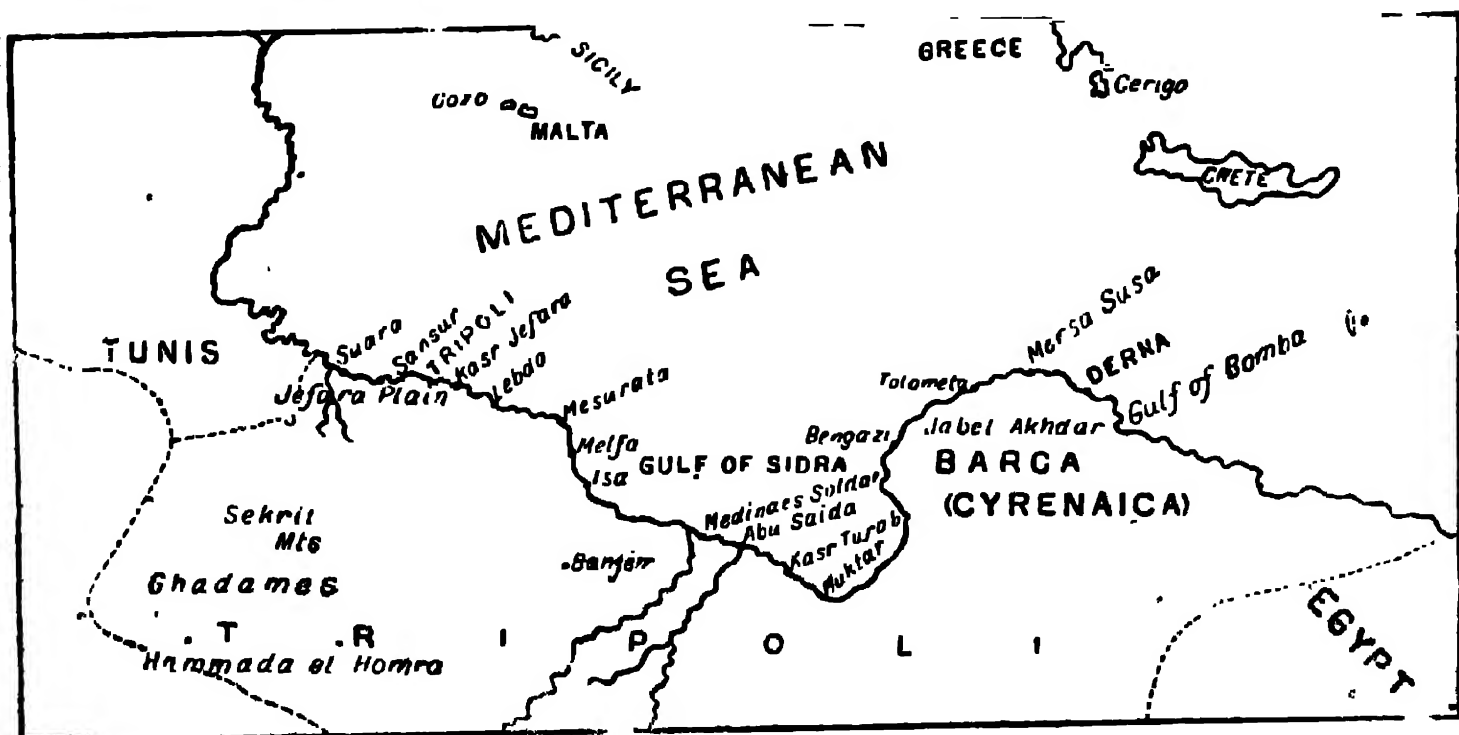
The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League held on Saturday the 7th instant. (1) The Council of the All-India Moslem League, voicing the feelings of Indian Mussalmans, places on record its deep abhorrence of Italy's unjustifiable and high-handed action in Tripoli and her flagrant and unprecedented outrage on International morality, cordially sympathises with Turkey in her undeserved troubles and admires her magnanimity and dignified attitude throughout the crisis and appeals to the Imperial Government to exercise its great and undoubted influence as the greatest Moslem power and the traditional ally of Turkey in the cause of peace and put an end to an unjust and unconscionable war. (2) The Council of the League advises Mussalmans to keep a dignified attitude and place implicit confidence in the benevolence and good intentions of the Imperial Government and try to raise subscriptions for the relief of sufferers in the war. (3) The Council of the All-India Moslem League expects Moslems throughout the country to boycott Italian goods of all kinds.

An Amritsar correspondent writes: An influential meeting of the Muhammadans of Amritsar was held on 4th instant under the presidency of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Usaf Shah at the *Vakil* Office. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted: That this meeting strongly protests against the unjustifiable and aggressive attitude of Italy and views its conduct as a breach of the peace of the world. That the meeting prays the British Government which is looked upon as the greatest Islamic power to help Turkey against the unprovoked and unjust attack of Italy and having regard to the feelings and sympathies of her Moslem subjects in India to endeavour her utmost in averting war and bloodshed. That this meeting earnestly hopes that in the interest of international peace the British Government will not interfere with the free passage of Turkish troops to Tripoli through Egypt. That this

meeting heartily supports the views expressed by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, the recognised leader of the Indian Muhammadans, in the London Times concerning Turko-Italian affairs. That this meeting urges the Moslem community to offer prayers for the Turkish triumph.

A public meeting of Bombay Muhammadans was held on the evening of the 10th instant in the Anjuman-i-Islam hall, Bombay, to express indignation at the action of Italy in declaring war. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bart., was voted to the chair. The hall was crowded. The Hon. Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola moved the first resolution which expressed high indignation at the aggressive and outrageous action of Italy in declaring an unjust war against Turkey and occupying Tripoli against all canons of International Law. The resolution was seconded in different languages and carried unanimously. Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin then proposed that having regard to the fact that Great Britain has the largest number of Muhammadans under her sway and that some of her ministers have consistently followed a pro-Islamic policy and in particular have supported Turkey this meeting considers it highly desirable and earnestly hopes that Great Britain would use her best efforts to put an end to the war. The resolution was carried. On the motion of Mr. Mia Muhammad Jan Muhammad Chhotani, it was resolved to

empower the managing committee of the Anjuman-i-Islam to raise subscriptions to help the families of those killed and wounded and others rendered destitute by the war. Mr. Chhotani announced amidst cheers, that Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Mr. Sulaiman Cassim Mitha and himself had each subscribed Rs. 5,000 towards this fund and that other subscriptions amounting to over Rs. 8,000 had been promised. On the motion of Haji Ismail it was resolved to boycott Italian goods. It was further resolved to approach the Government of India requesting them to take steps whereby food for Hajees might reach its destination and not be stopped at Aden. A special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Juma Mosque of Bombay, was held on Friday, the 6th instant, under the chairmanship of Kazi Sharif Muhammad Saleh Loday, J. P., Kazi of Bombay, when a resolution condemning Italy's action and asking for British intervention was unanimously adopted. Telegrams were forwarded to His Imperial Majesty's Prime Minister in London and copies of the same to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and to the Secretary of State for India and to His Excellency the Viceroy and to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, as well as to the Home Member of the Government of India at Simla.



The Seat of War.

Press Opinion.

The "Times of India."

IN THE sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Tripolitan pirates were the terror and scourge of the Mediterranean and it was not until half the states of Europe had sent fleets to bombard their capital that these pirates were exterminated. After a long interval it has been determined to revive the extinct industry of piracy, and Italy has determined to recreate the glories of the Robbers' Rock and to establish herself in Tripoli. She is not displaying any great amount of bravery in this, and her great naval superiority over Turkey is being used for the most part for blockade and escort work; a landing has been effected at Benghazi in Tripoli and at Preveza on the western coast of Turkey, and there has been a small affair off Durazzo a town farther north on the same coast of Turkey. An expeditionary force of 35,000 men is being despatched to Tripoli and its members—who belong, as Mr. Amos Ali has reminded us, to a nominally Christian nation—have received hurried instructions with a view to their respecting the customs and religion of the inhabitants of Tripoli. That is the situation as we write, so far as the combatants are concerned. The other Powers are officially indifferent spectators, but Germany is making attempts to keep the ring. We do not understand, however, how the area of conflict between these two Powers could be extended unless Italy has designs on other parts of the Turkish Empire or, which is more probable, Turkey makes a counter attack on the Italian possessions in Eastern Africa. If one leaves those contingencies out of consideration, it seems impossible, in spite of the valorous declarations of

the Young Turks, that the war can go on. The weakness of Turkey at sea is a fatal obstacle to her success. But if other Powers follow Italy's example there is, of course, no limit to the area that may be affected. The strengthening of the Turkish troops along the Greek frontier suggests that fears are entertained of the Cretan question being raised again and that, if it should be raised, Turkey will promptly overawe her troublesome little corsair. The Press of Europe is almost united in its hostility towards Italy. In England, papers so long suffering as the *Daily News* and *Westminster Gazette* have become as critical as any of Sir Edward Grey. Even his most fervent supporters have at last discovered the hollow-ness of that Minister's claims to be a statesman. He came into office with a great reputation which rested on nothing more solid than the adulation of his admirers; he has done nothing to justify that reputation. Politically he is like the timid man

Who would not, with too confident a tone,
Declare the nose upon his face his own.

As a fervent worshipper at the shrine of the jumping cat he lately emerged before the public as a devoted adherent to the principle of arbitration. Others had done so and he thought it correct to follow suit. But directly there arises as good a case for arbitration as ever existed and when Turkey appeals to the Powers to stop useless bloodshed, the arbitration had is dropped like a viper. That blessed word which has given Sir Edward Grey so much consolation in the past has not even been mentioned in the telegrams up to the present! But in one respect Sir Edward Grey is being consistent with his former practice as he has the credit for that. Having destroyed that influence British opinion had at Constantinople when the Hamidian regime came to an end, he is continuing the process. Moreover, it is Britain's policy to interfere in Turkish affairs only when

Turkey is likely to have the best of the fight, as in the disputes with Greece. Turkey, according to the modern doctrine, must never be allowed to assert her rights: she is the butt of Europe, fair game for any who feel disposed to rob or molest her. That is the Gladstonian doctrine of Turkey the "great anti-human power," which modern Radicals try to keep alive, thinking that by so doing they display Gladstonian force; whereas as a fact they only play into the hands of Continental rivals.

In the face of these troubles, of Italy as a licensed pirate and of European Cabinets as rather bored onlookers, Turkey is behaving with commendable restraint. Her public men have been schooled in adversity: her populace is behaving with far greater tranquillity and composure than that of Italy. Nor is this Turkish attitude a manifestation of the Muhammadan submission to fate. There is well-founded hope in it which may well increase, for the resignation of the Turkish Cabinet is probably the best thing that could happen for Turkey. It contained some men of ability, but as a whole was unequal to the task of facing troubles in Arabia, Macedonia and Albania, upon all of which the Tripoli affair was suddenly superimposed. Its prestige had gone and its only hope of regaining it lay in the chance that it might be able to score a diplomatic victory over Italy in these negotiations. With right on its side it was no doubt justified in taking the risk, but it reckoned on Italy acting with at least a pretence of conforming to the customs of civilised nations, it had, of course, forgotten that Machiavelli is what Lord Acton called a constant and contemporary influence, and not a vanishing type. Of the new Cabinet we have not yet received full details. Said Pasha is appointed Grand Vizier and Kiamil Pasha becomes Foreign Minister and the return of these "elder statesmen" is significant. They are not likely to accept office, even in a great emergency, without an understanding from the Committee that there will be no more of that interference with the internal administration of Turkey which has hitherto hampered progress under the new régime. Kiamil Pasha, when he was Grand Vizier in 1909, matched himself against the Committee of Union and Progress but found that unconstitutional body too strong for him and he was ousted from power. We do not imagine that the venerable statesman would face the possibility of being again thrown over, and from this circumstance we are encouraged to hope that the Committee is to be subordinate to the Government. If on the other hand Turkey is to be ruled by a disorganized Committee at Salonika, instead of by a constitutional Government at Constantinople, there is little hope for the country.

The "Advocate of India."

ITALY has committed a breach of faith, and with the facts before us we find ourselves in agreement with the British and continental press in their denunciation of her action. A week ago Italy raised a clear issue concerning Tripoli, stating that her only desire was that she should be accorded equal terms with other Powers in Tripoli and affirming in the most definite manner that she had no designs on the hinterland of Tripoli. Furthermore, some weeks earlier an Italian deputy, Dr. Benedetti Comeno, contributed a remarkable article to the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* in which he declared that Italy had pretensions in Tripoli, that the Italian Government intended to open negotiations with Turkey and would, with her acquiescence and under acknowledgment, of Turkish suzerainty in Tripoli, occupy that province in the same manner as France had occupied Morocco. It was added that Italy had "sounded" the Powers and that Austria-Hungary alone "had put forward friendly objection to the suitability of the present moment for raising the question." Meanwhile, there had been considerable excitement in Constantinople where the Press had definitely charged Italy with seeking a monopoly over every kind of enterprise to be undertaken for the development of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. A Turkish rejoinder was not long in coming and it was stated that Turkey would not agree to the Italian proposals. "Any Ottoman Government which dared to yield in this direction would," a high Turkish authority declared, "be swept out of existence at once. The fate of Tripoli must be decided by Turkey herself and not by the great Powers for Tripoli is a Turkish province."

Now this left Italy with two alternatives. If the Vienna article was untrue she could issue an official denial. If, on the other hand, it accurately represented her position, it rested with her to justify her proposed action. What action did she take? She chose the first, and on 16th September a semi-official Note was issued in Rome declaring that "there is no foundation whatever for the suggestion put forward by the Italian deputy, Dr. Benedetti Comeno, in the *Neue Freie Presse* that Italy was contemplating action with regard to Tripoli and has been sounding the other Powers as to their attitude." And a few days later the Rome *Tribuna*, a quasi-official organ, said:—

"Several foreign papers publish telegrams from Constantinople declaring that Italy has put forward, and is maintaining, claims

to a monopoly over every kind of enterprise to be undertaken for the development of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Turkish Government is well aware that this is false, and that, if a series of questions of increasing seriousness has arisen between the Porte and the Italian Government, its origin and motives do not lie in any such absurd pretensions on the part of Italy. The Italian Government does not desire economic monopoly, but merely equitable treatment for Italian interests, and has protested against the persistent obstructionist action taken against those interests. Naturally, the Italian Government will never allow its citizens and Italian economic interests to be placed in an inferior position to others in Tripoli. The false reports imputing to Italy monopolist aims and intentions tend to excite antipathy for and mistrust of Italy and her designs—an antipathy and mistrust in no way warranted by the conduct of Italy, clear, precise and sincere."

On the 22nd September the same paper declared that it was authorized to state in a most explicit manner that the Italian Government had no intention of ever raising the question of claims in the hinterland of Tripoli.

Meanwhile Turkey has been most explicit in her contention that all nations had equal trading privileges in Tripoli and she significantly added to one such declaration that "if Italy does not seek territorial rectification, or a protectorate, or a preferential position, then the removal of the present tension is very easy." Italy replied to this by despatching an ultimatum which declared that the Italian grievances were—"Constant Turkish hostility to enterprises and disregard of all remonstrances respecting disorder and neglect in Tripoli." The note declared that Italy had decided to occupy Tripoli, Cyrenaica and wound up with the cynical observation that Italy trusted that the Turks would give orders for the occupation not to be opposed. Subsequent agreement would be made for a definite settlement. Italy asked for a reply within twenty-four hours. Turkey decided not to oppose the Italian landing and, formally replying to the Rome despatch, expressed surprise at the action of Italy and hoped she would desist from the measures contemplated. The reply further emphasised Turkey's desire for a settlement of pending affairs and promised to protect Italians, and suspend military measures during the negotiations. So far as it is possible to judge from the summary of the Italian ultimatum cabled by Renter, Turkey conceded the only demand made, namely, not to oppose the Italian landing, and also promised to protect the Italians in the country. Italy's next step can only be described as amazing. She officially announces that "as Turkey has not acceded to Italy's demands a state of war prevails" and our latest telegrams to-day announce that she has already opened hostilities in real earnest.

It is difficult to see the end of the trouble; indeed, the only things that stand out clearly are the facts that Italy is the aggressor, that the two grievances she noted in her despatch to Constantinople were scarce justification for her belligerent action, and that by her methods of "negotiation" she has evoked an outburst of sympathy with the Turks. It is also extremely difficult to understand the indifference of our own Foreign Office, and journals at home of such opposite schools as the *Daily News* and the *Daily Graphic* are united in their view of Sir Edward Grey's policy. Some journals "dwell on the perilous enterprise upon which Italy is embarking, and which, they declare, involves the danger of a European conflagration, if Turkey takes reprisals in the Balkans. They also refer to the provocation of Islam which would result, declaring that such provocation would be specially serious for a Muhammadan power like Britain." Other papers do not hesitate to apply to Italian action the strongest epithets, one going so far as to describe the ultimatum as "this cynical, brutal aggression and act of piracy."

The "Madras Standard."

WE WILL not dignify the present conflict between Italy and Turkey with the name of a "war." Turkey has not yet taken the field and Italy landed at Tripoli after what we might say a mere demonstration and waste of powder and shot. When Turkey's preparations are complete and the plan of her campaign is laid out, then we shall have something approaching to a war. Meanwhile there is still some probability of hostilities being terminated by intervention if only to clear the European atmosphere of the contagion of war fever, which might lead to undesirable complications. Already Greece is reported to be mobilising two battalions in response to Turkish activity in Epirus. The war fever in Italy is reported to have reached a high pitch. These are the kinds of complications which cause some anxiety. But we are sure a precipitation of a general conflict will be guarded against by the powers and in the event of any such probability the Powers may find it prudent, in the interests of European peace, to interfere and bring about a pacific conclusion.

Turkey Re-visited: Three Years of Revolution, and After.

By W. T. STAD.

23rd July 1911.

I.—THE PETS OF THE REVOLUTION.

I was wakened this morning early by the sweet, weird, throbbing music of the Turkish national march. My window overlooks the main road leading past the British Embassy to the Taksim Barracks. I got up and looked out. A regiment of Turkish soldiers, in full marching order, were following their band up the hill. They were all in khaki, with puttees and knapsacks and great-coats. Some carried behind the knapsack the brightly burnished brass vessel in which they cook their food. After each company of fifty men rode an officer on horseback. The whole regiment moved with the precision of a machine. Here was none of the pomp and panoply and circumstance of glorious war. I saw in motion a section ready for instant action of the manly, efficient, which for more than five centuries has enabled the Ottoman Turk to hold his own against Christendom. There was nothing here of the familiar, romantic and picturesque savagery of the Moslem hordes which swept in fury over Eastern Europe, irresistible until it recoiled before the walls of Vienna. But here were the men, the same tough material out of which successive Sultans had carved the scimitar which made them the terror of the world. Young men they were almost entirely—none over twenty-five—save the officers, and few of the officers were beyond middle age. Well set up they were; brown of face, spare of figure, they marched with a steady stride of the music of their band. If these men can shoot as well as they can march, if these officers can lead as well as they can ride and—which is perhaps the most important of all—if the Government refrains from wasting them in unnecessary campaigns against tribes which only ask to be left alone, this Turkish army will be an important factor in the politics of the near future.

The Ottoman Turk has been five hundred years in Europe and he has developed no kind of capacity but that of the fighting man. He has neither been author, sculptor, painter, inventor, nor indeed anything but a first-class fighting man. He is wiry, tough, frugal, sober, capable of enduring privation, amenable to discipline, and, in his own way, religious enough to observe his fasts and say his prayers and die cheerfully, with a good hope that it is well with him beyond. By the sword he won his way into Europe, by the sword he retains his position, by the sword he will lose it. As the cat said to the fox in the fable, she only knew one trick to escape the dogs, but her device of getting up a tree was worth all Reynard's hundred devices. So it is the Turk's one talent—a calm, business-like readiness to kill or to be killed—which has made him a match for all the cleverer nations that surrounded him. His capacity in that line is his one talent. Nor has he ever let it remain hidden in a napkin. Whether with scimitar or repeating rifle, this one thing he does, and does it well.

So inveterate is his devotion to his solitary art that when there was a revolution to be made, a Parliament to be created and a Constitution to be proclaimed, it was the army who did it. And if, as some fear, the Constitution is abolished and Parliament dissolved and despotic rule restored, it is the army that will be employed to do the job. First, last, and all the time, the Turkish Empire is the back garden of a barracks. It was, therefore, but in accordance with the fitness of things that the fête of the Revolution should be first and foremost a military spectacle, and that it should be celebrated round the Column of the Cannon. Since Tamerlane's mound of skulls and similar monads, which the Ottoman Turk reared here and there in Europe, there is nothing so nakedly, brutally military as the monument which the Turks set up to commemorate the triumph of the Constitution. The Arc de Triomphe and the Vendôme column in Paris are memorials of victorious war; but the art of the architect is used to give a beauty, a dignity, a splendour to the soldier's work. Not so with the Turks. To commemorate the triumph of liberty they erected upon a solid pedestal a gigantic reproduction in stone of a modern cannon. Now a cannon has its uses in the field of battle, but this monster stone-imitation of a field-gun with its open muzzle pointed skywards, as if, like Nimrod, who has vanquished all rivals on earth, it would wage war on heaven—was there ever a more crude or ugly memorial erected by man? Yet there it stands to this day, and there the Turkish Ministers and representatives of all arms of the Turkish army assembled to commemorate the triumph of the Constitution. How characteristically Turkish! Below the pedestal on which the breech of the skyward-pointed cannon is resting there is a mausoleum, in which are preserved as a national heirloom the remains of the soldiers of liberty who perished in the Revolution. Four officers shot by their own men when the counter-revolution broke out were buried here as Revolutionary heroes. Afterwards others were added. I hope that in the near future it may not be necessary to enlarge the mausoleum.

When I emerged from the small and crowded chamber, on the walls of which were inscribed in Arabic texts from the Koran appropriate to the martyrs of liberty, whose death was to enable the Turk to spring at a bound to the forefront of the constitutional and civilised nations of the world, I was suddenly flung back across the centuries. Immediately outside the entrance to the cannon-crowned mausoleum of the Revolutionary heroes, in the midst of an apathetic crowd of gaily uniformed officers and white turbaned Moslem clergy, there stood a butcher with a long keen knife in his hand which dripped with blood. At his feet, writhing in the death agony, kicked and shuddered his beautiful white rams with gilded horns, whose throats had been cut right across. The blood was pouring out of the half-decapitated trunk, the end of the hideous severed windpipe protruded from the head, while from the reeking trunk came faint shuddering gasps as the air from the labouring lungs forced its way through the blood. The poor animals were lying on their sides kicking convulsively. The butcher wiped the bloody blade upon the snowy wool of his victims, and then, as if impatient they were such an unconscionable long time in dying, he seized the head of one, and pressing it backward tried to break its neck. Failing in this he took the point of his knife and tried to pierce the spinal marrow, with but little better success. The only result was to increase the shuddering convulsions of the ram. Gradually, however, as the life-blood ebbed the evidence of life became extinct, and the two sacrifices lay side by side in their gore, to the glory of God and for the cause of charity to the poor.

I asked a Young Turk about the loathly spectacle. "It is religion," he said, "and besides that, it is a work of charity, for the flesh of the sacrifices is given to the poor." No Turkish function is complete without such sacrifices. Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin, says the Old Book, older even than the Koran. Here then was the shedding of blood. Here was the cannon with its muzzle reared on high. It was the Turkish Empire in a microcosm. The religion of the Asian desert and the weapon of modern war—that is the Church and State of the Ottomans yesterday, to-day and for ever. To find them both united in celebration of the latest born of Constitutions based on revolutionary theories of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was a somewhat startling experience.

"This will destroy that," said Victor Hugo in *Notre Deme*, pointing from the printed page to the great cathedral which embodied the religious faith of Catholic France. Will this Constitution be equally fatal to this religion which sacrifices rams at the foot of the Cannon monument? Who knows? The two can hardly live together in the same house. So many are saying, so some are fearing. Militarism and the Koran are strange supporters of a Constitution based on the rights of man and the teachings of Auguste Comte.

II.—THE MIRACLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Muhammad in the Koran perpetually renews the faith of his followers and stimulates their enthusiasm by recounting the miraculous victories which God had enabled them to win over their enemies. None of the victories of Islam in its earliest days afforded such manifest and unmistakable signs of the protecting hand of Allah as are to be found in the success of the Young Turks in their campaign against Abdul Hamid. The Salonica Committee had fifteen shillings in the treasury. In Constantinople the Revolutionary exchequer had exactly ten shillings when the Committee declared war upon the Sultan, who was also Caliph of Islam, the sole lord of the lives of twenty-four millions of subjects, whose empire stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Adriatic. The Committee consisted of a mere handful, not enough to fill the ranks of a single regiment of young men inexperienced in affairs of all manner of conflicting enthusiasms.

Never did a tinier David go forth with a sling and a stone against a mightier Goliath. Besides the disaffected officers who cared little for their Constitution, they had nothing to rely upon beyond the possible support of the most heterogeneous conglomeration of antagonistic elements the world has ever seen. They had no foreign Power to help them. They were even then by no means united in their own counsels. But, as the man of the world would say, they "pulled it off by a most extraordinary fluke." A combination of almost inconceivable coincidences aided them. Be it so. But to the simpler mind of the ordinary man, Christian or Moslem, it would be more natural to attribute their success, as Cromwell attributed the success of his Ironsides, to the manifest interposition of the outstretched hand of God. "He must be a very heathen," said the Lord Protector, "who does not recognise this."

The Young Turks overturned a sovereign whose Empire had a revenue of twenty-six millions a year, although their own military chest did not contain ten dollars. It reminds one of Tancred's saying in Disraeli's novel, "The Persian, Assyrian, and Babylonian monarchies might be gained in the morning with faith and the flourish of a sabre." That, however, was but the smallest part of the miracle. It is much easier to overthrow a despotism than it is to found a Constitution. It is most difficult

of all to found a Constitution by the aid of men who do not believe in a Constitution. But that is what the Turkish revolutionists actually accomplished.

There were probably never more than a hundred genuine Young Turks, meaning thereby men who believed or understood the meaning of Constitutionalism. They were the men who, reared in Western ideas, conceived the notion of exploiting the popular and military discontent in the cause of revolutionary Liberalism. By themselves they were powerless. But behind them were forces which, if they could but be persuaded to act in concert, might be irresistible. Of these forces by far the most powerful, and indeed the only one which counted for anything effective, was the discontent in the army. This was primarily professional and personal, with the thinnest possible veneer of Liberalism. There is no doubt that the whole body of younger officers were in latent revolt against the existing system which confined promotion to those who were in favour with the Sultan's clique of favourites. It is as little open to question that this discontent was stimulated by a genuine desire to see the Empire rescued from the hands of an incompetent and cowardly ruler. But no one will seriously maintain that for constitutional principles as such, for parliamentary government, for all the Western shibboleths, there was one young officer in a hundred who cared a straw. The officers were Turks and Moslems to a man. They had been born and bred in an atmosphere in which the notion of equality between the dominant Turkish Mussalman and the Christian rayah can no more exist than a similar notion as to the equality of black men and white can exist in the mind of a South African Boer. They were men of the ruling caste, like our Anglo-Indian officers. Yet the handful of Young Turks, saturated with the ideas of the French Revolution, succeeded in exploiting this military discontent in the interest of the Constitution which defiantly asserts the equality of races and creeds. They persuaded the officers that it was necessary to pay this homage to Western ideas in order to secure the support of the Armenian Revolutionists and the Bulgarian bands whose alliance was necessary to the movement. That someone might discover they had been duped after the Sultan was overthrown was probable. The Young Turks might combine the various elements of disaffection when they were confronted by a common enemy. When that enemy was out of the way it would be soon enough to quarrel as to which of the allies should be thrown over.

Behind the military discontent there was, of course, the general feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest among the masses of the suffering peasantry. That, however, is a force which is as constant as it is impotent. It operates like atmospheric pressure in all revolutions. But unless it is concentrated on one object at a given time it is wasted. Of a similar nature was the general discomfort occasioned by the despotic system of Abdul Hamid. But the better-to-do classes, who were the chief sufferers, had borne it for thirty years, and they would have borne it for as long as the Sultan lived had it not been for the Young Turks and their allies the Jews—here, as elsewhere, the main-spring of much revolutionary activity. The battering ram of military revolt was hurled against Abdul Hamid by a junta of enthusiastic freethinking Positivists and astute Jews, who were, perhaps, less idealistic in their calculations. In return for their clever engineering of the Revolution they were allowed to name their price. That price was the Constitution. The soldiers paid the price stipulated with reserves, uttered or unexpressed. Men whose minds were incapable of realising the existence of a Turkish Empire that was not based upon the dominance of the conquering Moslem assented half unthinkingly to the wholesale application of the principles of Western democracy to Turkey of to-day. The Young Turks had their chance, they seized it; and although their military allies may have sometimes rued the bargain they made, they have at least, not yet gone further than to insist that the military expenditure of the Empire shall not be controlled by the Chamber. How much longer the compact will last remains to be seen. But that is the way in which the miracle of the twentieth century was accomplished. The Constitution was as much a *coup d'état* of arbitrariness as any *coup d'état* in history. It was imposed upon a people which did not know what it meant by a mere handful of Positivists and Jews using for their purpose the formidable and irresistible instrument of a military revolt. They got rid of Abdul Hamid's system without a blow; they got rid of Abdul Hamid himself by suppressing the counter-revolution which the Sultan paid for and the clericals of Islam excited, and three years after their first victory they are still nominally in the saddle. At the Monument of the Cannon on the fête day of the Revolution, Mahmoud Chekret Pasha, who as Minister of War is chief of the army, appealed to all his officers to pledge him their word that they would oppose any and every force which might attack their sacred Constitution. With one voice the assembled officers responded, "We pledge ourselves." It was rather a sinister omen that within twelve hours Mahmoud Chekret Pasha was struck senseless by a beam which fell from the building of the General Staff as he was vainly attempting to rescue the structure from the conflagration which raged in the heart of Stamboul.

III.—THE GREAT FIRE.

When waiting for the march past on the fête day I was accosted by an elderly officer in uniform, who speaking excellent English, introduced himself as M. Szechenyi, a Hungarian, who, after learning the art and science of fire-fighting under Captain Shaw in London, was now in charge of the fire brigade in Constantinople. He said fires were constantly breaking out; he had five or six the previous night. Stamboul, the Turkish city, being chiefly built of wood, was peculiarly subject to fires, especially in the dry season. I little thought as I gossiped with M. Szechenyi that before nightfall I should be afforded so terrible an illustration of the dangers he had constantly to face. The dashing drive of a fire brigade through the crowded streets of London or of New York is one of the most thrilling incidents in city life. But the steam or motor driven fire-engines, or even the galloping horses of the days that are passing, cannot compare for weird romantic excitement with the rush of the Turkish fire brigade when the alarm is raised and the fire-fighters are mobilised for action. Preceded by men carrying flaring flambeaux high overhead, the men of the fire brigade run on foot through the street. Their red unpeaked helmets—M. Szechenyi explained that no peaked hats of any kind are tolerated in Turkey, as the peak prevents the proper performance of the ritual of devotion—with their black veils streaming behind for the protection of their necks, gives them a quaint resemblance to the warriors of ancient Babylon. Some of them carry a force-pump, a horse cart conveys the hose, and then, to crown all, comes the pelting charge of the volunteers, bare-footed, bare-legged and bare-headed, wearing little more than a combination of a gaily-coloured sweater and drawers of the same colour. As I witnessed the charge of the fire brigade down the hill of Pera for the first time it seemed to me more like the old time style of "Turkish charge" than the parade ground discipline of the modern Ottoman army.

The fire brigade took part in the march past, not as firemen, but as an armed force, carrying rifles and cartridges. It was incongruous, but Turkish. All civil force to be respected must be at times converted into a man-slaying instrument. But for this divergence of civil agencies from their proper duties they pay a price, and the price is high. The money paid for the rifles of the firemen would have bought a floating fire-pump which could pour the inexhaustible water of the Bosphorus upon the fires of Stamboul. But as it is spent on rifles, the floating fire-pump cannot be bought, and Stamboul burns.

The fête of the Revolution was celebrated all over Constantinople by the usual popular rejoicings natural to the populations of great cities. There was a great display of hunting, red and white—the Constitutional colours predominating. The Red Flag, with the Crescent and the Star in white, met the eye at every turn. With it was often the green flag which seems to be equally dear to the Irishman, the pious Moslem, and the Esperantist. The illuminations were in the simple old style which has gone out in countries where electric light and gas supply our needs, but which, I confess, seem to me more effective than much of the Coronation illumination. Here and there, especially opposite military establishments, rude triumphal arches of unplanned deal were put up across the street and covered with small lamps. There were a few processions to the Monument of the Revolution, on horse and foot, with the usual display of banners, and a fair allowance of bands, both brass and drum and life. There was not a tomtom anywhere to be heard, save here and there in a low class concert-room in the shums of Stamboul. In the evening the whole population turned out to see the illuminations and to enjoy the excitement of the crowd. The displays of fireworks were chiefly confined to the letting-off of squibs and kindling of fairy lights by small boys and girls in the street. Up the Bosphorus there were more ambitious displays, but in town the occasional cracker, the sparkling starlight, and the bright glare of nitrate of strontia supplied the ample needs of the masses.

Pera, where I am staying, is on the European side of the Bosphorus, divided from the Turkish city of Stamboul by the Golden Horn, which is crossed by two bridges. The Government Offices, the Sublime Porte, the Seraskerat, the Commission of the Debt, and all the great mosques are in Stamboul, which is said to have a population of over a million souls, lodged for the most part in houses built of wood with wooden roofs. It was here where, on the afternoon of the fête day, incendiarianism or accident provided an illumination on a far vaster scale than any pyrotechnist dreamed of. The firemen had hardly disengaged themselves of their rifles and the cartridges on their return from the review when the wild, weird, thrilling cry of "Fire!" rang through the streets. Fires had broken out in two or three places in Stamboul and were spreading fast. They gained considerable hold before the fire brigade could be got into action, and then it was too late. A wind springing up from the north-east swept the fire before it with a fury nothing could withstand. It raged with unabated intensity for more than fifteen hours. When it died out 7,000 houses lay in ruins and 100,000 persons were homeless.

I did not see the fire till about 7 o'clock in the evening, when I saw from the top storey of the Pera Palace a scene the like of which I had never seen before, and which I sincerely hope I may never see again. In the immediate foreground, in the slopes of Pera, the European city gleamed in long parallels of lighted windows down to the Golden Horn. All the shipping in the port was illuminated. The Regie, the Government tobacco monopoly on the Stamboul side, was brilliantly decorated with Imperial devices picked out with innumerable lights. Far above from the dark blue sky a few stars were looking down upon the gaily decorated city, from whose streets rose now and then the merry sound of children's laughter and the distant strains of music. It would have been difficult for painter or poet to conceive a scene more fairy-like in its beauty, more fascinating in its suggestion of jocund mirth than the great amphitheatre sloping down towards the Golden Horn, which scintillated with innumerable stars.

But all this witching scene is but as the setting of a spectacle of horror. For before one the whole southern sky flared to the zenith with golden clouds lured with the glow of a fiery furnace which flamed below. In the daytime, as I observed at noon when another fire broke out near the water's edge, the smoke shows black in the sun, while the flames bite out, as it were from the blackness, red mouthfuls of fire. But at night all the smoke was transfigured into a vast swelling translucent cloud of gold that rose and rose continuously as from the depths below house after house crashed down in ruins, sending up great columns of vivid flame. The cloud was constantly in movement, but it remained rooted to its base. It was a great flag of fire waving in the wind, signal of terrible import, of incalculable human suffering now in any case, and possibly much more hereafter.

And as I stood fascinated, looking upon the great city with the fire eating out her heart—for the Military General Staff, the seat of the brain of the army which is an Empire, was blazing like a furnace—I could not help recalling the apocalyptic vision of the fall of Babylon, when all the kings of the earth bewailed and lamented for the great city "when they saw the smoke of the burning, standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city, for in one hour is thy judgment come. And as many as trade by sea stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city, yet in one hour she is made desolate. For in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth." There, like the crater of a huge volcano, Stamboul blazed hour after hour. The flames, measured by the map, stretched in unbroken line for twelve miles along the sky-line. There were two active centres, but the smoke and flame from each centre joined hands in the midst. The vast dome of the Suleman mosque, with its four slender minarets, stood out in bold relief against the fiery cloud that rose very close to its walls. The sky-line of the houses and mosques on Stamboul ridge was like a black silhouette against the background of golden light.

After watching the awful spectacle for some time I ordered a carriage and drove to the fire. Approaching it at first on the wrong side, we were driven back by the heat, but by executing a long detour we gained the windward side of the second and larger conflagration. Leaving our carriage under the guidance of a most courteous policeman, who refused to take any tip, saying "I have only done my duty, I cannot accept your money," I worked my way close to the edge of the fire. There I saw the fire-fighters at work, and pitied them from my heart. It was like trying to extinguish a volcano with a penny squirt. They were hard work at on the frontier of the fire, relays of them labouring at the pump and weaving of a task which seemed utterly useless. A vast acreage of blazing ruins was visible in front of us, into which no human being could venture and live. Slowly the fire crawled nearer and nearer, like some great dragon whose breath was flame. Just after house fell, and it was only a question of time when the house from which we were watching the flames would share the same fate. In the mosque yards, on the police stations crouched thousands of miserable refugees, some of them with their little store of household treasure that they had been able to rescue from the flames; others utterly destitute, glad only to have escaped with their lives. What an appalling mass of human misery!

The last fire I had seen was in Count Tolstoy's village, at Yasnia Polyana, where Count Tolstoy himself had a narrow escape of being burnt alive. Then as now the sudden irresistible rush of the flames suggested the hopelessness of arresting war when once it has broken out. Then as now the utter inefficiency of the fire-extinguishing apparatus reminded me of the impotence of Peace Societies. The water-supply was insufficient; but even if there had been plenty of water, not even the fire-fighters of Chicago or of London could have stemmed that fire once it had fairly got hold. Behold how great a matter a spark kindleth! Of which the moral is sufficiently obvious: To interpose an inquiry by International Commission in all cases where national opinion runs high, before allowing any appeal to the sword, as is proposed by the American Arbitration Treaty, is an expedient for avoiding international conflagration infinitely more effective than all the efforts of all the pacifists to cope with the passions of the nations.

IV.—THE SULTAN.

On Monday, 24th July, I was summoned to the Palace of Dolma Bagtche to an audience with the Sultan. I was duly warned beforehand, as I was before I went to Gatchina to see Tsar Alexander III., that I must not expect to have anything but the most formal conversation. "The Tsar never talks to any foreigner, least of all to a journalist. He will make a remark about the weather, pay a compliment or two, and then the audience will be over." I did not find it so. No man ever spoke more freely and more frankly to man than did the Emperor Alexander III., when in a crowded half hour we passed in review every question upon which there might hereafter arise points of friction between Britain and Russia. But I had my doubts about the Sultan. Alexander III. was a man of decided character, an autocrat who ruled as well as reigned. No one questioned his ability to talk if he chose, they only doubted his will. With the Sultan it was different. It was not that he lacked the will, I was assured that he lacked the intelligence to converse on matters of State. A man who has been kept a virtual prisoner for thirty years and who was over sixty years when he was called to a throne which he was allowed to occupy in order that others might rule in his name, was a very different person from the Russian Tsar. Besides this, the Tsar talked English, so that our conversation took place between four eyes, whereas the Sultan only speaks Turkish, and the presence of an interpreter was indispensable. The latter difficulty was, however, minimised—indeed, altogether removed—by the kind offices of Loutfi Bey, the Court Chamberlain, who speaks English admirably, and to whose courtesy I am deeply indebted. I have seldom had a more careful and more sympathetic interpreter. Loutfi Bey—or Sir Loutfi, as he told me, with some amusement, he was entitled to be called, owing to his possession of the Victorian Order, bestowed on him by our King on his last official visit to London—was one of the few Court officials who served both Abdul Hamid and his successor. He is a pleasant-spoken man, with a keen sense of humour and a ready wit.

Everyone who has been in Constantinople knows the Dolma Bagtche Palace, which is one of the most beautiful in Europe and much the most beautiful in Constantinople. Unlike Yildiz Kiosk, where the late tyrant secluded himself from the gaze of mankind, Dolma Bagtche stands close to the water's edge of the Bosphorus, and its windows look upon a scene of beauty to which two continents contribute, but which neither continent can excel. It is not an old palace. Dating back no further than the Crimean War, it was, nevertheless, seen some history in the making. Here the luckless Abdul Aziz was made a prisoner, and here in the great Throne Room the Turkish Parliament held its first sitting. On the day fixed for my audience the weather was ideally perfect. The sun and sea and sky combined to make the scene a vision of radiant beauty. The only dark cloud on the horizon was the smoke that rose from the fire which was raging far up the Golden Horn, and which wild, and fortunately inaccurate, rumour said was eating its way towards the Patriarch's Palace at the Phanar.

We drove without check or challenge through the gates of the garden and were ushered at once into the Chamberlain's room. My dragoman was at once dismissed as unnecessary. As cigarettes, sherbet and coffee were served, I asked Sir Loutfi if any special formalities had to be observed on approaching the Sultan, who, as Caliph, Commander of the Faithful, and the Shadow of God on earth, might possibly expect some outward and visible signs of respect on the part of his visitor. I was assured that His Majesty was quite in the English style, and that the reception would be simplicity itself.

Having finished coffee, which was served in cups set in silver holders thickly crusted with diamonds, I was summoned to the presence. An officer in khaki uniform conducted me to the door of the Sultan, to whom I was at once presented by Sir Loutfi. His Majesty advanced a step or two to meet me, shook hands, and motioned me to a chair. As he resumed his own, I scrutinised him with interest and curiosity. The Sultan is a man somewhat below the middle height, somewhat past the prime of life, slightly stout in body and somewhat slow in his movements and in his speech. He was older than any Sovereign I had previously met and with a less mobile countenance. He wore the inevitable red fez—an institution with which not even the Parliament dares to interfere—and beneath his grey eyebrows his eyes blinked with a somewhat vacuous expression. He wore a moustache and his beard was trimmed short. He did not strike me as being a nervous man, neither did he give me the impression either of an alert mind or of resolute will. A somewhat dull, colourless face, with a curious suggestion in it of the old Land Leaguer, Matt Harris of Ballinasloe. It seemed to me that he had the somewhat shy reserve of a prisoner not yet fully accustomed to liberty; a man, I should say, naturally of a kindly disposition, but of somewhat confused mind, who has not yet got his bearings or felt his footing firm enough to show his own leanings. But I did not feel quite sure that there was not in him something more than appears on the surface, and that if his life he spared his Ministers may find that he has a will of his own. There is a good

deal of dogged obstinacy behind that apparent timidity. It is not the timidity of temperament. It is only the timidity of a landsman who has not got his sea-legs.

As I looked at him I could not help feeling a certain sense of responsibility and even of awe. For whatever might be the value or the valuelessness of the human integer, I could not forget that the man before me represented one of the few factors that count in the ordering of the future of the Near East. After deducting 90 per cent. from the nonsense that is talked about the Caliphate, there still remains sufficient residuum to make him far more than an ordinary Sovereign. Before I left England I felt that the Constitutional Party had made a great mistake in belittling the importance of the Sultan. In his name alone can they rule, and it is the worst of bad policies to discredit the position of the Sovereign. It is so in Great Britain. It is doubly so in the East, where the personality of the Padishah counts for much more than in the West. It was clear to me from the outset that the Sultan had nothing particular to say to me. He had received me as a matter of courtesy at the request of the Grand Vizier, and if he had any thought at all about the audience it was probably one of mild curiosity as to what kind of a creature I might be, and why in the world I should come to see him. But this, although it did not promise well for an interview such as are common when a Sovereign or his Ministers seek to obtain expression of their views through the columns of a newspaper, left me all the freer field in which to deliver my message. For I have never sought an audience with any ruler of mankind from any motive of idle curiosity or of professional ambition. I have never undertaken to spare time which I did not intend to use to the best of my ability in saying what I thought it would be useful for them to hear. In the present case it seemed to me before I left London that if I got a chance I ought to use it to impress upon the Sultan two ideas—first, the splendour and glory of the position of a Constitutional monarch if he relies upon influence rather than on authority; and secondly, the absolute impossibility of keeping an Empire together excepting by a system of decentralisation, which Great Britain affords as the most advanced type. The universal enthusiasm with which the Coronation had been celebrated in my own country, and the remarkable evolution of decentralised Imperialism recorded at the recent Imperial Conference, seemed to afford me apt texts on which to discourse during my sojourn in Turkey. It might seem a little mad to dream of delivering such a message to such a man, but it was none the worse on that account. The Turks do not despise madmen, but say that they are men to whom Allah has spoken. Anyhow, I had no doubt whatever as to my duty, if I got a chance, or how I should use it.

"Son of man," so came the word of the Lord to the Hebrew seer, "I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore hear the word of My mouth and give them warning from Me"—a command that was coupled with the emphatic declaration that if the message was not delivered, "their blood will I require at thine hand." If the warning were unheeded the doom might fall, but "thou hast delivered thy soul." It may sound presumptuous to those not brought up as I was on the words of the Old Book, to appropriate to myself the mandate given two thousand years ago to the Prophet of Israel. But after all truth is truth, and if you are dead certain that you are right, and see dangers to which your fellow-man is blind, it is surely your duty, under penalty of being responsible for your silence, to warn him of his peril. Anyhow, I felt if I were allowed a chance I should regard it as a "Thus saith the Lord," and that I would spare no effort to deliver my message as faithfully as I could. Whether it was heeded or whether it was disregarded did not lie in my hands. I would at least deliver my own soul. My interview with the Sultan was much more the delivery of a message to His Majesty than any catechising of the Sovereign for information or as to opinion. The conversation began with a few pleasant words of compliment from the Sultan, in which it was not difficult to detect the skilful hand of Sir Loutfi, who had long been a reader of the *Review of Reviews*. I replied by expressing my sense of the high honour conferred upon me by being admitted to the presence of His Majesty. He bowed slightly. I went on, "May I take the liberty of expressing to your Majesty my profound sympathy with the unfortunate victims of the terrible conflagration which has devastated Stamboul?"

"I thank you," he replied.

"I have telegraphed to America an account of the sufferings of thousands who have been rendered homeless, and have urged the American people to raise subscriptions for the poor sufferers."

The Sultan's eyes gleamed for a little. Then he spoke slowly, "I thank you for your expression of sympathy. Such sentiments not only do you honour, but they show that despite all difference humanity is one."

He paused. I asked Sir Loutfi, "May I speak freely?"

"Certainly," said the Chamberlain. "His Majesty desires it."

Here then was the open door and the wished-for opportunity. "I wish to congratulate His Majesty upon being the first of the line of Constitutional Sovereigns in Turkey, to be followed, I hope, by a long line of monarchs who will excel in glory the greatest of their predecessors."

Again a pause. The Sultan brought his fingers together across his breast, and answered, "I thank you for your good wishes. I have always desired the establishment of the Constitution in Turkey, and now that it is established I shall maintain the Constitution."

It was evident that those who told me the Sultan would not talk were misinformed. He was not eager to speak. He always paused a little before he framed his sentences. But he answered in a way that showed he was listening attentively, and was sometimes reflecting shrewdly.

From this point the conversation went on freely. The opportunity given me of speaking freely was one which I took advantage of to the uttermost. I confess I was more than once in doubt as to whether I had not ventured too far, and begged Sir Loutfi to abstain from translating anything if he thought that it might give offence. Sir Loutfi invariably replied that there need be no cause for apprehension. The Sultan wished to hear, and I could say what I liked. And I did.

It would not be right to publish a faithful transcript of a conversation so intimate, which, among other subjects touched upon, dealt with the functions of Constitutional sovereigns in the modern State, the advantages of their position as compared with that of autocrats, the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility, and the danger of confounding the person of the monarch with the policy of his advisers. It was to me an interesting, and to the Sultan an unprecedented, experience to hear the most advanced doctrines of proper Imperialism discussed in the Dolma Bagtche Palace. That true loyalty to His Majesty might sometimes be best shown by offering a resolute opposition to evil advisers who might at times surround his throne was obviously to him something of a paradox. Not less interesting was the discussion as to the best way of treating disaffection. The South African Union on one side and the Albanian rising on the other came in as apt illustrations. The Sultan deplored the censures pronounced upon his troops and his generals in the English press. I said that in future we should have a double reason for censuring atrocities, for not only were they bad in themselves, but I now knew from His Majesty's own lips that they were direct acts of disobedience to his commands. I assured him that I should deal as faithfully with all Turkish generals as I had done with British commanders, no more and no less. Then we discussed Turkey's relations with England, Germany and Russia. Here we were on safer ground than in discussing atrocity campaigns. The Sultan exclaimed with some vehemence, after hearing what I said about Germany, "Now I see that you are a man of a good conscience." The doctrine of alliances brought up the analogy of polygamy, and the wittiest thing the Sultan said was, that it was usual in a harem to have a favourite wife, but in international affairs he tried to treat all Powers with equality.

The conversation, which lasted more than an hour, did not come to a close before I had a full opportunity of bearing strong testimony to the fatal and suicidal policy of attempting to govern Turkey on principles of centralisation and Ottomanisation, which, if applied to the British or German Empires, would split them to pieces in six weeks. The Sultan repudiated emphatically any desire to pursue such a policy, which, as I said on leaving, showed once more how much wiser he was than some of his Ministers. We shook hands and parted. It was a somewhat pathetic figure of a man which I looked upon as I backed out of the Imperial presence. He was, I think, somewhat bewildered, but certainly interested. I had not bored him, which is always the first thing to be dreaded when saying things. I had occasionally amused him, and possibly I had succeeded in conveying to a mind not quickly receptive some dim inkling of what I was driving at. "I thank you," he said as we parted. "I thank you very much for all you have said to me. I hope that I shall profit by your words."

Sir Loutfi took me back to his room, where we had a lively discussion about the Sultan and the interview. "He is such an intelligent man," said the Chamberlain, "he is so much interested in all the things you said." I expressed satisfaction, not unmixed with surprise, for I had certainly "said things." "The Sultan has never had such a conversation before with anyone in his life," said Sir Loutfi.

He told me many things about the Sultan's kind heart, of his ready sympathy with distress. He was much upset by the fire in Stamboul; he had ordered that there should be no music in the palace for three days, and had subscribed £2,500 to the relief fund. During his tour in the provinces he delighted to gather the children of various nationalities around him and stand in their midst like a father. "Indeed," said the enthusiastic Chamberlain, "His Majesty is the real father of his people."

"I am delighted to hear it," I replied, "and most happy to believe it. But then, you know, we so often heard just the same thing about Abdul Hamid."

"Oh, but that is quite a different man!" exclaimed Sir Loutfi. Which is true.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUY.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

--As You Like It.

September 22nd.

THE last day of the summer session, with all the sadness of farewell. But Sir Guy as merry as ever. Overheard informing the Cross-Bencher that the Viceregal Lodge was a donjon and that the Punjab which guarded it had a good strong sterling race, very unlike the pap-fed Behar. He knew not perhaps that the Beharees were willing enough prisoners in that donjon.

Mac, in the *persona* of Cheery Chitnis, wanted to know where the Government would locate them and suggested the Victoria Memorial Hall. Sandow II. informed the Council that although the question of its ultimate resting-place was under consideration, Government had not decided which particular *khad* it should be. Madge, ever solicitous for the hyphen between the Anglo and the Indian, wanted the Government of India to take powers from the Secretary of State which it already possessed. Dig'er-Patty elicited from Sandow II. the welcome news that although Amurath had succeeded Amurath in subsidized journalism, the reign of Amurath II. would not last beyond nine months. *Sic transit gloria Sulay Samachari*. Encouraged by the success of this query, Dig'er-Patty put another little question. "What steps are been taken to eradicate plague and malaria and how did they affect the last census figures." Only the Railway Sleeper could have done justice to this encyclopedic question with a reply coming out for three years in weekly parts. Brothar Sahib found himself unable to undertake the labour and shifted the burden to the shoulders of the poor Sanitary Commissioner. At last people will discover that there is some honest work which could be found even for a Sanitary Commissioner. The next question, however, was not one to keep Sir Guy long on his legs. Question: "Do the Government of India intend asking for relief from the British Exchequer on account of the proposed abandonment of its opium revenue." Answer. "Mum's the word." Some more questions by Dig'er-Patty, who is fast assuming the shape of a Note of Interrogation, followed by a string of questions from the Cross-Bencher, who seems to have developed a nascent interest in the rain gauge, and then some more of Dig'er-Patty's very own. Nagri discovered a new advocate in the latter. But his

first attempt to tilt at the windmill resulted in complete disaster. Nagri was represented among the eight vernaculars on the new polyglot currency notes, but in its commercial incarnation and not in the remaining 33 crores Mud Holkar, encouraged by the hope of a legislature at Nagpur, wanted an I.-G. and a Chief Court as well, before asking for a Governor-in-Council and a High Court. But Sandow II gave his usual answer, short and—bitter!

The Dapper Nawab of Madras, who is himself a Bengali by marriage, took pity on the grass widows of Bengal. These poor females had found it hard to console themselves in the absence of their worse halves during the greater part of the year when they migrated to the hills with the Government of India. Indian femininity, no less than the European masculinity of the plains which had to maintain its grass widowhood in Simla in spite of a succession of Hill Captains who flirted to make an English holiday, had found that

Men were deceivers ever,
One foot on hills, one foot on plains,
To one thing constant never.

But the Indian women had become utterly disconsolate since they had heard of the horrors of hibernating hubbies in addition to the milder misery of merely migratory mates. So the Dapper Nawab asked the new Sage of Chelsea to reconsider the decision about the permanent settlement of Bengal husbands on the Himalayan hills. The only answer which he elicited was that all this had been done in the interests of economy so dear to the non-official heart!

Questions over, the Sage moved that the Bill to amend law relating to Co-operation be referred to Select Committee. Evidently the Sage has incurred the displeasure of H. E., for, when the motion was put to the Council, H. E. left out the name of the Mover from the list of the Select Committee.

When the Airships Bill of Sandow II. was safely out of the way, the Moslem Dowager moved that his little Bill about the Improvements of Calcutta be considered and passed. So well did he persuade H. E. in the course of a short speech that the motion was being put to the vote in spite of the Burly Raja standing like a dragon in its path. But Mac rushed to the steps of the throne and acted the part of the prompter in time. Burly Raja then moved the amendment. He thought that the Bill did not go far enough. It wholly (and here he reflected and, in the manner of the philosopher's

"Never—no, hardly ever," corrected himself and said, "Not quite wholly") depended on the will of the deciding officer. "We have come here—particularly I—to ask for a direct appeal." Such, indeed, was the strength of landlordism and such its elevating influence that it had dragged the Burly Raja up thousands of feet above the low level of the Bay of Bengal. Wondered if his amendment, although full of appeal, could appeal to the Moslem Dowager. Anticipating two objections and discussing them with usual dispassionateness, found that "neither argument has a leg to stand upon." Wonder whether in the presence of neither limbs to stand upon they were merely "lying arguments." Evidently Burly Raja had forgotten as a landlord, what he knew so well as an Imperial Leaguer, that Government arguments moved on the oiled castors of an official majority. In seditious cases the High Court had set aside judgments of lower courts and an impression had been created that the latter did not always do justice. At this, Sir Guy, "the Cerberus of Finance," woke up from a "dog sleep" and caught the last syllables about the uncertainty of getting justice and, being the champion of an independent judiciary, looked hard at the Burly Raja who, little knowing what was passing in the mind of the financier, said, "I see the Hon. Finance Member is looking at me fearing that this would increase expenditure." From this passed on to self-commiseration about "the unfortunate people nicknamed blood-suckers and land grabbers and what else I don't know," not caring to repeat the elegant phrase of the ex-Professor, "Pampered Vampires."

Dig'er-Patty seconded the amendment. Confessed that he had not so closely studied the Bill as the Burly Raja but, presumably being one of the pampered brood, thought it his duty to support the mover. As if the Act of 1833 and the Proclamations of 1858 and 1908 were not enough, added the High Court to the long list of India's Magna Chartas. Sir Guy who had once more fallen into a sweet slumber heard this outlandish word and rushed to the conclusion that it must be an attack on the independence of the judiciary. Got up in a baresark rage and on a point of order asked if it was in order to cast reflections on the Calcutta High Court. Poor Dig'er-Patty was flabbergasted. All the resources of manuscript eloquence failed him in this hour of trial. Here he was, a good round figure representing the true rotundity of the globe and—Bengal, facing a formidable financier who was ready to tilt at all executive windmills that presented themselves as the bugbears of all judicial females, and he was well inclined to admit with the Babu who had complained of the rudeness of a soldier to the latter's superior officer and who was asked in return why he had not knocked the fellow down, "Sir, I am a fearful person!" All the genial current of his soul froze at the fountain. But he took courage to explain that nothing was farther from his mind than casting reflections on the High Court, when Sir Guy, forgetting for the nonce that the Viceroy was still in the chair, said in an audible whisper, "But you did. You have done it twice." Dig'er-Patty faltered out that it was the Tribunal, the Corporation, the Scheme—in fact any blessed thing as long as it was not the High Court—to which he had referred. With this sad confession, altogether different from the elegant peroration which he had laboriously prepared, Dig'er-Patty fell back into his chair. The Burly Raja offered salts, and another sympathetic neighbour passed a more useful pocket flask which just saved a fit of hysterics.

The Hon. Longfellow rushed to the rescue of Dig'er-Patty and thought that Sir Guy had evidently misunderstood things. The tribunal created by the Bill was not the Special Tribunal for Sedition nor yet the High Court of Calcutta. Sir Guy rose to explain, and under ordinary circumstances the speaker would have sat down for the time being. But Hon. Longfellow not an ordinary person. Had to telephone to the top-storey of the sky-scraper, but the message did not reach it before H. E. sent a marconigram. When Sir Guy had explained, resumed the discourse and appealed to the experience of the ex-leader of the Behar Bar about the judgments of the lower Courts.

Hooda followed and referred to "the hackneyed expression that all human beings—Hooda and Be-hooda—were fallible."

But feared that it was rather difficult to convince one's neighbour of his fallibility. So, doubted if the tribunal created by the Bill to hear cases would recognise its own fallibility and permit appeals.

Then rose the Dowager and forthwith gave a certificate of infallibility to the tribunal. "If three capable and competent judges of facts associated together to find out the truth cannot inspire confidence in a litigant, one is to assume he is influenced not so much by the desire to get justice as by the love of litigation for its own sake. Those that have been in the legal profession have not been denied the experience of coming across instances where parties have embarked on litigation as an agreeable pastime or even perhaps as a huge amusement. To such as these the amendment will open the door to ineffable happiness." Wonder whether it occurred to the Dowager that the litigant may have been influenced "not so much by the desire to get justice," nor even by "the love of litigation for its own sake," as by a persuasive lawyer! Those that have not been in the legal profession have not been denied the experience of coming across instances where parties have embarked on litigation as a lucrative pastime to their legal advisers or even perhaps as a profitable amusement. May be that to the legal advisers of such as these the amendment would open the door to the ineffable happiness of incoming gold mohurs. Continuing, the Dowager said that the feeling in Calcutta ought not disturb the Burly Raja's equanimity. To him it gave increased appetite and happy slumbers like a walk to Jakko. Whenever his equanimity was in danger of being disturbed he habitually took up the *Bengalee* or the *Patrika* and read of the latest embryonic revolution in Bengal. It had a wonderfully soothing effect on nerves. He looked to the "acknowledged patriotism"—patriots, please note—"of the mover, and the high place the seconder has in the public life of India (4 feet 8 inches without his socks in private life) to secure not only reasonable means of obtaining justice but also to protect society from being drawn into the meshes of wasteful—(no, not lawyers but)—litigation." Quoted the letter of the Calcutta High Court opposing unrestricted appeals and said that all were united in their reverence for the Calcutta High Court. Characterised their Lordships of the High Court as the most stalwart protectors of the privileges of an honest litigant. (Neither the permanent Advocate-General nor Mr. K. B. Dutt were there to applaud.) But that could not prevent his testifying to the integrity and ability of the subordinate judiciary. Turning to the argument from human nature which Hooda had used, said that if a Vakil was appointed as a president of the tribunal he could be trusted to be infallible, or conscious of his fallibility, and at least independent. So too would the Barristers be. Then why not Judges and Subordinate Judges?

After this Mud Holkar got up to explain that he came from a Province—when H. E. nodded to the Burly Raja to begin, and when the mountain was in travail, who cared for the throes of the mole-hill's parturition? Burly Raja succeeded in explaining things to the satisfaction of Sir Guy, and the genial financier was seen after the debate walking over to the side of Dig'er-Patty to smooth his ruffled plumes with characteristic kindness.

The Amendment being put to the vote and lost, the Bill was passed. Thereafter Sandow II asked leave to introduce his Delegation Bill. Talked sadly of "the happy days which are gone never to return."

Tears, senile tears, I know not what they mean,
That from a sun-dried bureaucrat's despair,
Rise in the heart and gather to the eyes
In looking on the Himalayan hills
And thinking of the days that are no more.
Fresh as the peach bloom on the Griffin's cheek,
That brings to mind youth's blissful ignorance,
Sad as the pale hue of a Bombay Duck
That's shrunk and shrivelled by seniority.
So sad, so fresh, the days that are no more.

Ah, sad and strange as in the Simla dawn
 The earliest pipe of Craven Mixture is
 To one who contemplates retirement and—
 Bayswater, plus the loss of fifteen guns.
 So sad, so strange, the days that are no more
 Dear as remembered kisses after dusk,
 When riding back from Jakko or Jutogh,
 On lips that were for others, deep as love,
 As old men's love, so full of vain regrets,
 O Death in Life, the days that are no more

After a copious flood of tears which came with the force of belated September rains, referred to the changes wrought by time in the position of the *man-bap* of the District whose labours had become analogous to work on the old jail treadmill, and explained that it was necessary to relieve "the automaton of the district" by giving him some broken fragments of "the mirror of Secretariat consciousness." In passing, said that "now we want every penny that we can get for education and sanitation," and looked at Bootlair Sahib, who bowed and acknowledged the compliment with a beatific and broad smile on behalf of all the schools and the drains of India. Referred to paras 414-416 of the Decentralization Commission's report and said that "great respect is due to a Royal Commission, specially to one constituted as this was" (Councillors eager to discover where Sandow II had played his tongue and whether it had not been doing Sandow II's exercises twisting itself in some freakish manner into his cheek. Referred to the "antecedents" of Mr. Hobhouse, and even Bootlair Sahib could not repress a smile at this direct reference to the blank record of a very young man. Proposed an easy method of converting the Council to his view. Would like to shut up the sceptic in a room with a hundred flies and was sure he would emerge with a headache and a convert to the views of Sandow II. As he did not mention the size of the room, nor of the man, nor even of the hundred flies, quite possible that the sceptic might never emerge at all, except in a condition offering another occasion to Lord Curzon to erect a marble Cleopatra's needle as a monument to the suffocating climate of Calcutta. Reminded the audience that although the late Mr. R. C. Dutt was opposed to such delegation it was "fully backed by the weight of the President," one opponent of the bureaucracy nullifying the opposition of the other. Wanted to turn to the Bill itself, but found that Mac had not supplied him with his brief at all. So, after pleading from an unstudied brief, resumed his seat to the evident satisfaction of Porter who was finding the place too noisy for his slumbers and was as unwilling to deviate further as the Porter in *Macbeth*. That was the worst of letting into the Council some of all professions that came up the primrose way to the everlasting gaiety of Simla.

When Sandow II had done up rose the Administrative Orphan and discoursed on match-making. The rows of Matinee hats at the other end of the Hall became animated. Elegant necks were craned forward and lorgnettes were levelled against the speaker so that not a word, not a look should be lost when such an important matter as match-making was being discussed in a purely business way by the Member for Commerce. Ladies curious to know how matches were made with white phosphorous. They knew a lot about those which were made by a skilful use of shaded lamps, *laine juteuse*, *rouge* and *poudre de ris* and occasionally with the help of elegant tringes and a complete set of false teeth. But white phosphorous was something novel!

The Hon. Headstrong rose after the mover and said that the analogy of other countries was not effective. Had always believed that this argument had been patented by the officials and could only be used against non-officials. Yet here was a non-official telling the officials that India was different from the

other countries. He wanted to control the making of matches. "They are not made in out of the way places." This gave away the whole show to the lady listeners who had taken him to know something about match-making. But he recovered some of the lost ground by making the wise remark that "in this country such matches are required as will not go soft in the monsoon." How many grass widowers staying below in the plains throughout the rains had discovered when their better halves returned that what they had hitherto regarded as a safety match only a few months ago had proved anything but reliable in the long interval of the Simla sojourn.

In replying to this oration the Administrative Orphan referred to Austria as "the greatest match-making country," and some spinster-fairly high on the Civil List of spinsterhood and some cautious Mammies with a quarterful of daughters instantly noted down this fact. But towards the conclusion of the reply they learnt with great amazement that the discussion that was going on referred to matches used in kindling a fire and not to those that were the outcome of kindled fires. Council had been detained so long on so trivial a subject as the effect of damp on matches and have heard a fairly heated discussion of the merits of sulphur against safety matches. But perhaps Hon Headstrong did not know that even sulphur matches were not always reliable. Evidently he had not heard the story of the Irishwoman who had purchased a box of sulphur matches in a Fair when they were a rare novelty, and had found on her return home, after a wet journey, that they wouldn't strike. She was a thrifty old lady and could not forgive the pedlar who had, she thought, sold her as well as the matches. A few weeks later she returned to the town where the Fair was held and bought out the pedlar and abused him soundly for selling matches that won't strike. He asked for the matches back and striking one on the box found that the damp had spoilt it. So taking another out, he gently rubbed it awhile on his trousers and then struck it quickly on that garment, when, lo and behold, it was alight. He thought he had turned the tables on his adversary, but she was more than a match for him. She abused him more than ever for selling her matches which she would have to bring to him a distance of 20 miles to rub on his "dirty trousers" every time she wanted to light a fire.

The subsequent history of that day's meeting was monotonous. The Administrative Orphan introduced the Life Assurance Companies' Bill and the Hon. Headstrong praised it. The Orphan introduced the Provident Insurance Societies Bill and the Hon. Headstrong eulogised it. Sir Guy introduced the Indian Stamp Amendment Bill and the Hon. Headstrong was full of panegyrics. In fact there was no blessed Bill which the Headstrong man did not rush to bless. Unlike the angels, there was not a single place where he feared to tread.

At last the business according to the published list was over. Then H. E. rose to express his regret at the retirement of Mac who was to be entertained by the non-officials at a farewell luncheon immediately afterwards. His Excellency's eulogy was couched in the warmest of terms. Hopes were expressed of an equally useful career for St. Vincent who succeeded him. Mac showed considerable feeling in returning thanks to His Excellency. After this H. E. announced that Their Majesties would receive an address of welcome from the representatives of the people and that Sandow II would read it as their representative. Councillors more eager to know who would write the address and whether, as usual, the official tail would wag the non-official dog. Council adjourned *sine die*. Thus ended the sweet but short-lived dream of the Councillors under the deodars.

Alas! that Spring should vanish with the rose,
 That soon should manuscript orations close!
 The unofficial whooters on the pines,
 Ah! whence and whither flown again, who knows?



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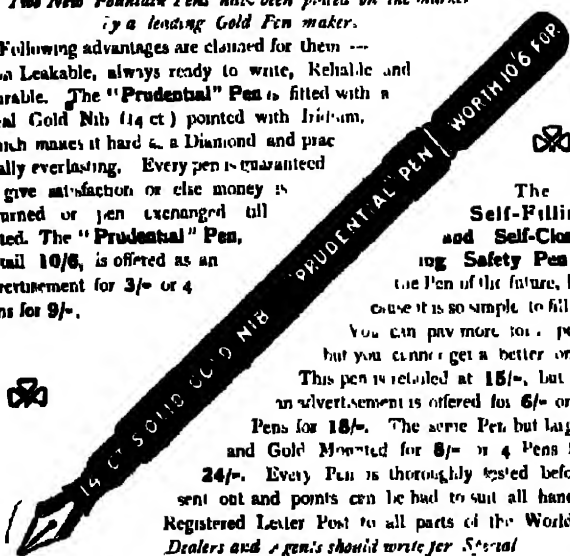
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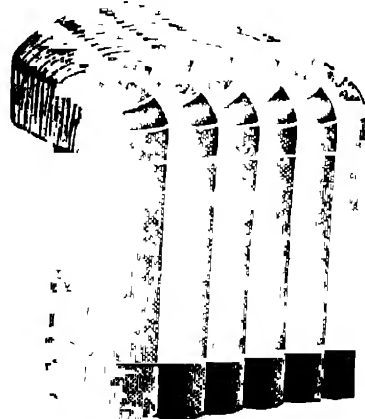
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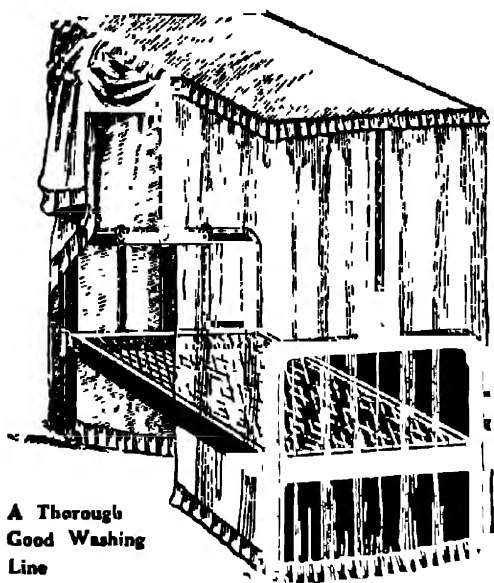
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ای گلستانِ دلہاں وہ دن ہیں یادِ تجہگر	*	تہا تیری ڈالہوں میں جب آغیاں ہمارا
اسے موج نہ جہ تیرہی پہچانتی ہے ہم کو	*	اب لک ہے تیرا دریا انساں خزان ہمارا
اسے ارض پاک تیری حرم صفا پہ کف مرے ہم	*	ہے خون تیری رگوں میں اب تک روان ہمارا
مغرب کی دان بولمیں گولجی اذان ہمارے	*	تھمتا نہ تھا کھی سے سیل روان ہمارا
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Vol. 2. Single Copy
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Calcutta: Saturday, October 21, 1911.

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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of October at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

Ministerial Changes.

THE *Daily Chronicle* forebadows that Mr. Winston Churchill will replace Mr. Birrell, who, the paper says, is retiring through ill-health, and assist Mr. Asquith in piloting the Home Rule Bill through the House. The paper adds that Colonel Seely will replace Lord Haldane, who will receive a high judicial

appointment. Mr. Birrell will be offered the position of Lord of Appeal and a Ministerial post will be offered to Mr. John Robertson. Morocco.

REUTER wired from Berlin:—An agreement granting France a free hand in Morocco has been initialled. Negotiations regarding compensation to be made to Germany still continue. Absolute secrecy is maintained as to the nature of the Morocco Agreement, and no information will be forthcoming until the question of compensation is settled.

Reuter wired from Madrid:—The tribesmen attacked the Spanish position at Izhafen on the 15th instant. General Ordenez was wounded, receiving two bullets in the chest. A captain, a lieutenant and sixteen men were also wounded. The enemy withdrew at nightfall losing many killed and wounded. The ferocity of Moorish attack on Spanish positions at Kert River has taken the Spaniards by surprise. The Moors crossed the river in the face of artillery fire and attacked the Spaniards furiously. The Spanish losses, especially among officers, are undoubtedly severe though they are officially minimised. General Ordenez has succumbed to his wounds.

Persia.

A MESSAGE from Teheran states that Amir Afkhan, a supporter of Salar-ed-Daulah, has been arrested at Hamadan. Salar-ed-Daulah is at present in the vicinity of Buluzird. Reuter wired from Teheran:—Three hundred Persian Cossacks under Russian leadership bombarded Kashan on Friday, the 13th instant. Naib Hussain, who defeated the Government troops on 22nd September, defended the town for five hours but evacuated it at midnight. The Cossacks occupied Kashan on the 14th instant. The Minister British in Teheran has informed the Persian Government that owing to possible danger to British lives and property the British Government has found it necessary to strengthen the Consular Guards at Shiraz, and possibly elsewhere. Reuter wired from Teheran:—Miss Rosa, an English Medical Missionary, has been beaten and robbed on Shiraz Road and has arrived at her destination on foot, after losing her whole equipment.

China.

REUTER wired from Peking:—The revolutionary movement at Hankow aims at the establishment of a republic under the reformer Sunyatsen. His brother, Sunyu, will be the president of the Provincial Assembly, and a noted scholar, Tanghualeng, Viceroy of Hupeh. The whole assembly of Hupeh has seceded from the Imperial Government. The Republican Commander, in a communication to the Consula, claims the recognition of his authority

and control in the three occupied cities and states that his party is prepared to recognize the Imperial obligations in matters of loans and indemnities. The Chinese in the United States have already collected 200,000 dollars on behalf of the revolutionaries.

Reuter's special correspondent visited Wuchang on Friday the 13th instant. He reports that Manchu corpses were everywhere, there being fifty outside one gate. The troops are still hunting the Manchus, of whom 800 are said to have been killed. The correspondent interviewed Liyuanheng and the rebel Viceroy Tanghualing. Both expressed themselves in the most friendly manner towards foreigners. The rebel army, which so far consists of 20,000 men, is recruiting apace. Funds are plentiful.

An edict has been issued recalling Yuan-Shi-Kai and appointing him Viceroy of the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan. The edict further commands that Yuan-Shi-Kai shall proceed immediately to Wuchang to re-establish the authority of the Imperial Government.

Reuter wired from Hankow — The Consuls have refused the request of the Chinese for foreign gunboats to patrol the river. The movement is anti-Manchu in character and the revolutionists have assured the Consuls that it is not hostile to Europeans. A proclamation has been issued threatening the decapitation of anyone injuring foreigners or interfering with trade. It is reported that the rebels of Szechuan have captured Kiating. A telegram from Hankow confirms the Peking telegram stating that Wuchang was in the hands of revolutionaries and that the commander of the troops had been killed by a bomb. The Hankow message further states that the Viceroy's treasures and Yamen have been burned. The revolutionaries have issued a proclamation exhorting their followers not to harm foreigners. The Viceroy has taken refuge in a yacht on the river. Europeans in Hankow to the number of 1,500 are reported to be safe, but the Consuls have wired for more warships. Meanwhile women and children are sleeping on board merchantmen. It is reported that Changsha has risen and that twenty miles of the Peking-Hankow Railway has been torn up and the bridges destroyed. Fifteen thousand troops have mutinied in the Hupeh and have captured thirty modern guns at Wuchang.

The rebellion is assuming grave proportions. Some 5,000 troops in the native city at Hankow have mutinied. Three hundred Manchus are reported to be killed. Two army divisions, commanded by the War Minister, have been ordered immediately to Wuchang, also warships under Admirals Sacheping and Chengyunho. The rebels in Szechuan hold all the country west of the Mine river between Kiating and Kwanhsien. They occupied Suifu on the 14th instant. It is learnt from a most reliable source that General Liyuanheng is leading the Hupeh mutineers. Government admits that the garrisons of Pootengfu, Tientsin and even Peking are honey-combed with revolt. A message to the *Times* from Peking states that the War Minister and staff left for the South and that by Tuesday the 17th instant 34 transports and trains conveying 24,000 troops will have left for Hankow. It is estimated that there are now four thousand Imperial troops on the north of Hankow. They are splendidly drilled and equipped and are awaiting reinforcements. The rebels of Wuchang are marching to attack them and a battle is believed to be imminent.

The semi-official press in Peking is trying to make out that Japan is at the bottom of the revolution at Wuchang.

It is officially stated in Berlin that landing parties from German warships *Leipzig*, *Tiger* and *Vaterland* together with German volunteers in Hankow are engaged in a fight with the Chinese mob in the streets. In response to the appeal of Russian subjects at Hankow the Russian Government is sending a steamer of the Eastern Volunteer Fleet to protect and take off Russians. A further telegram from Hankow states that Admiral Winsloe has arrived in the *Alacrity*. Five extra International warships have arrived.

Items of News.

DURING last week, when the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya visited Simla, the following correspondence regarding the proposed Hindu University passed between the Hon. Mr. H. S. Butler, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, on the one hand and the Maharaja Bahadur on the other.

WHITEFIELD, SIMLA,

The 10th October, 1911.

MY DEAR MR. BUTLER,—You are aware that there is a widespread feeling amongst the Hindu public to establish a Hindu University on such lines as may be approved and sanctioned by the Government of India. More than one project has been put forward in this connection, but I think it very necessary before any further action is taken in the direction of producing a scheme which will be generally acceptable to the Hindu public that we should try to obtain from you a clear indication of the lines on which Government will be prepared to support the idea of a Hindu University. I am quite convinced that the Hindus will be only too happy to loyally carry out any directions that Government may be pleased to give them and will thankfully accept any suggestions that you may be pleased to make. I hope that you will very kindly place this letter for the favourable consideration of H.E. the Viceroy.

Yours very sincerely,

RAMESHWAR SINGH.

SIMLA,

The 12th October, 1911.

MY DEAR MAHARAJA BAHADUR,—I have received your letter of 10th instant in which you refer to the widespread movement amongst the Hindu public to establish a Hindu University on such lines as may be approved and sanctioned by the Government of India, to the different schemes put forward and to the desirability of my making a pronouncement as to the lines on which Government will be prepared to support the idea of a Hindu University. Since you are quite convinced that the Hindus will be only too happy to carry out loyally any directions that Government may be pleased to give them and will thankfully accept any suggestion that I may be pleased to make, you will understand that in the absence of definite and detailed schemes it is not possible for me at present to do more than indicate certain conditions on which the Government of India must insist as antecedent to the recognition by Government of a movement for the establishment of a Hindu University. These are (1) The Hindus should approach Government in a body as the Muhammadans did. (2) A strong, efficient and financially sound college with an adequate European staff should be the basis of the scheme. (3) The University should be a modern University differing from the existing Universities mainly in being a teaching and residential University and offering religious instruction. (4) The movement should be entirely educational. (5) There should be the same measure of Government supervision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the proposed University at Aligarh. I need scarcely add that it would be necessary hereafter to satisfy the Government of India and the Secretary of State as to the adequacy of the funds collected and the suitability in all particulars of the constitution of the University. The Government of India must of course reserve to itself full power in regard to all details of any scheme which they may hereafter place before the Secretary of State, whose discretion in regard to the movement and any proposals that may arise from it they cannot in any way prejudice. I may add that the Government of India appreciate the spirit of the concluding passage of your letter and that you can count on the ungrudging co-operation of myself and the department in furthering any scheme that may commend itself to the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

HARCOURT BUTLER.

The Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga has subscribed Rs. 5 lakhs to the Hindu University Fund.

TETE À TETE



ALL the "Imperialist" parsons and pedagogues and the bourgeois of the Empire must have heaved a sigh of relief at the breaking off of the engagement for the "Johnson-Wells Match" which was to be held in Paris. We confess we had no idea of

Saved at Last.

the terrible stress of anxiety and fear through which the "Imperialist" section of the British public had passed till the arrival of the last mail from England. The columns of even such "pillars of respectability" as the *Times* are literally packed with grave controversial arguments that impress the uninitiated with an awful sense of doom. The apparition of a Negro boxer athwart the complacent "Imperial" vision would seem to have been felt like the careering of some portentous comet trailing evils and prodigies and earth-shaking disasters. That *enfant terrible*, the Home Secretary, who knows how to figure well in a melodramatic situation, was pursued with "memorials" and breathless "representations" on behalf of the prestige of the Empire, and he lost no time in getting the Courts to declare the proposed "Fight" to be illegal. The centre then shifted from London to Paris. Some instinct of benevolent forbearance, however, seems to have moved Jack Johnson at the last moment, and the engagement has been dissolved. Surely, he has established a powerful claim to an address of gratitude from the prestige-mongers of the Empire. If the chance inferiority of an Englishman to a Negro, in an exhibition of physical prowess is a danger of grave magnitude to the Empire, we are, indeed, living in a new age of "Imperialism," when the grit, character and capacity of the early Britons have failed the new race of nervous "Imperialists," who are mimicking the accents of greatness by uttering arrogant and undignified shouts of fear.

WE HAVE heard the Persians on their grievances many a time, and have been asked to treat their complaints as medacious and their prayers as pitiful whining. They only proved the inability of the Oriental to manage his affairs. But here comes Mr

Schuster, a business man belonging to a race that does not live in and breathe the air of the Middle Ages, but perhaps of the twenty-first century, the heir of all the ages past and of some still to come, and he tells us that Russia coerces Persia, and the British acquiesce therein, that both deny her the simplest rights of sovereignty and that if she accepted their demands it would mean a clear abdication of sovereignty. Is an American capable of mendacity? The question itself would ordinarily be considered high treason. But the editor of the *Times*, sitting thousands of miles away from Teheran, declares categorically that his accusations are "unjust and unfounded." In spite of this rush of the ponderous *Times* to belittle the indictment of Mr Schuster, we believe no person of independent judgment and even ordinary honesty would agree with Mr. Schuster's detractor. The accusation of the *Times* is on the very face of it unbelievable. It begins its criticism with some rich morsels of fulsome flattery which is more abject than anything which we have yet seen in the *Times*. But we are confident

that Mr. Schuster will not fall a victim to such petty trickery. All that the *Times* succeeds in proving is that he has been indiscreet. But that is entirely a matter of the point of view: others would prefer to call him only inconvenient. Could there be a more clear indication of forcing on Persia the abdication of sovereignty than the proposal to send two regiments of cavalry from India which have been warned to hold themselves in readiness and for which transports have already been chartered? They are to "strengthen" the escorts at the Shiraz Consulate. Now, the Consular escort consists of a few Sowars, and if two regiments are to "strengthen" it, we can sincerely congratulate Sir Edward Grey on his discovery of the most delicious euphemism. Persia and its sympathisers objected to his Note, warning her that, if the trade routes were not free from disorder within three months, he would have a Police force, under the command of British military officers from India, to do the needful. Warned by the excitement which his Note created throughout the Islamic world, he has discovered in a "strengthening" of the Consular escort just the sort of arrangement that would more than satisfy all the requirements of the case and leave the placid surface of things undisturbed. This will mean not only a Persian gendarmie under British army officers from India, but two regiments of cavalry from that army itself. Sir Edward Grey can well rejoice at the success of the *coup* and say that not even a dog barked when the British forces were ordered to occupy southern Persia. And yet the *Statesman* tells us, *apropos* of Mr Schuster's accusation, that "until the policy of the Foreign Office is explained, opinion on it may be prudently held in reserve." As if Sir Edward ever spoke, and as if the intended despatch of two cavalry regiments was not eloquent enough. Russia "sold" the Liberal Cabinet when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. Feeble Sir Edward tried for a time to resist the evil counsels of the Muscovite, and, as many Liberals had feared from the very beginning, the example of the Northern Bear has proved still more contagious for the British Lion than his advice. Southern Persia must be occupied as a necessary corollary of the Convention, which was, of course, signed to preserve the independence and integrity of Persia. And yet the *Englishman* says — that "the sooner Sir Edward quits the Cabinet the better." What is most touching in the whole affair is the attitude of the *Times* towards Russia. It is one of absolute benignity. It takes pains to prove her *bona fides*. Its St. Petersburg correspondent quotes the *Novoe Vremya* as the Puritans used to quote Holy Writ. We must confess our exalted contemporary has set a noble example of forgiving those that trespass against us, for one is hardly likely to remember, after the falling of the *Times* over the neck of the Muscovite and crying heartily with excess of emotion, that it was the Tsar of Muscovy that had not so long ago deported the *Times* correspondent. We shall now construe the old Latin tag, *Tempora mutantur*, as the change of the *Times*!

IF THE Stokes affair has shown how Russia, and in deference to her Sir Edward Grey, come in the way of the good government of Persia, the *fiasco* of the ex-Shah's return illustrates how Russia is actively exerting herself to create anarchy and misrule. Mr Kipling in one of his short stories says that "Lalun's real husband—for even ladies of Lalun's profession in the East must have husbands—was a great, big *ber-tree*. The advantages of having a *ber-tree* for a husband are obvious. You cannot hurt his feelings and he looks imposing." What the big *ber-tree* was to Lalun that the ex-Shah has been to Russia. As the *Nation* said in a recent issue, "if a new Machiavelli were to write a treatise on the art of subjugating Oriental nations, he would devote his first chapter to the management of despots. . . . A native despot must be maintained. Sultan or Shah, Bey or Khedive, he is absolutely indispensable to the smooth working of any adjusted process of absorption or penetration. He gives to the crudest aggression a show of legality and right. Do you send an army to his capital,

it is he who summons it. Do you keep a garrison round his palace; he can be made to review it. He is there to answer Europe, to command his subjects, to grant concessions, to save appearances, to cheat reality." Russia rather than England had given the defeated despot an asylum, and when things began to settle down, Russia arranged with the very Germany whose fear had forced the Convention on England for the recognition of her sphere of influence. The opportune moment came with the renewal of the Moroccan trouble. Neither England nor France was just then in a mood to be critical of an uncertain ally. So it came about that at the psychological moment, the ex-Shah, who had been permitted very conveniently to go to Vienna on a holiday, caught an express, crossed Russia and landed in Persia in a Russian boat. As the *Nation* said,

We will not expend space in proving the active or passive complicity of Russia.

She had promised to take "effective measures" to prevent him in trifling against Persia. She had attached at least one Russian officer to his domestic suite. No one who knows her methods will believe that she had neglected to surround him with spies. If he had been a Persian nationalist crossing Russian territory, every passport officer, every policeman, every waiter and concierge in his hotels would have been on the alert to report his words, to read his letters, to announce his plans.

But the Mail papers bring the account of an interview with Mohamed Ali which the correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya* had with him in the mountain fastnesses of Savadkuh. Evidently all was ready in case the worst happened—down to a Press correspondent. The ex-Shah is reported to have said:—

Countless messages from the northern and southern cities of Persia urged me to return and to save the country from anarchy. I came by the people's wish, not thinking that I should have to fight. The people who summoned me were good people, but their arms were bad or deficient. If my partisans had been properly armed all Persia would now be in insurrection. My people were good people and ready to give their lives for their Sovereign, but their opponents have machine-guns, modern rifles, and smokeless powder. But reverses will not stop me. I shall fall back on Astrabad to await better days.

Let nobody suspect that it is the *Novoe Vremya* that is the author of this Speech from a lost Throne. But we trust the mineral water bottles that pass Russian Customs Houses will be more efficacious next time, and that if they fail again and even Astrabad is not safe, the Tsar of all the Russias will be able to find a cosy corner for this puppet in his St. Petersburg palace. Although Mohamed Ali followed the advice of the new Hamlet who edits the *Novoe Vremya*: "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounce it to you, trippingly on the tongue," his brother, Shua-us-Sultanch, seems to have added some flourishes of his own to the prompter's words. He declared that he became a Turkish subject "to show that he did not wish to meddle in Persian politics, but the present Government had despoiled him, as it had many others. Nothing was left to them except to fight the despoilers. On behalf of the malcontents and his brothers he went to Vienna and with much difficulty persuaded Mohamed Ali to go to Persia." Now, if the Persian Government had despoiled him and nothing was left, what about the property which Russian Cossacks would not let Mr. Schuster's gendarmes touch, and which the Russian Imperial Bank claimed as its own perquisite on account of a mortgage? Will the *Novoe Vremya* or its London edition, the *Times*, please explain?

Our Hindu contemporaries have in the main taken the same view of Italy's aggression that the Moslem and Anglo-Indian journals have done, and we do not think better relations between Hindus and Moslems would be promoted by our referring to the cheap sneers of some that use to the full the privileges of the slave to rejoice when his master meets with misfortune. But we cannot help alluding to the curious attitude of the *Patrika* which writes that Allah to whom the Mussalmans are praying for the protection of Turkey "is apparently in the midst of a long and deep slumber." Our contemporary does not perhaps regard this

as blasphemy because possibly it believes in a multitude of gods that have to be fed and clothed by their worshippers and roused from sleep every evening with weird and discordant sounds. Such gods must no doubt be "in the midst of a long and deep slumber." What else could have been expected of them after the tremendous exertion which must have been required to give, according to our spiritual contemporary, a providential victory to the Mohan Bagans in kicking a leather ball through two wooden posts better than a team of British soldiers? But that is not the conception of Islam. The Quran says: "God! There is no God but He; the living, the eternal. Nor slumber seizeth him, nor sleep; His, whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth! Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth what hath been before them and what shall be after them; yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save what He willeth. His throne reacheth over the Heavens and the Earth and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not; and He is the High, the Great!" Such is the God of Islam, and He bids the Moslems use to the full the powers He has granted them, and in the face of the inevitable prove their Islam, which means submission to the Divine Will. He exalteth him He willeth, and lowereth him He willeth, and in His hand is good.

It is with extreme satisfaction that we note an assurance given by the Government to the promoters of the Hindu University similar to that which was given to the Mussalmans. The Hindus

have reason to be thankful not only to the Hon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose zeal in the cause is worthy of general imitation, but also to the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga, who has been closely associated during the last few weeks with the Hon Pandit and who contributes a princely donation of 5 lakhs, the largest by far that has yet been given to the Hindu or the Moslem project. We confess we regard the views of the Maharaja on the subject of caste as extremely reactionary and shall rejoice to hear that the orthodoxy of the two Hindu promoters of the scheme is to be tempered by the influence of Mrs. Besant, who may in some matters be equally reactionary, but who combines with such tendencies a breadth of vision and sympathies. But nevertheless we think that the Hon Pandit Madan Mohan is justified in insisting that the University should be essentially Hindu. Where the difficulty lies is in the definition of the essentials of Hinduism, and no one who has read the numerous definitions published by the *Leader* can fail to be impressed with the bewildering variety of interpretations. We mean to cast no hostile reflection on Hinduism or the Hindus when we say, as we said once before, that in the matter of education on communal lines the Mussalmans have one advantage over the Hindus, inasmuch as they fought the battle of religious and social unity a generation ago when the Hindus were busy in enumerating and enunciating their political grievances. Hence we see to-day the variety of motives with which the Hindu University is being supported as against the clear goal of the Mussalmans. The Hon. Pandit Malaviya wants it because he believes in the efficacy of Hindu culture along with modern learning for the manifold requirements of the Hindus of to-day. This, we have no hesitation in saying, is the only good justification of his scheme, though we may be sure the *Indian Social Reformer* would have a philosophic smile to bestow on us for apparently agreeing with the Pandit. But what has our contemporary to say to those who, like the *Hindustan Review*, agree with it in regarding so-called denominational Universities with disfavour and suspicion and yet lend their support in more ways than one to the project of the Pandit? Had the *Review* even stopped at this one could pass over its inconsistencies. But our contemporary, which should be a paragon of journalistic amenities, if its criticism of the rest of the world is to be taken seriously, went so far as to attack the Maharaja of Durbhanga in a manner which it would be more correct to call savage than direct. He was accused of desiring

to "boss the show" and to have prepared the Mahamandal scheme merely to be saved "from the unpleasant predicament of being called upon to subscribe to the Hindu University scheme." "A neat and smart stroke of business, therefore, that Mahamandal project!" Such was the stern verdict of the *Hindustan Review*, and perhaps it plumes itself now on its own "neat and smart stroke of business" on account of the Maharaja's liberal support. And yet all these accusations were hurled at the Maharaja's devoted head simply because he did not follow the inconsistent policy of the *Review* in supporting a scheme of which he did not at the time approve. He wanted instruction in "orthodox Hinduism in its entirety," and although we may not be in love with Hindu orthodoxy, we confess we are no greater admirers of Hindu heterodoxy such as the *Leader* professes, in desiring a Hindu University for the most singular reason of all—that "the secular department of the college (sic) will do good, more good than the theological faculty will do harm"—or as the *Punjabee* believes in, when it says that "India wants a new University and not a religion." At this rate the *Leader*, the *Punjabee*, and the *Hindustan Review* seem to desire an undesirable kind of University for the Hindus simply because the Mussalmans are having a similarly undesirable one for themselves. This, we are bound to say, is neither envy nor emulation, but the imbecility of the man who cuts off his own nose also because his mad neighbour has done the same. We trust that the *Hindustan Review* did not discover in its heart a sudden love for the Hon. Pandit's scheme simply because that of the Maharaja of Durbhanga, who was the rival candidate when its editor and proprietor stood for the last Council election, was somewhat dubious. Be that as it may, we welcome the success of the Hindu scheme with the sincerity of those who say,

کہتے ہیں قدیمی حسے میں ہار ہوں قیرا
 زلفیں بھی نہ تھیں حب سے گرفتار ہوں قیرا
 (I am an old lover of thine, for I was thy captive even before thou hadst tresses.)

All lovers of modern "civilisation" will be glad to learn that the Moors are proving themselves to be apt pupils of Europe. From the latest telegrams detailing the fortunes of the Mission of "peaceful penetration" so nobly undertaken by Spain, it would appear that they are fast learning how to kill. They have claimed a General—by no means an unworthy sacrifice at the altar of "civilisation." And we are sure the news would do good to the soul of the "liberal Bishop" of Italy who recently applied the soothing unction to the not very easy consciences of his "fold" and exhorted them to go forth on a "civilising" mission to Tripoli. We may hope he would live to see that his mission has been successful, and that the Tripolitans, too, like the Japanese, have proved their manslaying capacity and entered the comity of "civilised" nations. In this connection, it appears one may well deplore the restrictions that are being sought to be placed on the arms traffic of the world. The only live stream of "civilisation" should not be cut off at its source. It is absolutely unfair, besides, for, while the status and efficiency of a people depend upon the sole test of their fitness as an efficient engine of destruction, their patriotic resentment in face of a "peacefully penetrating" and well-armed rival would certainly degenerate into "fanaticism" if they are not as efficiently armed. "The law of sacrifice is the law of growth" was the message vouchsafed to man by the theory of Evolution. "Learn to kill efficiently and effectively, or perish", would seem to be the message of modern "civilisation" to the weaker races of the earth.

DEATH is fast thinning down the ranks of those whose lives and achievements are a few of the historical links between the new and somewhat blatant order of things and the old. Men like Hakim Abdul Aziz Saheb, the renowned physician of Lucknow, and Aga Kamaluddin Sanjar, the well-known Persian poet, stood, in

their respective spheres, as representatives of the culture and civilisation which are fast perishing, leaving but a few racks behind. Their deaths mean not only the loss of eminent individuals but that of the types. Hakim Abdul Aziz Saheb was a physician of exceptional attainments and experience, and enjoyed immense popularity amongst those who prefer the Unani system of medical treatment. In the practice of the art which had come down to him as a relic of the crumbling fabric of a vast historic culture, he was undisputedly a master. He had founded and carried on successfully for many years the "Madrasa-i-Takmil-ut-Tib" for medical students, who, after qualifying themselves in Unani Medicine, wished to continue their studies in anatomy and other cognate subjects in which modern Medical Science has made immense progress. There is a deep pathos in the circumstance that the disappearance of the choice spirit of a vanishing type of civilisation should end not a career but an epoch, and the secret of his power and success be buried with him in the grave. The death of the great Hakim Mahmud Khan, the renowned physician of Delhi, had impressed that venerable poet and sage, Hali, with the sense of the awful mutation of things, and he was moved to write an elegy of great pathos and power, mourning the departing glories of the Imperial City, its arts, its culture, its aristocracy of wealth and talent.

آج جس دولت کا بازار جہان میں کال ہے
 قیرا قبرستان اوس دولت سے مالا مال ہے

(The wealth that is so scarce in the market of the world to-day, thy graveyard is endowed with it in abundance.)

The products of the "New Spirit" amongst us may be rich in promise but have so far proved to be very poor in performance. We still await the birth, among them, of eminent physicians like the late Hakim Abdul Aziz, or poets of the power and versatility of the late Aga Sanjar. Hitherto they have had to depend for light and inspiration on men who had formed their minds and characters on the faith and culture of the past.



Verse.

England and India.

I
 ENGLAND! 'tis meet that or for weal or woe,
 In calm or storm, our chosen place should be
 Where honour calls us by the side of thee,
 Thy friend be friend to us, our bitt'rest foe
 The trait'rous knave who schemes thy overthrow
 For like to Israel in captivity,
 We once were thralls till thou didst set us free
 And give us peace unknown from long ago

Aye, peace unknown! when we were sore bestead,
 And grievous were the burdens that we bore,
 But now if peace there be and rest divine,
 Goodwill 'tween men and peace, and all that's bred
 Thereof when lawless might is feared no more,
 To thee we owe them all, these gifts are thine

II

And we have shared thy travail and thy toil
 And followed thee to feast and fray, and done
 Thy bidding, and our stalwart sons have gone
 Death-ward for thee in many an evil broil,
 And with their blood have moistened many a soil,
 Rearing thy dauntless banner in the sun,
 And flank to flank with thee much glory won,
 To thy bright crown a not unworthy foil

Nay judge not harshly, England! if there be
 That think not coward shame to rend their troth
 With treason's bodkin, an unworthy crew
 Shackled in heart, though thou hast set them free,
 Whose valour wearth out in wordy froth.
 Forgive them all, they know not what they do.

WASITI.

The Comrade.

Exhausted Volcanoes.

IN 1872, when the end of the Gladstone Ministry was visibly coming, Disraeli said in a speech at Manchester —

The stimulus is subsiding. The paroxysms ended in prostration. Some took refuge in melancholy, and their eminent chief alternated between a menace and a sigh. As I sat opposite the Treasury Bench, the Ministers reminded me of those marine landscapes not unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea.

To compare great things with small, precisely the same may be said to-day of the veterans and the warriors of the Anti-Partition Campaign. The stimulus has subsided. The paroxysms have ended in prostration. Some of the leaders are sulking in their tents. Others have taken refuge in *yoga*. One has returned from the safe asylum of the British Isles to enjoy, if only for a month, the hospitality of the Indian jails. The presidential oration on this Partition Day alternated between menaces and sighs, and one beheld a range of exhausted volcanoes which had spent all their fury in spouting forth lava-streams of burning eloquence or blinding ashes of delusive sentiment. Even the police has become jaded and, according to the *Bengalee*, "the few officers deputed were seen only dozing and yawning."

The cant and bombast of recurring Partition Days would not be worthy of any serious notice were it not for an "occasional earthquake" in the shape of bomb-throwing and pistol-shots and "ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea." These show that in the raw and crude minds of callow youths notions subversive of law and order are still created by the vapourings of mildewed orators and in their young hearts passions are still excited which would create havoc if they were not kept in leash by the repression and the rigour of the law. We acknowledge the emotional fervour of Bengal, as we bow to its political subtlety. But we nevertheless marvel at its total lack of a sense of humour. A perusal of the crude efforts of the reporter of the *Bengalee* to whom we owe the description of the 30th Aswin—the same hand no doubt that penned a description of the Mohan Bagan victory—would convince the most inveterate humorist that his proud boast, "ridicule is the best test of truth," has no application in Bengal. People who could think and write like that in all seriousness are beyond the reach of ridicule's shafts and the rapier of satire. They are themselves their best caricature. The President read a Proclamation which we take leave to reprint for the benefit of those who have been denied a sight of the buffooneries of a Partition Day in Calcutta. It runs thus:—

"WHEREAS the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal in spite of the Universal Protest of the Bengali Nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a People shall do everything in our Power to counteract the Evil Effects of the Dismemberment of our Province and to maintain the Integrity of our Race. So help us God.

"Dated this sixteenth day of October in the Year Nineteen Hundred and Five and given under

"THE
"SEAL OF
"UNITED
"BENGAL."

As if this theatricality was not enough, the photographer was there to give immortality to all who took part in what Polonius would have called a tragical-comical-historical-pastoral scene. Then, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee was responsible for a singularly amusing remark. "On this day seven years ago we took the Swadeshi vow as a protest against the Partition. We adhere to the sacred vow we have taken and we will stick to it until the wrong is righted." We knew that the love of this productions of

our own country arose out of the hatred of the Partition, though we do not know how long that love lasted. But we certainly did not know that this enthusiasm for the products of the Motherland was to fizzle out the moment the Partition was annulled. At this rate the lover of "Honest Swadeshi" would have to pray for the "long life and prosperity" of the Partition!

The presidential speech itself occupies four columns of the *Bengalee*; but if one turned to it for discovering even six years after the Partition a single argument against that measure, he would conclude the perusal of that speech in despair. "It has succeeded in producing evils and disasters the magnitude of which it is difficult to describe." "I will not tire your patience by mentioning in detail all the inconvenience, trouble and wasteful expenditure caused to the Government." "The evil consequences are manifesting themselves in various ways." It is in this fashion that the Partition is opposed, and Babu Anantha Bandhu Guha must either be very simple-minded himself, or must regard the world as full of simple-minded folks, to proffer husks like these when we call for the grain. It is true that he regards the Hindu-Mohammedan riots in Jamalpore and elsewhere in 1907, the costly sedition trials, and the imposition of military and punitive police in areas honey-combed with sedition, as the evil legacy of the Partition. That they are evils we do not hesitate to declare, but it requires no great intellectual subtlety to see that it was not the Partition which bequeathed these evils to us but the unparalleled hostility with which the Hindus of the two Bengals have opposed it. Perhaps we shall be doing injustice to the speaker if we did not mention that one of the "evils and disasters the magnitude of which it is difficult to describe" is that "zemindars having estates in both the Provinces have been obliged to increase their managing staff." This is the only specific grievance that we have yet discovered, and though it is not so difficult for us as it seems to have been for the speaker to describe its "magnitude,"—presuming that the grievance is just—we see no reason why a zemindar should have increased his managing staff. Of course, the time-honoured sentimental grievances have been reiterated with remarkable persistence and listened to with still more remarkable patience. Brother seems to have been separated from brother, father from son and husband from wife, only because a Lieutenant Governor came in between.

But those who know the real reason for this stupendous agitation do not need to listen to heated harangues from the "patriots" of the Partition. Mr Guha has made the customary endeavour to throw dust into the eyes of the Mussalmans. As we had predicted, the Rangpore differences have been utilized to the full to show that the Mussalmans of Western Bengal are opposed to the Partition. But while he was about it the speaker might have selected a less clumsy method of deception than the statement that "they do not enjoy the special boons reserved for their co-religionists in East Bengal, while the latter share with them the benefits of the Mohsin Fund." That great *mohsin* of the Mussalmans of Bengal, to whose charity so many of his co-religionists—not to mention many Hindus educated in the Hooghly College in the old days—owe their education to-day, did not circumscribe his charity to any portion of Bengal, and the administrative divisions of the old province cannot affect his benefactions. At any rate, the Mussalmans of Western Bengal would be far more benefited by following the example, than by depriving others of the fruits of his generosity. As for "the special boons"—if they exist—it must be a source of genuine pleasure to them to know that some Mussalmans at least are benefited by the Partition, for before the Partition the Upas tree of the "Bengali" monopoly had burnt the Moslem undergrowth throughout the undivided province. It is no compliment to the judgment and the good nature of the Mussalmans of the West to expect that they would rejoice if Mussalmans of the East as well as those of the West lost "the special boons."

Mark Twain claimed that he had done something miraculous in having written two pages describing Rome in his *Innocents Abroad* without having quoted the famous line:

"Butchered to make a Roman holiday."

But we think it would be more miraculous if a Bengali orator declaimed for five minutes on the evils of Partition or of separate electorates without repeating as Mr. Guha has, of course, done, the seasoned statement that "Hindus and Mussalmans were brothers before, and they will be brothers again, for the National interests of both are one and the same." And yet it is just because in East Bengal the Mussalmans are now in a majority that the Partition has been opposed tooth and nail. What did that most vocal organ of the agitators, the *Bengalee*, write on the subject? It said —

The Partition of Bengal has really meant the partition of the Bengali Hindus

The clear effect of this measure of "administrative convenience" has been that each section of the divided community now finds itself confronted by a majority with many dissimilar interests able to overshadow it whenever occasion arises. The statistical paradox established by the Partition lies in the fact that in the very act of cutting up an existing majority into two minorities, it creates up two pre-existing minorities into majorities, each of which is to be associated with one of the newly created minorities. This "purely" administrative redistribution of areas and numbers has thus the incidental effect of ensuring the impotence of the Bengali Hindus in the Councils of their Motherland. Before the Government of the Western half the voice of the people of Behar and Orissa must be the preponderant one; in the Eastern half of the province the views of the Muhammadan majority must prevail.

As Polonius said, "'tis true 'tis pity, and pity, 'tis 'tis true." It is here where the sting lies, the preponderance of Behar in the West and the predominance of Mussalmans in the East. If the predominance of Mussalmans in a single province has led the Hindus to commit all the anarchical crimes of the last six years, to perpetrate all this farcical agitation and to arrive at the ostensibly grim determination never to be reconciled to their fate, we must confess we lack words wherein to praise the moderation of the Mussalman in their demands and their peaceful methods of expressing them where they are, to use an expression of the *Indian World*, "at the mercy" of the Hindu population. They are in a minority everywhere except in the Punjab and the N.-W. F. Province, and now in East Bengal. Had the Hindus been in that position we shudder to think of the agitation and the anarchy that would then have resulted. But leaving such speculation alone, we must say Mr. Guha's disingenuous reference to the unity of interests and the brotherhood of Hindus and Mussalmans ill accords with the *Bengalee's* frank admission that they have "many dissimilar interests," and that the position of a minority is unenviable. The question then is, can the Mussalmans be persuaded in the same breath to believe that the Partition has weakened the position of the Hindus, and has not strengthened their own? Those who, like Mr. Guha, make this attempt, show that they regard the Mussalmans as incredibly credulous. Even those of them who were misled in 1905 have now learnt to repent of their credulity, and it is a vain endeavour to convince the Mussalmans in 1911 of the truth of the paradox that they would be happier as a minority than they now are as a majority.

It may be said that it is unneighbourly for the Mussalmans to prefer their own gain to their Hindu neighbours', or they may be asked to reciprocate the good-will shown by the Hindus towards Turkey against Italy by joining the Anti-Partition agitation. We must confess we were not prepared to see the cat out of the bag so soon as Mr. Guha has thought fit to let it out. To think that all those noble sentiments about the patience and dignity of Turkey and the brigandage and piracy of Italy were no better than a cheap bribe for purchasing the acquiescence of the Mussalmans of the two Bengals to their suicide. We are constrained to say that if peace cannot be purchased at any price, sympathy, too, can be too dear and cannot be bought with a community's life. As for neighbourly conduct, we may even ignore what the Hindus of Bengal did in the days of the Moslem minority. Let us take the example of progressive Behar, which is the other pre-existing minority now enjoying the restfulness and luxury of a majority. Although Mr. Guha does not specifically mention Behar when he asks, with a pitiful want of originality, for the adoption of the ancient scheme of Lord Middleton, which the *Truth* has transmuted into the

greatest "Coronation boon," namely, the amalgamation of the two Provinces under a Governor-in-Council, and Commissionerships for Behar, Assam, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur, we may take it that he too would give Behar a magnified Commissioner. And how do the Hindus of Behar behave in the matter? The *Hindustan Review*, with all the virtues of the Congress code of morality, writes that "if the Partition of Bengal is to be modified, it can only be with the consent and co-operation of Behar, on such conditions only as will commend themselves to the leaders of public opinion in that province." The Government of India are not likely to do anything now which would alienate the sympathies of the representatives of the nearly 30 millions of Beharites—that too with a Beharite Law Member in the Council.

May not the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, who have now tasted, like Behar, the joys of a majority for the first time, say precisely the same thing when pressed for their views? As for the likely reply of the Government of India, although we do not think the reference of the *Hindustan Review* to the Law Member would exactly commend itself to him, it is some consolation to think that he is not only a Beharite but a Moslem as well.

The Moslem Aspect of the War.

THE *Pioneer* loves to deliver occasional sermons in high pontifical vein for the edification of the cowering Indian humanity. The habit as tenaciously clings to it as vice, and although the times have changed, and the Indian is no longer deceived by the glamour of privileged position and rarely mistakes journalistic freaks for oracles or words of Holy Writ, the organ of "the Services" has not yet been able to shed the air of high reproof or patronising condescension with which it has been accustomed to treat the people and their hopes and aspirations. It has become, like many other anachronisms, a part of their life's little ironies. The prancing army lieutenant, the imperious railway guard and the officious *chappassti* are still with us. Why not the *Pioneer*?

The latest sermon preached by the *Pioneer* is designed for the exclusive benefit of its "Muhammadan friends." Although the recent efforts of a "friend of India," to damn beyond redemption the only hopeful and self-reliant movements of our times for a Hindu and a Moslem University, had given us an inkling of the coming "dawn of friendship" over Indian horizons, this new solicitude of the *Pioneer* for its "Muhammadan friends" would ever remain to us a mystery. Phrases like "honest folk" or a "worthy bishop" are classic examples of the way in which quite honest and worthy adjectives are made to carry a world of meaning not quite respectable. Perhaps the word "friend," too, has come to bear the stamp of some similar pettifoggish implication. On no other hypothesis can we explain the use of the word by a paper whose attitude towards all recent schemes of Moslem advancement has been one of undisguised hostility. It would have been folly to expect that the Moslem University movement would meet with no adverse criticism. The *Pioneer*, however, maintained a sphinx-like silence till the scheme for the Moslem University was all but matured, and then it came out with a little, mischievous paragraph, bristling with all manner of suspicion and almost doubting the honesty of purpose of those who had toiled for about forty years. That innocent attempt of the *Pioneer* to cultivate "friendliness" with the Mussalmans gave them a correct enough measure of its disinterested intentions, and we are sure its latest act of solicitude on their behalf will carry the weight that it deserves. We hope even the portentous journal of Allahabad, still trying to catch the lost trick of oracular accents, will have the benevolence to admit that its "friends," the Mussalmans, are not quite a set of senseless fools.

Let us, however, examine the advice of the *Pioneer* to its "Muhammadan friends" a little in detail. It says —

We think it is time that our Muhammadan friends in this country began to ask themselves the question whether the war between Italy and Turkey

can be regarded only from one point of view, the religious. So far as we are aware the religious question has not entered into the calculations of the Italians in the smallest degree. Whatever the rights or the wrongs of the quarrel may be, Italy has annexed Tripoli not because she desired to put a slight upon the whole or any part of the Muhammedan world, but because she had interests in this particular region and came to the conclusion that the time had arrived to dispose of Turkey.

We readily agree with the *Pioneer* in thinking that Italy has not been moved by any religious impulse but by sheer material calculations about physical expansion or lust for empire. We would go even further than that and say, that religion as such has ceased to be the supreme motive power that it once was in the acts and policies of modern States. Its place has been supplied by expediency and force, *i.e.*, by a policy of unalloyed opportunism which is right when it is successful and the "accomplished facts" are its sole justification. It is not Christian charity or the religion of peace and godliness that restrains one Christian power from robbing its Christian neighbour, but the wholesome fear of being robbed in return, or of stirring into volcanic activity the sleeping passions of jealousy, hate, and international greed. The law of reprisals is a mightier force in the peaceful development of European affairs than the Divine Commandments that "Thou shalt not kill nor steal." To recognise this frankly and clearly, *i.e.*, to understand that the forces which are shaping the course of modern history are, neither moral nor spiritual but, as primevally keen as those which stirred the heart of the cave-dweller and move the tiger in his den, is to admit simply that civilisation is but a change and an elaboration of method and not a change in the spirit and purpose of modern life. The fanatic of history who waged war of ruthless extermination against a world, that did not subscribe to the particular dogma of his faith, was at least the dupe of generous error and offered the world the alternative of sword or salvation. He had absolute belief in his mission and was intensely human in his disinterested, though mistaken, desire to force his fellow-beings to share his felicity of hope and his dreams of celestial glory. He had his ideal distinct from his secular self, and he loved them, not wisely but, too well. But the civilised man of to-day, to whom his religion is simply a prejudice like that of nationality or race, has thought away his sense of responsibility to a Supreme Power as a mere metaphysical abstraction. He has, instead, created a multitude of gods of personal motive and desire which throng round his own image in his temple's inner shrine. Religiously he is tolerant because he is indifferent, but no "fanatic" ever wrought as much wanton misery and suffering as he would be willing to do if his schemes of personal pleasure or gain are thwarted or opposed.

But, though religion has ceased to be a guiding force in European politics, it is still a tremendous lever as a living prejudice in the counsels of Christian Europe when it is devising schemes of aggression against peoples of alien race and creed. The history of the relations of Christian powers with Turkey or with any other Moslem country is a record of organised attempts to coerce, to weaken and to destroy. We will be told, perhaps, that such is the fate of everything that has the misfortune to be weak, that nations full of vitality must grow and expand, that you can no more restrain the elemental energy of the fittest to survive than you can check the fury of the winds or stem the torrents of the sea. True; but let us read the facts recorded by history and see how the "Law of Natural Selection" in politics has been working in Europe. Greece was wrested without a shadow of excuse from Turkey, because the descendants of ancient Hellas—a race of hereditary bondmen since the times of Roman ascendancy—could not bear the humiliation of being governed by the Turk. Russia declared a pure war of aggression against Turkey on the flimsy pretext that the Slav subjects of the Sultan were in trouble. Some of the choicest provinces were torn out of the Ottoman Empire by "the Concert of Europe," and were either annexed by the members of the Concert themselves or constituted

into autonomous States. The Christian populations of Turkey instigated by the agents of some of the great Powers periodically rise in revolt and are perpetually simmering with sedition. And when these rebellious and disruptive elements are put down with a heavy hand, the conscience of the Great Christian Powers is shocked, and forthwith rise the cries of driving the "unspeakable" Turk bag and baggage out of Europe. Scores of Jews are periodically massacred in Russia in cold blood. They are tortured, and their houses are pillaged and burned. Not a voice of pity and compassion is raised at this carnival of unutterable suffering and woe, no protest of righteous indignation is heard in condemnation of the tyrant. But it may be said that Russia is too strong. What, then, of the late Belgian King, Leopold, whose atrocities in the Congo killed the laughter in the throat of the world's great humorist, Mark Twain, and drew from him a scathing condemnation of the unprovoked savagery of the European and Christian myrmidons of Leopold? Did the concert of Europe annex Belgian Congo, or threaten the tiny Kingdom of Leopold? The "Concert of Europe" snored with an easy conscience.

Again, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria was, to put it at the lowest plane, a flagrant piece of illegality. Europe saw the operation in blank stupidity and hardly moved a muscle. The independence of Persia stands in jeopardy. Algeria and Tunis and now Morocco have fallen one after the other into the hands of France. The Moorish dominion has been bargained about as if it were the hereditary estate of France, out of which Germany and Spain could also claim a share as distant cousins. The latest *coup* has come from Italy, who has proceeded without the least ceremony to establish herself in Tripoli. Now, will the *Pioneer* explain if this systematic spoliation of Moslem powers and countries is simply the consequence of their organic decadence and feebleness? If the "weakness" theory is the sole cause of aggression as well as its final justification, how comes it that States as chronically feeble as Greece, Switzerland, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Norway exist intact to-day amidst the ruthless operation of the law of the Survival of the Fittest? Is it not because their Christian character has hedged them round with a halo of inviolability? Europe, with its catholic literature and agnostic philosophy, is petty and sectarian at the core. It has erected a ring round its civilisation with boundaries marked with the Cross. Within the ring there may exist straight dealing and fair play, but without it the race is to the sharpest and the cleverest and the devil take the stickler in manners and morals. It seems as if the Theory of Evolution was evolved with set purpose to cheat conscience, and give to the acts of irresponsible brute power the semblance of unavoidable necessity. Be this as it may, the *Pioneer* must have thought its "friends" the Mussalmans to be irredeemably stupid when it so graciously set out to enlighten them on the inner motives of Italy's action. We may, however, assure the *Pioneer* that the Mussalmans have wit enough to understand that Italy would not dare to play the licensed brigand of Europe against a Christian power, that if this "war is a war between two States," the international law and morality have been so lightly brushed aside because it is also a war of a Christian Power against one professing a different religion.

The strong sense of indignation at the outrage that has marked the utterances of the European Press is not, however, shared by the responsible political circles of Europe. To the Great Powers the moral aspect of the question does not appeal at all, and the only consideration that enters into their calculations is the manner in which the Italian occupation of Tripoli will affect their respective interests. The coolness with which they contemplate the *coul'du sac* of the Italian move, and the assurance with which they discuss its legality and right afford a chastening experience and vast political education. *The Times*, writing on the 26th September, said that "for the moment the most interesting news is that relating to the attitude of the Powers towards the action that Italy is now contemplating to secure satisfaction for her grievances in the African province. In

Vienna the situation is regarded with 'anxious resignation.' What ever this new phrase may mean in the language of diplomacy, it does not certainly err on the side of excessive solicitude for the rights of Turkey. According to the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* wiring on the 25th September, "Turkey intends, it is said, to appeal for Austro-Hungarian and German diplomatic intervention against Italy, but it is taken for granted in all political and diplomatic circles here that, even if made, the appeal will be ineffectual in so far as Austria Hungary is concerned. Such intervention might endanger the very existence of the Triple Alliance. Non-intervention may, on the other hand, damage Austro-Turkish and particularly Turco-German relations—a contingency which will probably be considered the lesser of two evils." It has, however, been hinted that the "anxious resignation" of Austria is inwardly a more complacent mood, and that she has compounded with Italy in exchange for a free hand in Albania. We read that "the attitude of Austria-Hungary is marked by comprehension of the Italian standpoint, and, while by no means unfriendly towards Turkey, is inspired by the consideration that the soundest policy for the Ottoman Government is to agree with its adversary quickly without over-much haggling. Whatever influence Austria-Hungary can exercise at Constantinople and at Rome will doubtless be used to promote a pacific settlement. The keen anxiety which continues to be felt here proceeds from the fear that the Tripolitan crisis may presently be attended by serious Balkan complications." It will, we are sure, be not very difficult to understand the Austrian "comprehension of Italian standpoint." It would have been indeed surprising if Austria had failed to recognise the features of a fellow brigand. "As regards the attitude of French opinion, there was a significant sentence in a leading article of the *Temps* last night on the Morocco question. Speaking of the price which France had already paid for the *désintéressement* of various Powers in Morocco, that journal said—'We sacrificed to Italy not merely our possible chance of expansion to the south of Tunis, but, what was more serious still, the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.'"

The German attitude is no less self-regarding in its calculations. Amongst the various reasons suggested for Italian action, the *Cologne Gazette* hints at the following—"Her (Italy's) anxieties are obviously inspired by the fear that the French, if within a comparatively short time they succeed in making themselves at home in Morocco, will again turn their eyes towards Tripoli in order to absorb it from the hinterland." The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* says that "this assertion, which appears in various quarters, is varied by the further suggestion that although France has assured Italy of her benevolent neutrality she is, in fact, by reason of her large interests in Turkey, by no means satisfied with the course events have taken, and the Power which has really encouraged Italy is England, who alone has any advantage to gain from the dissolution of the Turkish Empire." Thus, it is clear that, while unable to disguise the only too patent fact that it is one of her own allies that has robbed her "friend," the Turk, Germany wishes to take advantage of the imbroglio to inculpate France and England to save her own face.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times*, wiring on the 26th September, says that "responsible opinion in Russia has been unanimously on the side of Italy throughout the long struggle to obtain rightful recognition of Italian interests at the hands of the Turkish authorities in Tripoli. This sympathy has increased as the ties, political and commercial, binding the two Governments and peoples have grown stronger. The resolute measures taken by Italy to enforce respect of her interests are entirely approved here." So, another of the Triple Entente Powers, discovers love enough in her heart to bestow on Italy

"In these sordid calculations of self-interest and self-aggrandisement, which marked the attitudes of European Powers at the beginning of the Tripolitan crisis, not a word about the rights and integrity

of Turkey had been uttered. Her existence as an independent Power having interest as well as honour and self-respect, has been absolutely ruled out of account. And, while this crisis was about to develop into war, Sir Edward Grey was reported to have "left London for Nuneham, where he is staying with Mr. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies." Diplomatic *sang froid* could not go further.

In the face of these facts, will the *Pioneer* have us believe that this "purely temporal affair" has no other aspect and derives no significance from its very cynicism and audacity? The *Pioneer* may rest assured that the Mussalmans have the fullest trust and confidence in the sense of justice of their rulers, and it is this confidence which has encouraged them to address to the British nation and Government their appeals on behalf of Turkey. They, however, quite realise the position of the British Government in regard to the situation, and we are sure they would do nothing that may in any way "add to the embarrassment of British statesmen." It must be a great relief to them to learn that the rumours of an intended annexation of Egypt have authoritatively been contradicted, and we should like to believe that partly, at least, Moslem feeling in India induced the Government to do so. It is, however, a little melancholy to think that, like Sir Edward Grey, the *Pioneer* does not know its own mind, and waits for light and inspiration from the "British Ministers." This is not a very edifying attitude for a paper that pretends to guide and instruct public opinion in this country. The *Times of India* and other responsible organs of Anglo-Indian opinion did not wait for such illumination.

Whatever may be the upshot of the Italian bid for Tripoli, it has, at any rate, revealed to Turkey her real position in the comity of European Powers. If she even believed in the existence of disinterested friendship or even goodwill for her, she was very much mistaken. If she appealed to Europe with a view of getting justice and fairplay, she was more mistaken still. She has to depend simply and in the last resort on the strength of her own arm. We believe enlightened patriotism is not at a discount in modern Turkey, nor is there any dearth of tried counsellors and seasoned statesmen. Let them close their ranks, rise to the height of the occasion and guide the fortunes of their country out of a grave crisis. There have been, we are sorry to note, persistent rumours that the Committee of Union and Progress has been a little summary and impatient in its methods and intolerant of free and independent criticism. If the allegation is true, nothing can be more disastrous to the growth of liberal ideas and free, progressive institutions in the Empire. We, however, do not believe anything of the kind would be tolerated by a well-known body of devoted patriots who are amongst the members of the Committee. Let the Committee boldly clear its character, and above all emerge into sight, for an occult power working behind the scene is apt to breed suspicion.

To save the Empire from forcible dismemberment from without or disintegration from within is the great problem of Turkish statesmen. It is also, we believe, the most fervent wish of every patriotic Ottoman. We cannot see how the nation can reconcile itself to the loss of such a large and integral part of the Empire as Tripoli. The powers of resistance have not yet been entirely exhausted. The papers received by the last Egyptian mail are full of accounts of the enormous excitement that had been produced in Egypt and throughout North Africa by the news of the impending war. Tripolitan reises and ulema and students in Egypt had been writing to the press volunteering their services and expressing their conviction that the Tripolitans will shed their last drop of blood in defence of the country. The real war has yet to begin and Italy may yet reap the consequences of her adventure. If Right is a force that is bound to triumph in the end, we hope she will learn a lesson for her faithless repudiation of law and civilised usage more humiliating and bitter than the one she learnt in Abyssinia.

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

Reuter wired from Tobruk.—An Arab leader boarded the cruiser *Pisa* and tendered his submission. He promised to do his utmost to induce the other chiefs to recognise Italy. The inhabitants are returning to the towns. A proclamation issued by the Italian Commander-in-Chief to the inhabitants of Tripoli announces that he has been sent not to enslave the population but to restore their rights, punish the usurpers, and make them their own masters. The inhabitants will henceforth be governed by their Chiefs under the patronage of King Emmanuel. Fifteen thousand troops were landed at Tripoli on the 13th instant making the total garrison in the town of twenty-two thousand. Further fifteen thousand men will follow shortly. Reuter wired from Rome.—Replying to the protest of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Debt against the expulsion of the Debt officials from Tripoli, Signor Grolitti yesterday declared that the Italian occupation of Tripoli would not prejudice the interests of foreign creditors. Reuter wired from Malta.—Cholera has broken out in Tripoli and up to the present four deaths have been recorded.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The Government has issued an additional list of contraband articles comprising cereals, preserved food stuffs, bank notes and bills of exchange. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg.—Owing to apprehensions that the Porte may treat corn as contraband, the Russian Ambassador recently pointed out to the Porte the importance of the matter to Russia. Receiving no definite answer, the Ambassador sent a Note declaring firmly that Russian coin was subject neither to arrest nor confiscation unless addressed to the Italian forces, and making the Porte responsible for the violation of Russia's rights. The Porte has since allowed a Greek corn steamer to pass. Nevertheless, the ambassador insists upon an official reply. Replying to the Russian protest against making corn contraband the Porte says that neutral grain steamers bound for neutral ports will be allowed to pass, but cargoes consigned to Italian war harbours, military authorities, or contractors will be stopped.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The repressive measures of the hitherto all-powerful Court Martial against the press is causing dissatisfaction, and recently the Council of Ministers rejected some of the Court's anti-press orders. The Minister for War, who is believed to be responsible for the Court's arbitrariness, is becoming increasingly unpopular. The English papers published on the 14th instant a letter from the President of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies expressing thanks for British sympathy with Turkey and protesting against the attitude of Europe in permitting the Italian coup. Reuter wired on the 14th instant from Constantinople.—Inom Yahya has proclaimed a Holy War. The tribes are flocking to the cause, though it is obviously useless, Italy commanding the sea. Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The Opposition Deputies have refused to meet the Unionists to discuss a common programme and present a united front to Italy. They have also declined to support the new Ministry. The Unionists have likewise decided not to support the Ministry unless it conforms to the policy of resistance to the bitter end. The fate of the Ministry is sealed and a coalition Ministry is probable. A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Constantinople states that there are indications that the military party is dissatisfied with the supineness of the Sultan. The name of the heir-apparent is already whispered as the man most likely to check the disintegration of Turkey. Ahmed Riza has been re-elected President of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies. The Parliament was opened on the 14th instant in the afternoon. The speech from the Throne dealt mainly with the action of Italy and the steps taken by Government towards mediation on the part of the Powers. In the meantime, it was stated, Government continues to have recourse to measures to defend the rights and legitimate interests of Turkey. The speech was listened to in profound silence, and there was no applause. The Sultan was surrounded by the eldest Princes and appeared much affected. On the conclusion of the speech, two Ulemas offered up prayers for the successful issue of the crisis and malediction of Italy.

Reuter wired from Port Said.—The Turkish transport *Kassiri* entered the Canal and landed troops at Kantara, whence they will proceed to Palestine via El Arish, escorted by the Egyptian Coast Guards. The *Kassiri* has been transformed into a hospital ship and is proceeding to the Red Sea.

Reuter wired from Sofia.—A more optimistic feeling prevails as the result of interviews between the Bulgarian Ministers and foreign diplomats. Bulgaria will at present not take any military measures.

Reuter wired from Rome.—Two hundred Turkish Infantry in the early morning of the 14th instant opened a sharp fire on the Italian advanced post west of Bunelian Wells. The Italians replied with rifle fire, and a few shells from the naval guns. The Turks retired leaving one killed and a machine gun. The Italians had two men slightly

wounded. Reuter wired from Tripoli.—General Caneva is organising an expedition into the interior, and will start next week. He carries supplies for a month. Four aeroplanes accompanied by Italian officers and pilots, are on their way to Tripoli. It is intended that they shall be used in warfare. If occasion arises attempts will be made to bomb the enemy's encampments. Reuter wired from Malta.—It is asserted that the cholera in Tripoli was brought by the Turkish transport *Berna*. The cases are so far confined to the Mussulmans but the Italian authorities are uneasy and have adopted most rigorous measures to prevent the spread of the disease among the troops. Reuter wired from Rome.—A message received here from Moscow states that mobilisation in Eritrea is proceeding most satisfactorily. Ten thousand naval troops are under arms and some have made long journeys, in many cases lasting over a week, on foot, to join their regiments.

It is emphatically stated in Italian official quarters that if Turkey desires quick and dignified peace she must be reconciled to the entire loss of Tripoli. If, however, outrages against Italians continue in Asia Minor, the Italian fleet will carry the war into other Turkish provinces. Italy has also notified the Powers to this effect.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The replies of the Powers to the Porte's representations on the subject of Italian occupation of Tripoli are of varying character, some stating that there exists no possible basis for mediation in view of Turkey's continued insistence on the recognition of her sovereign rights in Tripoli, and others pointing out that peace proposals should properly emanate from Turkey. The Porte has replied reaffirming that the recognition of its sovereign rights in Tripoli is a *sine qua non*, but that it is prepared in other respects to treat Italian interests on broad lines.

Reuter wired from Genoa.—The third Italian Dreadnought *Leonard da Vinci* was launched here on the 13th instant. The fourth Italian Dreadnought has been launched on the 14th instant. An Italian destroyer struck a rock while entering Tripoli on Friday, the 13th instant, and is now a total wreck.

Reuter wired from Malta.—Cholera in Tripoli is slowly spreading. The number of deaths up to the present is six. The last batch of fifteen thousand men of the Italian Expedition to Tripoli sailed secretly on Saturday, the 14th instant. They took with them a number of automobiles, specially equipped to pull heavy weights over desert sand. The Turkish troops behind Tripoli appear to be in desperate straits for want of food. The Italians have succeeded in stopping a hundred camel loads of provisions leaving the town on the 14th instant in two's and three's. The attempts of the Turks to seize barley and cattle have caused the Sheikhs of the inland tribes to cut off supplies. They are now attacking small bodies of Turks whenever opportunity offers.

It is stated that a conference arranged for the 15th instant between the Italian Ambassador in Berlin and Von Kiderlen-Waechter, German Foreign Secretary, has been postponed, the Emperor William having sent for the Ambassador to confer with him at his hunting lodge at Hubertusstock. It is, however, denied that the German Emperor sent for the Italian Ambassador to confer with him as reported.

Reuter wired from Tripoli.—Some of the expeditionary troops are going to garrison other coast towns, especially Benghazi, Tobruk and Derna. Italian telegrams report that 150 Turkish officers have surrendered at Tripoli. It is believed that the Turkish troops will shortly surrender in spite of orders from Constantinople. A message from Tripoli states that the Turks on the 15th instant on Sunday night attacked the Italian entrenchments at Bunelian Wells, their forces being divided into two parties with two guns. Desultory firing took place and one Italian soldier was wounded. Two Italian regiments eventually drove off the Turks with hot fire. Four aeroplanes have arrived at Tripoli and will immediately be used.

Reuter wired from Milan.—Cholera riots have broken out at Segni, near Rome. The mob on the 14th instant sacked the Town Hall, the Mayor and clerks being obliged to escape by the roof. The rioters subsequently carried seven cholera patients, two of whom were dying, on their shoulders from the hospital to their homes. Troops from Rome have occupied Segni and many arrests have been made.

It is semi-officially announced in Vienna that the Powers have ceased their efforts in regard to mediation in the Turco-Italian hostilities, as they do not see any prospect of success, Italy being apparently determined upon the absolute annexation of Tripoli. Reuter wires from Berlin.—Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg in a letter to the President of the Reichstag says he is willing to answer interpellations regarding foreign policy but the Government is not able to make any statements regarding Morocco or Tripoli. He mentions that a continuous exchange of views with the Powers is proceeding with a view to ending the Turco-Italian war.

Reuter wired from Rome.—A message from Massowa to the *Tribune* states that a considerable Turkish force is assembling at Moka and it is stated that a dash on the Eritrean Coast is contemplated. The *Daily Mail* states that the Galipoli Division of the Turkish Fleet sailed on the 15th instant for an unknown destination. Reuter wires from Constantinople: The correspondent of the Vienna newspaper *Die Zeit* states that the Turkish Fleet left the Bosphorus to protect the harbours of Epirus.

The British Foreign Office has informed Lloyds that all Ottoman light-houses including those in the Adriatic and the Red Sea have been closed by order of the Porte.

Favourable Turkish reply regarding the free passage of corn-carrying vessels has stimulated the Russian corn market.

Reuter wired from Constantinople. A decree imposes an import duty of one hundred per cent *ad valorem* on Italian merchandise.

Reuter wired from Toulon. The cruiser *Leon Gambetta* has sailed for Tripoli to protect French interests.

It is stated in Rome that Munir Pasha, the Turkish Commander in Tripoli, has been deposed by the troops and replaced by Nesciat Bey. After the change, the officers held a conference at which some urged marching to Tunis. Nesciat Bey, however, insisted upon continuing resistance.

A message from Tripoli states that General Caneva has sent troops escorted by warships to occupy the Town of Homs, fifty miles to the east of Tripoli. Italian troops have occupied Homs and a Governor has been appointed. The Turks are retiring to the mountains.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—In the Chamber of Deputies on the 18th inst., the Grand Vizier made a statement of the policy of the Government, declaring that they would defend Ottoman rights at all costs. The Minister further announced that, in order to safeguard the interests of the country, it was proposed to modify the policy pursued up to the present and to seek alliances. The Grand Vizier stated that he was prepared to furnish explanations with regard to Tripoli at a secret sitting, which is now in progress.

The British and German Ambassadors had a long interview on the 18th instant with the Marquis Di San Giuliano, the Italian Foreign Minister in Rome, with a view to ending the Turko-Italian hostilities. It is stated in Italian official quarters that Turkey must first definitely renounce what she has already lost. It is also declared that if Turkey even threatens a demonstration with a squadron, Italy will act regardless of consequences and in accordance with the full rights of war. If, however, Turkey complies with the Italian demands, Italy will pay her an indemnity, but if there is any delay in accepting her terms, Italy will demand a war indemnity.

• The Moslem Feeling in India.

A DEPUTATION of leading Mahomedans headed by Mr. Amiruddin Fayyaji and the Hon. Mr. Fazalbhoy Dabhi saw Mr. Haji I. Maul Haji Hasham Aghorwalla in connection with the Turkish Red Crescent Society Fund. The deputation was welcomed and a sum of Rs. 10,000 was promised.

The Mussalmans of Balasore offered prayers on Saturday, the 14th instant, for Turkish victory and the triumph of Islam. It was decided to co-operate with the Indian Red Crescent Society of Calcutta, and raise funds for the relief of the sufferers of the war.

The Muslims of Hyderabad, Deccan, are greatly agitated over the Russo-Italian war and Urdu telegraphic extracts are circulated twice a day. The Ulemas have made arrangements for prayers to be offered at mosques for Turkish victory. On Friday, the 13th instant, special prayers were offered in the Junia Masjid, and the Mussalmans hoped that His Majesty King George V. would exert his friendly influence with Italy for effecting peace, as he had promised at his accession that he would walk in the footsteps of his father.

A large number of Mahomedans assembled on Sunday, the 15th instant, to offer prayers in the Barulpura Mosque, Bhagalpur, for the success and prosperity of H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey, who is recognized as "Caliph of the Mussalmans" all over the world. The meeting expressed indignation at the aggressive and immoral policy of the Italians and surprise at the determined silence of the European Powers.

Letters to the British Press.

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

SIR,—As one deeply interested in the growth and maintenance of amity and friendly feeling between Christianity and Islam and in seeing the two great creeds working harmoniously, and if possible

hand-in-hand, in the cause of progress in their respective spheres, I venture to trespass on the hospitality of your columns to call attention to the unthinkable consequences of the projected Italian invasion of the Turkish possession of Tripoli. To England the matter is one of serious moment, a hundred millions of Mussulmans acknowledge her sway, and they all take the keenest interest in everything that concerns their fellow-religionists abroad. The fury and hatred to which such a wanton and unwarrantable act of aggression is sure to give rise will re-act in every part of the Moslem world, Egypt and the whole of Northern Africa will be immediately affected by it, and the work of conciliation and the progress of good will will be thrown back by centuries.

Whatever excuse may be urged in palliation of the appropriation of Morocco by France, there is not the slightest for the attempt by Italy to provoke a war of creeds and races by the spoliation of Turkey. Her "grievances" to which you refer in to-day's issue of the *Times* are too flimsy to justify the action she proposes to take.

I appeal to every lover of peace and good will on earth to protest with all his power, before it is too late, against this flagrant breach of all canons of international morality on the part of a nominally Christian country.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

AMEER ALI.

Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W., September 27th

Hali Halid Bey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST"

SIR,—The news of Italy's surprising attempt to pounce on Tripoli contained in this morning's papers must surely have come as a severe moral shock to all right-minded people, no matter what their nationality. Yet there are not wanting signs that Italy, the aggressor, will find friends and supporters amongst the European Powers. Indeed, with the little matter of Adowa still comparatively fresh in her memory, it seems certain that she would hardly have dared to embark on such a piece of piracy unless she had reasons to expect such support. Whether she may not find these expectations false at the critical moment remains to be seen, of course. But what an extraordinary example of "justice" we have presented to us! Because France and Germany come to terms about Morocco and agree to share the spoils, Italy must be "compensated"—at the expense of a friendly nation! Yet in view of past experience, those Turkish Ministers who have been conducting Ottoman foreign relations must certainly be blamed for not having foreseen the state of affairs that has arisen, and in due time the Turks will require an explanation of their failure to do so. For the time being, however, we can let the question remain unanswered, and devote ourselves to the defence of our country and its interests.

At present it is not quite clear what England's attitude on this question is to be. She has a magnificent opportunity of showing herself Turkey's true friend and of regaining by a single stroke all her former prestige at Constantinople, which has undoubtedly suffered of late. And to do so she has only to show herself determined to prevent an entirely unwarranted attempt at carrying through a policy of "grab," and to stand firm for the cause of justice.—I am, etc.

London, September 25th, 1911.

HALLI HALID

Text of Italy's Note to Turkey.

THROUGHOUT a long series of years the Italian Government has never ceased to represent to the Porte the absolute necessity that the state of disorder and neglect in which Tripoli and Cyrenaica are left by Turkey should come to an end, and that these regions should be allowed to enjoy the same progress as that attained by other parts of Northern Africa. This transformation, which is required by the general exigencies of civilization, constitutes, so far as Italy is concerned, a vital interest of the very first order, by reason of the small distance separating these countries from the coasts of Italy.

Notwithstanding the attitude maintained by the Italian Government, which has always loyally accorded its support to the Imperial Government on the different political questions of recent times, notwithstanding the moderation and patience displayed by the Italian Government hitherto, not only have its views in regard to Tripoli been misunderstood by the Imperial Government, but what is more, all enterprises on the part of Italians, in the aforesaid regions, constantly encounter a systematic opposition of the most obstinate and unwarranted kind.

The Imperial Government, which has thus up to now displayed constant hostility towards all legitimate Italian activity in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, quite recently, at the eleventh hour, proposed to the Royal Government to come to an understanding, declaring itself disposed to grant any economic concession compatible with the treaties in force and with the higher dignity and interests of Turks, but the Royal Government does not now feel itself in a

position to enter upon such negotiations, the uselessness of which is demonstrated by past experience, and which, far from constituting a guarantee for the future, could but afford a permanent cause of friction and conflict.

On the other hand, information received by the Royal Government from its Consular Agents in Tripoli and Cyrenaica represents the situation there as extremely dangerous on account of the agitation prevailing against Italian subjects, which is very obviously fomented by officers and other organs of the authorities. This agitation constitutes an imminent danger not only to Italian subjects but also to foreigners of any nationality who, justly perturbed and anxious for their safety, have commenced to embark and are leaving Tripoli without delay. The arrival at Tripoli of Ottoman military transports, the serious consequences of the sending of which the Royal Government had not failed to point out previously to the Ottoman Government, cannot but aggravate the situation and impress on the Royal Government the strict and absolute obligation of providing against the perils resulting therefrom. The Italian Government, therefore, finding itself forced to think of the guardianship of its dignity and its interests, has decided to proceed to the military occupation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This solution is the only one Italy can decide upon, and the Royal Government expects that the Imperial Government will in consequence give orders so that it may meet with no opposition from the present Ottoman representatives, and that the measures which will be the necessary consequence may be effected without difficulty. Subsequent agreements would be made between the two Governments to settle the definitive situation arising therefrom. The Royal Ambassador in Constantinople has orders to ask for a peremptory reply on this matter from the Ottoman Government within 24 hours from the presentation of the present document, in default of which the Italian Government will be obliged to proceed to the immediate execution of the measures destined to ensure the occupation.

Pray add that the reply of the Porte within the aforesaid limit of 24 hours must be communicated to us through the intermediary of the Turkish Embassy in Rome also.

SAN GIULIANO

The Situation before the War.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN TRIPOLI.)

DIRECT Turkish rule in the Tripolitaine was made effective only 80 years ago when the old Arab dynasty of the Carmanali was overthrown by a Turkish army. Even then it took the Turks many years to obtain possession of the whole country, as the Southern Province, Fezzan, offered a stubborn resistance. In 1875 an expeditionary corps conquered the Tuaregs of Ghut and took possession of their town. But for a long time the Turks remained in the eyes of the Arabs foreign masters, and on many occasions deputations of Arabs appealed to European Consulates for their intervention.

Within the last 15 years, however, a change has taken place. Turkish administration has grown stronger and more effective. With the establishment of European control in Egypt, Tunis and in the Western Sahara many malcontents came from these countries and infected the inhabitants of the vilayets with their fanaticism. So much so that Tripoli became, in the eyes of Mussulmans, the stronghold of Islam in North Africa. Turkish rule was no longer felt as a foreign yoke, and the Turks even began to make some concession to the Arabs, e.g., they allowed a grandson of the last Carmanali Bey to become Mayor of Tripoli.

Owing to the fact that under the Hamidian régime the province of Tripoli was a place of deportation for Young Turks there have been able and enlightened men amongst the administrators of the country. The best example was Field-Marshal Redjeb Pasha, who acted as Vali for 10 years, till in 1906 he became Minister of War in the first Young Turk Administration. He introduced reforms in the system of taxation and in the sanitation of the town and won the confidence of the Arabs. But most of his efforts were devoted to the organization of the defence of the vilayet. This was his answer to the growing attention which Italy had begun to pay to Tripoli.

Italian aspirations aroused the suspicion of the Turkish authorities; and they regarded with nervousness every Italian enterprise, to which they offer all the opposition in their power. They interfered especially with the leasing of land to Italians on all manner of pretexts. Fearing that any accident to a European traveller might be considered sufficient cause for intervention, the authorities made travelling nearly impossible for Europeans, especially for Italians. No Italian was ever able to penetrate as far as Fezzan; and the few who visited the fertile Djebel Gharian did it in disguise.

With the advent to power of the Young Turks the relations between the Turkish authorities and the Italians were further strained. National feeling became stronger, and in the newly-founded Turkish schools a strong patriotism was inculcated. Among other reforms the *Gendarmérie* was reorganized under the supervision of a foreign officer, and the strength of the garrison was increased to 30,000. The successors of Redjeb Pasha have all

been military men like Hussein Husni, now Commander of the Division of Constantinople, and Marshal Ibrahim Pasha.

The soldiers, who are mainly Albanians and Syrians, are armed with Mauser rifles. Forts have been built round the town commanding the harbour and they are partly provided with Krupp guns. To the artillery have been added mountain batteries for use in the defence of the Djebel. The irregular Arab cavalry is said to have been recently furnished with modern rifles.

It is probable that the Italian Navy would easily be able to overcome the resistance of the town, but great difficulties would arise if an expeditionary corps were to attempt to conquer the *Hinterland*. Three days' journey southwards the roads traverse the mountains in narrow defiles, which can readily be defended by a small force. Wells are scarce and maps of the country do not exist.

In all probability the Turkish troops would retire to the mountains and there await the invader. The population is fanatical and thousands would answer to the call if a Holy War were proclaimed, and, indeed, the effect of such a proclamation might be felt all over North Africa.

Tripoli as a Commercial Centre.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN TRIPOLI.)

TRIPOLI in former days was the gateway of the Trans-Saharan trade. The goods from Hausaland and from the Niger countries were brought by caravans to Tripoli, a distance of nearly 2,000 miles across the Sahara. These goods were chiefly ivory, ostrich feathers and skins. To-day this is changed. The caravans which formerly reached the Mediterranean by way of Ghut or Murzuk now take their goods to the Niger or the Benue, whence they are shipped to Europe, and thus reach their destination quickly and safely without incurring the thousand risks of a desert journey. The day when the Lagos-Kano railway will be opened the Trans-Saharan trade will practically come to an end altogether and with this the Tripolitan market will receive its deathblow. In the last years the Arab traders of Tripoli have been receiving their ostrich feathers and skins from agents in Kano by way of Lagos and Liverpool, and these Nigerian goods they resell to British and other European merchants in Tripoli. No doubt the coming establishment of British firms in Nigeria will make it unnecessary to buy Nigerian goods in Tripoli. The decline of the commerce of Tripoli was clearly explained in a report of the Italian Consul five years ago.

Great hopes are entertained by some Italians in the possibility of the existence of mineral treasure in Tripolitan soil. This possibility cannot be denied, although the few investigations undertaken by different geologists have not been at all favourable. Only in the spring of this year the well-known French geologist M. Peruvianère, made a journey from Tripoli to Ghadames and found that the deposits at Zar, which some had taken for nitrates, and on the exploitation of which great hopes had been built, were merely gypsum.

In the Djebel Gharian and in some parts of Cyrenaica agriculture flourishes. The chief products are corn, olive-oil and esparto-grass. These fertile territories, however, form but small patches in the immense area of Tripolitania. The rest consists of absolutely sterile desert interrupted by only a few oases and camel pastures. Whether some of this dry land can be won for agriculture without the help of a great river, as in Egypt, is still an open question. Owing to absence of rain during the last two years a famine is threatening the country. A few years ago the Jewish Territorial Organization sent a commission to Cyrenaica to inquire into the possibility of colonization, a plan which was received favourably by the Turkish Government. But the report of this commission was so unsatisfactory that the project was abandoned.

In the town of Tripoli the chief industries are leather-work, carpet manufacturing, and sponge fishing. Much is being done to encourage home industries by the Turkish Technical School, which is quite a model institution. Of the export articles one of the most important is esparto-grass; it is mainly shipped to England, where it is used in the manufacture of paper.

Europe is represented in Tripoli by about 2,000 Italians (not counting the Levantine and Jewish *protégés* of the Italian Consulate) by a similar number of Greeks and not more than a dozen or two British, Germans and French. To the British Consulate belong about 4,000 Maltese. These are quiet and industrious people, earning their livelihood by fishing and petty trading. The few British residing in Tripoli are mostly connected with the esparto-grass business which is run by a Liverpool firm. There are also the missionaries of the North Africa Mission who are doing excellent work in their Medical Mission establishment.

The strongest European contingent is formed by the Italian colony. In it the Sicilians predominate. They are artisans and traders. Owing to their excitable temperament the Italian Consul is always busy settling quarrels. It is well known that many of the Italians are people who left their home for good reasons. These naturally increase the difficulties of their Consul. Then we have

the *employés* of the Banco di Roma, which was established in Tripoli some years ago. Unfortunately the Italian colony is not a united one, but contains many factions and rival parties. To illustrate this it is only necessary to mention that there are no less than three Italian newspapers printed in Tripoli, which represent very strong party feelings. One, the *Economista di Tripoli*, is a Clerical paper and belongs to the Banco di Roma; the second, the *Echo di Tripoli*, is Liberal; and the third, *Il Progresso*, is more or less anarchical, attacking violently the Consular authorities. When speaking of the Italian colony we also must mention some wealthy Tripolitan Jews who are naturalized Italians. They represent a more pacific element and are in some contrast to the militant *employés* of the Banco di Roma. As a result of the Italian industrial enterprise there are in Tripoli an oil mill, an esparto-grass press, an ice-machine and a cinematograph.

The handful of Germans are quiet people, playing no important rôle in the town. Some Italian newspapers connected the German Consul with the Turkish resistance to Italian enterprise, but such rumours seem to be unfounded. From the fact that he obtained some trifling concessions for his countrymen, such as the installation of acetylene light lanterns in the main streets of the town, one cannot speak for a German invasion, as was actually done in a correspondence, in *La Tribuna*. As the Italians have been in many ways opposed by the Turks they show jealousy against any other European enterprise and had seen in every German or other foreigner a dangerous competitor and opponent. For example, a Swiss doctor who spent a few months holiday in Tripoli as a visitor was reported in several Italian papers to have obtained a concession for the erection of a German hospital in competition with the Italian Clinique. It is not to be denied that Italian jealousy is to some extent responsible for the backward state of Tripoli. The old telegraph cable to Italy is in such a bad state that on the average half the time it is out of use. A Turkish project to unite Tripoli with the new Tunisian telegraph station, which is only at a distance of about 80 miles, was resented strongly by the Italians, who feared it might prove an opening for French influence. Tripoli possesses two hotels, which, however, hardly deserve the name. A German plan to erect a new one also met with Italian opposition.

With regard to the relations of the non-Italian nationalities with the Turkish authorities, they are not worse than in any other part of the Ottoman Empire. The relations between the Italians and Turks have never been very friendly in the last ten years, though during the governorship of General Hussein Hurni they improved and the antagonism of the two Powers seemed to lessen somewhat. But this was altered last winter when Hussein Hurni was replaced by Marshal Ibrahim Pasha, an old veteran of the Russo-Turkish War. The relations between the new Governor and the Italian Consul-General, Signor Pestalozza, soon became strained over the German affair. This man, an Argentine journalist who had published violent articles in the Tripolitan Press against Italy and its representatives, had been expelled on the request of the Italian Consul. But he appeared again in Tripoli in spite of the most energetic Italian remonstrations. Only by referring matters to Constantinople was his re-expulsion effected.

Another unpleasant trouble was caused by a friction between the Banco di Roma and the Banque Ottomane. Many other incidents could be enumerated were it not that they seem too trivial to mention. Both Government recognize the necessity of a change. A few months ago Signor Pestalozza and his Vice-Consul at Benghazi and Derna were recalled and the Turkish Government appointed a new Vali, Bekir Sami Bey, who, however, at this moment has not left Constantinople.

Since last spring seven special correspondents of Italian newspapers have been residing in Tripoli, and there have exaggerated the importance of many quite insignificant incidents and so kept the attention of the Italian public constantly turned to Tripolitan affairs.

Islam in Africa.

(By THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN NIGERIA.)

Events seem to be shaping themselves in a fashion calculated to stir Islam throughout Africa to its depths, and as the consequences may be momentous for the interests of the African Powers, a few words on the subject cannot be amiss. I am not one of those who regard Islam in Negro Africa as a danger—except in the face of wanton aggression by Christian Powers, or Christian missionary zeal pushed impolitically before the time has come when the Negro Moslem can distinguish the functions of one white man from those of another. But the connexion between Negro Muhammadanism and the Muhammadanism of the Arabs and Berbers of the North is sufficiently close, communications are sufficiently extensive and continuous, and the bond of a common faith sufficiently strong to establish a link between these peoples, the spiritual side of which, and its effect upon political action, it would be unwise to ignore. Given sufficient imagination and some acquaintance with these problems, to place oneself at the present moment in the

shoes of a black or brown African Moslem is to realize that the action of France in Morocco followed by the contemplated Italian *coup* in Tripoli amount to a combined onslaught upon Islam, both as a political and spiritual force—the two being virtually inseparable, at any rate, to the African mind—and cannot but be so regarded from the Mediterranean littoral to the Nile on the east and the Niger on the south. A few years ago Italian ambitions in Tripoli might, perhaps, have been achieved without very much difficulty—whether morally justifiable or not—but then active expression now occurs at a time when two circumstances have entirely altered the situation. I refer to the recrudescence of political activity on the part of Turkey in Tripoli and its vast hinterland in the Central Sudan, and to the recognition by the Senussis of the spiritual authority of the Sultan, an event of the deepest significance.

Even under the Hamidian regime Turkey declined to recognize the Anglo-French arrangements of 1890 and 1899, under which the entire Saharan region west of the Libyan desert was left to the French, interposing between Fezzan and the caravan trade with the Nigerian Chad regions a vast slice of French territory whenever France chose to give effect to the doubtful privileges she had thus acquired. But Turkish protests never advanced beyond the paper stage, save by way of putting no obstacle to the steady import of weapons of precision to the Kufra oases and Wadai and Benghazi. In the course of the last two years, however, the Young Turks have changed this attitude of passive protest into one of sustained activity. Last autumn I found the French authorities at Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, considerably perturbed at the discovery of a Turkish patrol two days' march north of the Asben oases on the great caravan route between Murzuk (Fezzan) and British and French Nigeria. The presence of a Turkish force in the oases of Ghat further north had been reported some months previously. It was there believed, I found, that Turkish movements, inspired from Constantinople, Tripoli and Alexandria, heralded further and more comprehensive activities, but the opinion was held—erroneously as it has turned out—that there was no connexion between them and Senussi "intrigues" in Wadai and Borku. That these apprehensions were justified events were quickly to show. In the spring of this year Turkish troops moved southwards and occupied, almost simultaneously, Bardai in Tibesti and Ain-Galakka in Borku, the mountainous districts lying south of the Kufra oases, west of the Libyan desert, and immediately north of Wadai. And there they remain. By its action the Turkish Government would seem to have definitely intimated to all concerned that Turkey does not propose to remain a purely negative factor in the affairs of the central Sudan. Who knows but that some of Turkey's leading men of long sight may not, like certain French politicians and soldiers, incline to the belief that for Turkey, too, the "future lies in North Africa"—at least in part? For some time past anxiety and resentment have been manifested in French colonial circles at this new and unwelcome turn of events, especially in view of the trouble in Wadai. It is true that a Franco-Turkish Delimitation Commission with regard to Tibesti and Borku is supposedly to meet before long at Tripoli, but to the intimation conveyed by the French Ambassador at Constantinople that these negotiations must not be held in any way to invalidate the rights of France under her arrangements with England. Turkey has, I understand, returned no reply calculated to give satisfaction to the French.

The Turkish position in these regions has, of course, been immensely strengthened by the unrest which permeates the whole of the Islamic world of North Africa, of the Central, and perhaps to some extent the Eastern and Western Sudan, by the occurrences in Morocco, the fighting in Wadai, and the occupation of "Mauritania" by the French. To the fears which these incidents have generated and, incidentally, to the anger at the decay in the trans-desert caravan trade from the Nigerian region with the North, which has so impoverished Fezzan, must undoubtedly be ascribed the steps taken by the Senussis to come to a political understanding with Constantinople. This understanding is to-day an accomplished fact and has been sealed by the despatch of a Senussi mission to Constantinople. Its existence must make of the Ottoman flag a symbol and a rallying point for the whole mass of disquieted Moslem elements in a vast region of North and Central Africa. For the influence of the Senussis—the sect of the Little Rose—is in a spiritual sense invested with considerable power. Created originally in Algeria, it holds primary sway among all religious sects eastwards as far as the Egyptian frontier. Tripoli is to-day its stronghold and in the province of Barkat at least, the fraternity enjoys more influence than the Turkish officials who would be helpless without its toleration. In the entire Saharan region it reigns supreme, and in recent years its emissaries (there is a colony of Arab merchants in Kano, including one Turk, in constant touch with Tripoli) have been met with as far south as Bida in the heart of Nigeria. Although Senussiism is essentially a religious and spiritual force, preaching avoidance of the European rather than active hostility against him, the aggression of a European Power upon

that region of Africa where its adepts are most numerous and most powerful, could not fail to light a torch which might well set all North Africa and many parts of the Sudan ablaze.

The Piracy Rehearsed.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

ITALY, on her side, has long since worked out all the details of an expedition overseas. Ever so long ago it was given out by an Italian Minister of Marine and published in the *Italia Militare*, that Italy could send 70,000 troops upon a distant expedition overseas and 114,000 for a short journey not exceeding two nights at sea. Seven years ago—namely, in September 1904—the whole procedure of this transport was practised at a dress rehearsal in the 10th Army Corps region and provoked the utmost interest throughout the whole country. Many faults came to light and many criticisms were made, but nevertheless some 5,000 to 6,000 men, completely provided with horses, guns, stores, and supplies, were shipped in 11 hours, and the whole of the arrangements for marshalling the ships, protecting the convoy, and carrying out the disembarkation displayed good order and regularity which were most creditable in a first attempt. When the convoy put to sea on this occasion the ten transports, plainly numbered, steamed in two columns line ahead, a group of battleships headed the columns, destroyers watched the front and flanks, while the rear was covered by torpedo boats. The expedition was thrown ashore in the Gulf of Naples on 3rd September covered by the warships. This operation was fairly well carried out, despite a heavy swell. Covering troops were thrown ashore to occupy dominant points, the places selected for landing troops from each transport were marked by flags, and the whole operation was finished by 5 P.M., having taken 16 hours to accomplish.

From this experience and from others Italy has quite accustomed herself to the technique of overseas expeditions, and there is nothing wonderful in the fact that she is now able to execute in war what she has practised in peace. Moreover, the Italian Staff has made good preparations for maintaining secrecy and has established at the right moment a prompt and efficient censorship of news.

Rifaat Pasha Interviewed.

(BY THE "TIMES" PARIS CORRESPONDENT.)

THE new Turkish Ambassador, Rifaat Pasha, arrived in Paris on the morning of 26th September from Marienbad in order to take up the duties of his post. He intended to use no time in presenting himself at the French Foreign Office, but meanwhile his very first act was to pay a visit to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, Signor Tittoni, with whom he has old ties of diplomatic and personal friendship.

In the afternoon Rifaat Pasha received a representative of the *Temps* and gave his impressions of the situation. Signor Tittoni, he said, had not been able to give him any information to-day regarding the intentions of the Italian Government. For the present the only information available was that which came through the Press, and it was certainly calculated to excite feelings of the greatest surprise. There had been nothing to warn Turkey of the aggressive action which Italy now appeared to contemplate. He himself could speak with special knowledge since he had been Turkish Foreign Minister during the last few months. If there had been any incident which could have furnished a pretext for what was now taking place he (Rifaat Pasha) would have been the first to hear of it and it would have been his business to settle it. But there had been absolutely nothing of the kind.

Last June the Marquis di San Giuliano, the Italian Foreign Minister, had delivered a speech in the Italian Chamber and had dealt in great detail with the Tripoli question. The speech was quite optimistic. The Marquis di San Giuliano had declared that he hoped for a good issue of the negotiations with Turkey. He had protested against the apprehensions prevalent in certain Turkish quarters with regard to the extension of Italian economic interests in Tripoli and against the fears that Italian aspirations might constitute a danger to the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Such apprehensions, he had declared, were based upon mistaken grounds. Italy, he asserted, desired to maintain the prestige and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and he added these words:—"Our policy, like that of the other Great Powers, has for its foundation the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

Similarly, on 2nd December 1910, the Marquis di San Giuliano had declared, "We desire the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and we wish Tripoli always to remain Turkish." In these two speeches, moreover, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs had recognised that the economic interests of Italy in Tripoli were far from being inferior to those of other Powers or from being less well treated than theirs. What had happened since those speeches were delivered? Nothing, unless it had been a brief discussion in very courteous terms about a concession for some 100 kilometres of road construction to which Italy laid claim, but which had been granted

to a French group in accordance with rights previously acquired. More recently the Italian Ambassador in Constantinople had asked him for the necessary authorisation to send out a mission for prospecting mines, and the mission was, in fact, at this moment in Tripoli. He had not only granted the required permit, but the mission had obtained far greater facilities than had been asked for and the Italian Government had expressed its thanks.

There was some talk in the newspapers, continued Rifaat Pasha, about menaces to the property or persons of Italian residents in Tripoli. Had a single instance of violence been produced? On the contrary, there seemed to be a feeling of regret that the Turkish attitude had been everywhere so entirely correct. There was, therefore, not the slightest pretext for the measures of menace which were now being pursued, and which had been such a surprise to him that until a few hours ago he had refused to credit them. The campaign waged by certain Chauvinist Italian journals could not be regarded as a warning, but unhappily it was their views which had prevailed. There was no truth in the statement that the Italian Government had communicated its intentions to the Great Powers and had obtained their assent. He knew for certain that no such intimation had been made, and consequently that no such assent had been given.

He would add that the question was no longer a question of Tripoli. Indeed, there was in his opinion no Tripoli question. What threatened was war between Italy and Turkey, since a disembarkation at Tripoli would in point of law and in point of fact be exactly the same thing as a landing at Salonika or at Smyrna. That was how European opinion and the Great Powers ought to look at the matter. This was no more separate incident, it was a general question that had arisen.

Tripoli was not an Ottoman colony, nor was it a province of which the administration was delegated, as had been the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was not even a province with a population of mixed character as regards race and religion. It was a vital member of the Turkish national body. Turkey would, therefore, not confine herself to considering the necessity and the possibility of mere local resistance. She was confronted with an act of aggression of general import, and if this aggression, which was to-day only in the stage of menace, went as far as acts, what Turkey would find herself compelled to defend would be her very existence as a sovereign and independent State, and she would have to defend it against proceedings which bore the impress of a bygone age.

The Turkish Cabinet and the Late Grand Vizier.

THE Turin correspondent of the *Daily Mail* wired on the 28th September—

The *Stampa* has received the following telegram from Constantinople:—"A dramatic scene took place at the Cabinet Council, presided over by the Grand Vizier at his place here on Thursday night. 'Hakki Pasha, after explaining the situation created by the Italian ultimatum, pointed out the uselessness of Turkey taking extreme measures. Great excitement was caused by a Young Turk Minister who, in a passionate speech, turned on Hakki Pasha, and shouted. At this critical moment for Turkey, the counsels of the Grand Vizier are tantamount to treason! I resolutely oppose the proposition that the country should be sold!' The outburst evoked protestations on one side and encouragement on the other, and the Grand Vizier's face clouded. The Minister, seeing the effect of his words, continued in the same strain, gesticulating wildly in the direction of Hakki Pasha, and hinted that he would do all in his power to provoke a Mussalman rising. When he had finished the Grand Vizier, very pale, rose and asked Mahmud Chekret Pasha, Minister of War, if he were in favour of the present negotiations continuing, or if he preferred a violent rupture with Italy. 'In a word,' questioned Hakki Pasha, 'do you want peace or war?' Mahmud Chekret Pasha's reply was noncommittal, but the general impression among his colleagues was that he had decided for war. Hakki Pasha, immediately after the conclusion of the Council, handed his resignation to the Sultan."

Egyptian Feeling.

SEVERAL Young Egyptians have signed a letter, which was published in the *Mokattam*, in which they declare their preparedness to enlist in the Turkish Army as volunteers in the war between Italy and the Sublime Porte.

The signatories state that they are all above thirty years of age, that many of their compatriots are ready to follow their example, and that they are wiring to request the Sublime Porte to instruct the Turkish High Commissioner in Cairo to facilitate their enlistment.

The signatories request the editors of the *Mokattam* and the native press in Egypt to waken the interest of the population in the Empire.

Some of the men state that they are used to arms, having served in the Sudan campaigns.

According to the *Moayyad*, the Bedouin tribes residing in Egypt, who are mostly of *Magharabi* origin, and who still have many relatives and interests in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli, have been very much excited by the rumours of warlike preparations made by Italy for the seizure of Tripoli. Many of these Arabs have telegraphed to the *Moayyad* calling their Bedouin brethren to do all in their power for the support of the inhabitants of Tripoli, and not hesitate a moment to provide them with funds and arms on necessity. But our contemporary has "postponed" the publication of the Arab messages in the hope that the question will be settled peaceably between Turkey and Italy. "But should the negotiations end in war," remarks the *Moayyad*, the "courageous Bedouins will be free to do as they please."

Mansour Lutfi of Ashment sends a telegram to the *Ahram* that he is prepared to subscribe L.E. 50 per month for the Ottoman Army if the present hostile demonstrations of Italy lead to war.

The *Alam* says in the course of a long article on the subject that "Italy must think twice before deciding to perform any hostile act in Tripoli. She must remember that Sultan Mohamed V. is the grand Caliph who finds every Moslem man and woman always ready to serve him with money and life. Sultan Mohamed V. is also the father of all Ottomans, Christians and Moslems alike, who never hesitate a moment to prove their loyalty and courage."

Press Opinion.

The "Times."

THE hopes that we have forced ourselves to cherish until the last moment have been disappointed. The Italian Government has not been content to demand the redress of its grievances in Tripoli and securities for the future safeguard of its interests, but has decided to proceed to the military occupation of the province. In communicating this decision to the Porte the Marquis di San Giuliano presses for an immediate reply, in default of which the Italian Government will proceed immediately to put its decision into execution. In Italy itself, so far as one can judge from the scanty news the Censorship allows to leak through, this drastic action has been received with enthusiasm. In no other country will this enthusiasm find any echo, disappointment and regret will be the predominant feelings. Even in this country, where Italy counts so many true friends and where the staunch friendship of the Italian nation is so warmly appreciated, public opinion will be unanimous in its disapproval. It is not that we hold any brief for the Young Turks, who, or rather a section of whom, have done their best to alienate the sympathy that Englishmen lavished on them in the beginning, and whose provocative and aggressive conduct is largely responsible for the present crisis. We do not underrate the persistent grievances of which Italy complains, or fail to appreciate the exasperation which those grievances could not fail to cause in Italy. Nor do we doubt the right of Italy to concern herself with the future of a province, opposite her own shores, in which she has legitimate interest. These considerations would suffice to win our sympathy for Italy in any measures she had chosen to take in defence of her interests, so long as those measures did not violate the principles of international equity or wantonly endanger the peace of Europe. The step she has now declared her intention of taking seems, however, out of all proportion to the grievances of which she complains, and to bring the peace of Europe into more imminent danger than has threatened it since the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina three years ago.

In speaking of the danger to European peace we do not imply for a moment that any of the European Powers is likely to intervene to save Tripoli for Turkey. The countries which during the Bosnian crisis went to great lengths in defence of the integrity of Turkey and of the public law of Europe, afterwards found that their labours had been very ill appreciated by the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress who controlled Ottoman policy. Great Britain to whom it was chiefly due that any regard was paid, in the final settlement, to Turkish interests and to Turkish susceptibilities, saw the friendship of other Powers preferred to hers, and saw British rights and British interests persistently disregarded and over-ridden. A series of aggressions on the upper portions of the Persian Gulf, on the Arab coast, and in Baghdad showed that, in their relations with Great Britain, as in many other matters, the dominant spirits of Young Turkey were disposed to tread in the footsteps of Abdul Hamid. Germany, the one Power whose friendship was cultivated, is the ally of Italy, and though it is announced that she is still hopeful of averting an actual conflict, she is certain, now as three years ago, to prefer her ally to her friend. No Power is likely to interfere with the enterprise to which Italy has committed herself; but that does not make peace secure. In Italy it would appear to have been hoped that Turkey would submit to the inevitable, even if with a very bad grace. The indications do not point that way. On the contrary, we may expect the Turks to offer all the resistance

and to make every reprisal in their power. Apart altogether from the direct conflict between Turkey and Italy, there are other and even greater dangers. As our Vienna correspondent puts it in his illuminating despatch to-day, the decision of Italy to appropriate a Turkish province "creates a new situation in the Mediterranean and in the Near East, and may mark the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe." It cannot fail to stimulate aspirations that have hitherto been kept in check, and, to quote our Vienna correspondent again, "before long the strife that seems inevitable in Tripoli may have spread to South-Eastern Europe." Both from Vienna and from Paris there are hints that another rising in Albania may be one of the consequences of the Italian action; another may be to precipitate a conflict between Turkey and Greece.

To do Italy justice, her Government has foreseen this difficulty and has attempted to guard against it. In a circular to the Italian Legations and Consulates in the Near East it has laid down that, whatever means Italy may have to adopt to settle the Tripoli question, "the basis of her policy will continue to be the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula and the consolidation of European Turkey." "Not only," the circular continues, "does the Royal Government not wish to encourage any movement against Turkey in the Balkan Peninsula, but it is firmly resolved to redouble its efforts to prevent, particularly at this moment, anything of the kind happening." This warning cannot fail to have a quieting effect, and some of the dangers are lessened by Turkey's inability to send troops to reinforce the Tripoli garrison. No matter how matters go in Africa, she will remain as strong as she is now to resist aggression in Europe. None the less, it will need all the efforts of diplomacy to isolate the conflict or even to prevent it from raising the whole Eastern Question. It may be argued that the state of unstable equilibrium which keeps the Balkans in a state of permanent unrest is bound sooner or later to end in a smash, that a smash is indeed necessary before more stable conditions can be established, and that the action of Italy need not be regretted merely because it may accelerate the inevitable breakdown of an unsound system. There is an element of truth in this; but there are, on the other hand, weighty reasons for thinking that the longer the breakdown is postponed, the more chance there is of ultimately establishing a more permanent and healthier state of things, even if a gradual transition should prove out of the question. No one, moreover, can think with equanimity of the risks to which a conflict in the Balkans might expose the peace of Europe. We doubt whether the benefits which Italy expects to gain are at all commensurate with the price which she—and others—may have to pay for them, and, as friends of Italy, we regret that her natural exasperation has driven her into taking a step of which her warmest sympathizers find themselves unable to approve. She would, we feel sure, have been better advised had she been content to demand redress of her grievances and security for her present and future interests in the African province.

The "Nation."

IF EUROPE were in political health, it would already have interposed its veto on Italian aggression in Tripoli. It is the most cynical transgression against public law and public policy that even our time has seen, and the precedents that have been quoted in palliation only bring out its particular heinousness. Austria had occupied Bosnia, and administered it successfully for nearly a generation before she annexed it. Great Britain went to Egypt in defence of financial interests not wholly her own, and the threat against Agadir had its peroration in the French expedition to Fes. But Italy can plead no excuse for attacking Turkey in Tripoli, except that France, Germany and Russia have each attacked other Muhammadan States. She has revived and even improved upon the doctrine of the *quid pro quo* as practised by the Powers in China. The doctrine then was that when the robber steals a man's purse, the Pharisee thereby acquires a right to his watch, and the good Samaritan to his umbrella. Now each act of brigandage is held to justify another and a worse attack on a different victim. Mazzini, in 1838, said that North Africa would belong to Italy, and Bismarck, twenty-eight years later, flattered him by writing to him that the empire of the Mediterranean was one and indivisible, and should belong to Italy. It has proved so eminently divisible that Italy has gone to Tripoli because it was now or never for her. That is her sole reason, which she has not even taken the trouble to disguise.

Attempts have been made to suggest that Italy's subjects in Tripoli have been treated unfairly by the Turkish authorities, but it is not surprising that they should have been suspicious seeing that Italy had long talked of their country as her own. But even worse than the aggression itself are its circumstances and its likely results. It is an act of political incendiarism. It is an outrage on Turkey, of which Tripoli is as indisputably a part as Smyrna. It is disloyal to the Triple Alliance, the principal member of which cultivates the friendship of Turkey. And it is treason against the peace of Europe. For Turkey has no alternative but to fight against Italian aggression on Tripoli. Her Government is, before everything else, Nationalist

in spirit. Tripoli, moreover, was the favourite place of banishment under Abdul Hanud for Young Turks, and for that, among other reasons, the Young Turks are devotedly attached to what remains of their North Morocco Empire. But who can see the issues of a war between Turkey and a great European Power? The doctrine of compensation which Italy has invoked spreads fast, and no one can stay its ravages. In any case, war or no war, the credit of the Turkish Government is sure to be shaken. It is a strange way that Italy has chosen of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of her independence to strangle New Turkey in its birth.

Under better conditions Europe would have restrained the policy of Italy. But her political health was never so bad. The action of Italy is not to be excused by what has happened in Morocco, but it is a bitter appendix to it. It is a natural parody on the detestable practice among European Powers of dividing out other people's property in order to safeguard themselves from the effects of their unregulated appetites. From that point of view there is at any rate dramatic justice in Italy thus bursting in upon the congratulations of France and Germany that war has been avoided by the destruction of Morocco's independence. But if Europe had been divided into two hostile camps, it might still have restrained Italy. Unfortunately the spectre of European politics is present even in Tripoli. The *Times* cynically reminds Turkey that the Triple Alliance took Bosnia, and that if the Triple Alliance takes Tripoli, too, she will have another opportunity of practising the forgiveness of sins. In the same spirit is the reply which the British Embassy at Constantinople is falsely reported to have given to Turkey's appeal for help that she made her bed at the time of the Bosnian trouble, and must lie on it.

But Italy in her African policy is certainly not acting as a member of the Triple Alliance. France's consent to Italy's designs was secured twelve years ago, and was made more precise in an Agreement of November, 1902, which recognised the special interests of France in Morocco and of Italy in Tripoli. England, too, is understood to have expressed herself in the same sense. Yet the choice of occasion by Italy is so remarkable, that it is not surprising that some German critics should have accused England and France of active encouragement. According to one, Italy is being used as a cat's-paw for France, because the effect of an expedition to the coast will be to withdraw Turkish troops from their occupation of Borku in the hinterland, which the Anglo-French Agreement after Fashoda placed in the sphere of France. According to another set of critics, England has encouraged Italy in order to forestall Germany, and, very awkwardly, the *Westminster Gazette* this week concluded an article directed against this view by advising Italy that her interests "lie not in seizing and annexing Tripoli, but simply in seeing that it is not occupied and made a possible strategical base by any European Power." Expel a prejudice with a fork and it will return. The other European Power, of course, could only be Germany, and the advice amounts to a confession that Italy may, in a very clumsy fashion, be saving this country from a Mediterranean Agadir. There is, it would seem, no escaping from this obsession of international politics. In whatever part of the world a dispute arises, it is always there to distort judgment and to prevent us from protecting our real interests and discharging our plain duty to our friends.

In the interests of Italy, which are, after all, more immediately concerned, the whole adventure is deplorable. Even if Tripoli could be had for the asking, it would be doubtful policy for Italy to take it. It is the poorest of all the North African countries, and its development would, under the most favourable circumstances, cost money which would be much better spent at home. A nation which numbers Calabria and Apulia amongst its provinces need not go abroad for a civilising mission. Italy has an Africa at home. But Tripoli cannot be had, except by a serious and even dangerous war. The number of the Turkish troops in Tripoli is variously estimated at from 10,000 to 30,000 men, but in addition Turkey has introduced compulsory military service amongst the Arabs and the whole male population is warlike. The expeditionary force of 60,000 men which is believed to have been proposed, might occupy the coast towns, but is wholly inadequate to occupy the country. Initial success is not certain, but it would in any case be succeeded by a harassing guerilla war, in which the Italian troops would ingloriously waste away in a hundred skirmishes and in fever hospitals. The recent work of reconstruction in Italian finance would be overthrown for a generation and the immediate losses to Italian trade in Turkey in the first month of a war could not be repaid by ten years of monopoly in Tripoli. Opinion in Italy is stated, on the whole, to be in favour of the war, but there is, as usual, a marked divergence between the South and the North. In the North there has been rioting, and in the industrial towns the railway stations are occupied by the soldiers and under martial law. In some places women and children have thrown themselves across the lines to prevent the trains from starting with the reservists. It is tragic to see the shadow of Crispi's policy once more lengthening over Italy. The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, like Crispi, is a Sicilian. The South, which will not contribute good soldiers, is the only part of Italy which attains actual enthusiasm for the war. Is the South never to contribute anything to Italian politics but the big mounting

phrase and a diseased imagination? There is, happily, no evidence of the charge that this country has encouraged Italy in this mad adventure, but it is bad enough to think that it is doing nothing to restrain her. Has the conception of international friendships sunk to the mere connivance at each other's follies?

The "Neues Wiener Tagblatt."

If the Ottoman Government is well advised it will quickly recognise the hopelessness of factious resistance to the moderate wishes of Italy. The Porte must see that none of the European Powers will offer any kind of opposition to the action of Italy or to the operation that may become necessary. On the other hand, the Turkish Cabinet will hardly fail to receive benevolent support, if it displays towards Italy on the basis of the territorial *status quo* the conciliatory disposition which the Italian Government desires. The Tripoli affair must be dealt with at Constantinople on business principles. Italian demands do not affect Ottoman prestige and should therefore be regarded and treated by Turkey from the standpoint of political utility.

The "Westminster Gazette."

We are glad to see that the German newspapers acquit us at least of having incited this (Italian) move. And equally we may acquit Germany of having prompted her ally. The incident is so full of embarrassment for all the Powers that none of them can be supposed to have desired it or to have been privy to it. Germany finds herself in danger of losing the carefully accumulated merit which she has acquired at Constantinople, unless she can restrain her ally. Austria looks anxiously at the possibility of trouble beginning again and spreading in the Balkans. We, as the greatest Mohammedan Power, are liable to feel the reactions all over the world. The business of all three is to stand together to limit the area of the conflict, if it occurs, and, in the meantime, to cudgel their brains for some form of compensation which may save the honour of the Turks and obviate the danger of reprisals. The calculation in Rome appears to be that Turkey will not fight. We do not know on what it is founded, but unless all current reports about the internal state of affairs in Turkey are mistaken, it is at least extremely hazardous. The new régime may find itself in a position in which it must either fight or go under, and in which to fight and lose is the preferable alternative to surrender. Unfortunately, what the other Powers have to reckon with is that, if the position in Tripoli is hopeless, Turkey may find ground favourable to herself elsewhere. For the last ten years the predominant Powers in Europe have been preaching to us the politics of force. Nothing, we have been taught to believe, counts except armaments and the power of striking. Treaties merely registered the forces behind them, and international boundaries were to be respected only in so far as they were defended by superior forces. "The public law of Europe" has been derided as a sentimental phrase. We have seen the result of this teaching in six years of unrest, agitation, enormous expense, friction, and inconvenience. Whether a good law or a bad law, the law of the wolf makes the world an extremely uncomfortable place to live in. Perhaps for their own convenience, if for no higher motive, the nations will begin to think that there is after all something in the notions of law and moral force in their dealings with each other. Just as men in their private dealings found law essential to the civilised life, so we began to hope that nations in their public dealings will discover that the absence of law is fatal to their progress.

The "Daily Mail."

While Italy unquestionably obtained from the Powers recognition of her revisionary right to Tripoli, she is exercising that right before the reversion has fallen in. And her hurrried action is undoubtedly open to unpleasant interpretations. The Turkish organ the *Tanin*, complains that "while giving assurances of friendship, Italy is hastening on hostile preparations. Such conduct is a violation of the principles of international law, humanity, and civilisation. It is evident that the word 'justice' is a lie in Europe. The Italian aggression is really the outcome of the animosity of Christianity towards Islam." No doubt the Italian Notes have been treated somewhat cavalierly by the young Turks. But in their extremely difficult position the young Turks might have been treated with somewhat more tenderness by a Power which has shown them sympathy in the past, and which has every reason to display generosity towards a people struggling towards freedom. If war is precipitated the consequences may be grave in the extreme both to Italy and to Europe. The Balkans are a veritable powder magazine. The whole Eastern question, that terror of European Governments, may be reopened with incalculable peril to European peace, and Austria and Russia may be drawn into the field. And England, as the greatest of Moslem Powers, with a hundred million Moslem subjects, has much to fear from the indirect results of the Italian move. Ameer Ali in a letter to the *Times* has warned us that "the fury and hatred to which such a wanton and unwarrantable act of aggression is sure to give rise will react in every part of the Moslem world." It is certain that the best friends of Italy are the most alarmed at what looks like a repetition of the Agadir incident by another Power in another field.

"Al-Liwa."

(Specially translated for the COMRADE.)

(September 26th).

THE acceptance of Italy's seizure of Tripoli or of monetary compensation means only this, that the remaining limbs of Turkey may also, without waiting or delay, be mutilated and distributed. Whosoever is the instigator of this war, it must be remembered that not an inch of Tripoli can be acquired without wading through a sea of blood and crossing a bridge of writhing corpses. If the Egyptian nation is ready to spend all its resources without the least hesitation in the war between Turkey and Italy for the love and support of the Islamic Caliphate, it is because it realises that, in addition to the binding force of all other human and religious ties, its own life and its future hopes hang on the life and death of Turkey.

(September 27th).

If the probable result of the war be discussed, in our opinion there is no reason for believing that Turkey would fail in her defence. As we have pointed out elsewhere, under the present circumstances neither of the two other members of the Triple Alliance would fight on the side of Turkey. If utilizing her naval strength Italy blockades the coasts, there is still a large enough body in Tripoli itself, and Egypt is there to provide a passage for the Turkish reinforcements. European Powers can in no wise deny that Egypt is under the suzerainty of Turkey and the Egyptian army is numbered in the Ottoman forces. The Egyptian Government has no right of interference in the matter. Although we pray to God that the conflagration of war may not be fully kindled and the present peace may not be changed into bloodshed, but if the worst came to pass, it is the conviction of us Egyptians that the bloodshed and death which are due to the safeguarding of life are better than the life which may be accompanied by the death of manliness and liberty. Therefore let the Ottoman Government rest assured that the whole population of Egypt and the Army of Egypt in its full strength are united in the belief that in this crisis they should sacrifice their own lives for the protection of the centre of Islam.

(September 30th).

Reuters' telegrams bring the news that the voice of the British Press without a single exception is against the brigandage of Italy and the organs of every political party are unanimous in the view that Italy has followed a barbarous and thievish policy and is taking on herself the responsibility of kindling the conflagration of international warfare. Moderate journals also lay stress on the fact that for a Power which has a large Moslem population like Britain, the most important and delicate question at the present moment is the state of Moslem feeling and disposition and the natural and inevitable excitement among Mussalmans. But we do not know if these considerations have presented themselves to the British Foreign Office, or whether the Press gives expression to these views only because British journalists and politicians wish to console the subject Moslem population with a few lines of denunciation and expression of contempt against bloodshed, usurpation and tyranny, when they know that such clear and unprovoked oppression directed by a Christian Power against the true core of Islam, and specially at a time when the Mussalmans of the world have been awakened from the slumber of indifference and know full well the secrets of Western aggression and penetration and discuss and deliberate upon them generally is not a matter which would fail to create Islamic unrest in every corner of the world. The matter becomes specially complicated when we see that the action of the British Government is entirely at variance with the tone of the British Press. We see that just before the Italian ultimatum the Chief Commander of the Egyptian Army of Occupation was in Syria ostensibly on a tour of pleasure, and the places he visited first were the Ottoman garrisons. Similarly, the sudden strengthening of the fortifications of Mount Sinai and of the Egyptian outposts on the side of Tripoli are only matters of yesterday, and we are reminded in this connection of the recent declaration of the British Press that the centre of British politics in Egypt needed a man like Lord Kitchener—a statement which can bear the interpretation that Lord Kitchener who had at one time held the reins of the united armies of Egypt and England in his hand, was, by using his personal influence, capable of bringing round the Egyptian Army to become part of the British military organisation in case of an Anglo-Turkish rupture. In addition to all this, we saw that the Italian ultimatum was presented the same day as Lord Kitchener set foot on Egyptian soil. The time has come when further talk must be clear and every expression of opinion must be unequivocal. If the British Government wishes to prove her good intentions and sensibility to the feelings and inclinations of her Moslem subjects in India and elsewhere, who form the basis of the strength of the British throne and the respected British nation—feelings to which she cannot afford to be insensible when her Moslem subjects number several crores—and also if she wishes to acquire the distinction of popularity throughout the Islamic world, then she has no other alternative but to decide clearly and without delay that the Ottoman army may cross Egypt and to cease all efforts against justice and equity. Yesterday's telegrams show that this question, which is in reality a question of life and death to Turkey, is being discussed in British political circles, and

the Government is considering it because it is understood that the Sublime Porte will shortly move in the matter. It is undoubtedly a most difficult question for the British political centre in the Valley of the Nile; but the British Government has been unable and will be unable to deny that Egypt is part of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt's army is in a way included in the Ottoman army. The world is not unaware of the fact that during the Græco-Turkish War all diplomatic relations between Egypt and Greece were cut off merely by the declaration of war just as all relations between Turkey and Greece had been cut off, and it is manifest that if Egypt was not then recognised to be a Turkish Province, it could in no way have been affected by rupture of relations between Constantinople and Athens. If the news of the resignation of the Ministry is correct and Said Pasha has become the Grand Vizier, then it is our belief that it would be easier for Said Pasha's Ministry to discover a desirable solution of this difficulty and improve relations with England, and it is not improbable that this may be one of the causes of the change of Ministry. But we cannot write on this subject in greater detail at this stage. Some messages received from Constantinople to-day state that in view of the feelings and inclination of its Moslem subjects in India the British Government has agreed in this matter with the Sublime Porte, for the best supporters of the continuance of the British Government in India are its Moslem subjects. We are not, however, at present prepared to vouch for the accuracy of this report.

The "Tanin."

THE Tripoli question brings on the tapis the whole question of the relations between Christianity and Islam. The Turks have trespassed on nobody's rights, yet Italy is preparing to occupy a Turkish vilayet on the pretext that Germany and France have taken away the independence of Morocco. While giving assurances of friendship, Italy is hastening on hostile preparations. Such conduct is a violation of the principles of International law, humanity and civilisation. It is evident that the word "justice" is a lie in Europe, that protests of amity from the Powers have no meaning and that treaties are merely instruments of deception which may be destroyed when any advantage is to be gained thereby. The Italian aggression is really the outcome of the animosity of Christianity towards Islam. Thanks to her old agreement with France and Great Britain, Italy has no reason to apprehend objections from those Powers. Turkish public opinion also has no need to attach any value to the friendship of Germany, which is the ally of Italy.

Notwithstanding the assurances of friendship and the official declarations that Italy has not nourished hostile designs against Tripoli, that country has overstepped the principles of honour, dignity, and has acted like an ordinary brigand.

The whole of Turkey will respond in hatred and enmity towards the authors of the outrage. The ultimatum is the prelude to the thunder of cannon. It is a mistake to believe that Turkey will allow herself to be humiliated. The Empire may perish, but it will not commit suicide. Turkey can only reply by declaring war.

Our fleet is inferior to the Italian, nevertheless, it will do its duty. Our Tripolitan fellow-subjects are ready to shed their blood for the Fatherland. They may be reassured, we will recoil from no sacrifice to help them. Turkey is not going to make a pretence of defending Tripoli and then accept peace after a formal exchange of a few cannon shots. From this moment there is implacable hatred between Italians and Turks.

We will employ every means of avenging ourselves. Not the face of an Italian shall be seen in our towns, not a flag in our ports. Vengeance must dominate every other feeling, for vengeance shall live and succeed.

The "Sabah."

It is absolutely impossible for the Turks to tolerate the loss of an inch of Ottoman soil from Europe, Asia or Africa even if all Turkish women become widows and all Turkish children become orphans, and even if as compensation all the argosies of Europe, laden with its commercial and personal wealth, cast anchor in the Golden Horn. But this shall not be. Italy has no idea of our strength in Tripoli. In addition to the strong regular army and frontier garrisons, all the Arab Tribes of Tripoli and all the dwellers of Africa's vast desert are included in the connotation of the Ottoman forces. They will rally round Turkey at a moment's notice for the protection of their homes and the name of Islam.

The "Pioneer."

WE THINK it is time that our Muhammadan friends in this country began to ask themselves the question whether the war between Italy and Turkey can be regarded only from one point of view, the religious. So far as we are aware the religious question has not entered into the calculations of the Italians in the smallest degree. Whatever the rights or the wrongs of the quarrel may be, Italy has annexed Tripoli not because she desired to put a slight upon the whole or any part of the Muhammadan world, but because she had interests in this particular region and came to the conclusion that the time had arrived to dispossess Turkey. Similarly when she made her

unsuccessful attempt to annex the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, the idea that she might thus rouse the whole of Christendom against her, never could have crossed the minds of her statesman. While we have every sympathy with Moslem reverence for the Caliphate as a spiritual institution, while we can fully understand the intense interest which the war has aroused among Muhammadans in this country, we would strongly deprecate the tendency to allow the religious factor to dominate the discussion of purely temporal affairs. The war is a war between two States, not between two religions. The spiritual power of the Caliph cannot be affected by the transference of certain territory from Turkey to Italy. The Italians themselves are a deeply religious people and the majority of them are still Roman Catholics, their religion, however, did not prevent them from depriving the Pope of his temporal power when the unity of the kingdom required to be completed. Nor when Rome was taken by assault on the 21st September 1870, did the Catholic countries in Europe see fit to intervene on behalf of the Pope. The commonsense of civilised humanities has realised that should we once permit the religious factor to assume undue prominence in mundane affairs, we should immediately get back to the stage of religious wars and persecutions whose States and individuals had to suffer for the creeds they professed. Great Britain, our Muhammadan friends may rest assured, would be the first to resent any dishonour cast on the religion of its Muhammadan subjects but as the Protector of Islam it is not necessarily bound to protect the Young Turks against what appears to be largely the consequence of their own foolish policy of reliance upon the Triple Alliance. We had hoped that British Ministers might have been able to throw some light on the British Government's attitude in regard to the present war, because we were and are sufficiently convinced of the loyalty of Muhammadans in this country to Great Britain to believe that the community had only to hear the facts to appreciate the necessity for the course of action being pursued. It is evident, however, that we have a good deal still to learn about the matter, and in the meantime, while efforts are apparently being made to end a war, the continuance of which is regrettable on all grounds, we would ask our Muhammadan friends to show a little patience and not through any action of theirs add to the embarrassments of British statesmen.

"The Amrita Bazar Patrika."

THE Turko Italian war reminds us of the great service which the Mussalmans did to Europe. Indeed, Europeans owe much of their civilization to the former. A remote wave of the great Arabian inundation reached Europe. The Muhammadan advance guard conquered all the land from Gibraltar to the cliffs of the Pyrenees. If they had not been checked on the plains of Tours, all Europe might have been Muhammadan. But Heaven willed it otherwise. Repelled within the limits of the Pyrenees, the mixed hordes of Asia and Africa that formed this great irruption gave up the Moslem principles of conquest and sought to establish in Spain a peaceful and permanent dominion. As conquerors their heroism was only equalled by their moderation, and in both they excelled for a time the nations with whom they contended.

Severed from their native regions they loved the land given them, as they supposed, by Allah, and strove to embellish it with everything that could administer to the happiness of man. Laying the foundations of their power in a system of wise and equitable laws, diligently cultivating the arts and sciences, and promoting agriculture, manufactures and commerce, they gradually formed an empire unrivalled for its prosperity by any of the empires of Christendom, and diligently drawing round them the graces and refinements that marked the Arabian Empire in the East at the time of its greatest civilization, they diffused the light of oriental knowledge through the western regions of benighted Europe.

The cities of Arabian Spain became the resort of Christian artisans to instruct themselves in useful arts. The Universities of Toledo, Cordova, Seville and Granada were sought by the pale student from other lands to acquaint himself with the sciences of the Arabs and the treasured lore of antiquity; the lovers of the gay sciences resorted to Cordova and Granada, to imbibe the poetry and music of the East; and the steel-clad warriors of the North hastened thither, to accomplish themselves in the graceful exercises and courteous usages of chivalry.

It was thus the Arabs, who had profited by Indian researches, that taught the Europeans Mathematics, Alchemy, Philosophy and many useful arts. But good, just and brave as they were, they were in a foreign country and were eventually overpowered after incessant efforts of eight hundred years. That they failed in Europe is due to the fact that they did not get any support from behind, for the sea prevented any effective support reaching them.

All the same, the empire which the Ottomans founded in Turkey was not an insignificant one. The Porte was at that time as great a power as any in Europe and able to hold its own against any foreign enemy. But it had at last to yield to the superior skill of the Christian countries and lose its territories one after another, in Africa, Asia, and Europe.

Egypt belonged to Turkey but she is no longer its master; Russia deprived her of a large tract of territory in Central Asia, while in Europe, she had to give up Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Bosnia.

Indeed, the great Turkish empire has been reduced to less than half of its original size and now it is going to be robbed of Tripoli in Africa by the Italians. This is, indeed, a queer way of repaying the debt which Christian nations in Europe owe to the followers of the Crescent; but that is the way of the world, as the "Englishman" has it.

Mark the conduct of the European Powers towards Turkey. If she shows fight, the former will counsel to her moderation. If she appeals to the Powers to interfere and bring about peace with honour, she is regarded as a beggar, who is running from door to door for charity. The Italians are now the bitterest enemies of Turkey, but she must not expel them from her own territories—that is the hookworm of the Christian nations. Even the tiny State of Bulgaria is now somebody. It has requested the Powers to make urgent representations to Constantinople to secure the discontinuance of mobilization in the Vilayet of Adrianople, which Bulgaria describes as unjustifiable. And only 35 years ago Turkey was still the master of Bulgaria. Greece is also raising its little finger at the Porte. And perhaps the fact is, that all the European friends of Turkey are watching the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with complacency and evident satisfaction. Our Mussalman brethren are offering prayers to Allah for the protection of Turkey with an earnestness and sincerity about which there is no mistake, but Allah apparently is in the midst of a long and deep slumber.

"The Leader."

IS THE war over? This is the question that we are prompted to put by the latest cablegrams of Reuter. Has Tripoli already become an Italian possession? *Veni, vidi, vici*, Italy may well exclaim. While this Power has nearly accomplished its work, short and swift, Turkey has been engaged in—offering prayer. The Moslem Power has spent the time in imbecile appeals for intervention by third parties. While Italy has appealed to arms, Turkey has been appealing to the gods of heaven and the powers of earth to come to its rescue, forgetting what the greatest of soldiers said, that God is on the side of the heaviest battalions. Apparently it is all over with Tripoli and there is nothing left for Turkey to do but to—well, curse its *kismet*. Rarely if ever has such imbecility and impotence been shown by a nation still independent. Various reflections are suggested by what has happened—and what has not happened, but it were vain to give expression to them.

The "Hindu."

THE declaration of war by Italy, though not unexpected considering the truculent attitude adopted by Italy from the very beginning of what has now passed into history as the Tripolitan affair, has however come as a thunder clap. The world had been long kept on the rack by the tension created by the possibility—and at one time the probability of a war between France and Germany, and the long sigh of relief which went up when those negotiations ended in a peaceable understanding has had scarcely time to die away before it was startled out of repose it was sanguinely anticipating by the new situation, which appearing on the horizon suddenly developed with startling rapidity. The year 1911, which opened with so much glorious promise for the prospects of peace, will hereafter be marked in black on the calendar of the peace lover. Italy is ambitious to justify being classed as a first class Power. Since she finds France and Germany trying to apportion Northern Africa between them she thinks she might as well have a finger in the pie. Casting about for something which she could lay her hands on she sees that the Turkish vilayet and town of Tripoli is meagrely defended and that Turkey is not in a position by reason of internal troubles and the imperfectly organised condition of her forces to offer any resistance. In shameless defiance of the laws of morality she does not even wait for a plausible pretext but promptly sends an ultimatum for the redress of the grievances of Italians in Tripoli, failing which she threatens to occupy Tripoli with a view, of course, to annex it. What these grievances are she does not even pretend to make a show of stating. Not unexpectedly under the circumstances she thinks the Turkish reply unsatisfactory and promptly proceeds to declare war. There are about 1,000 Italians resident in Tripoli and the commerce is mainly in the hands of Italians. That is the only plausible pretext that Italy has got for her aggression. Is it then any wonder that the Press of the whole world has combined to condemn the aggression of Italy as unjustifiable? The attitude of Turkey has throughout been pacific. Even after the declaration of war she still hopes that the Powers may yet intervene before it is too late. Her pacific attitude need not necessarily be a sign of weakness, for Turkey can always put up a desperate fight if driven to it, but may rather be put down to a desire to avoid a war which would regard the peaceful development of her internal resources and might to some degree nullify the progress which she has already made on the road to democracy. The appeal of Turkey to the Powers was,

however, doomed to failure. The Powers sympathized with Turkey but were unable to interfere. One reason for this inability to interfere may be found in the attitude of Italy which more or less plainly indicated that the Powers had best mind their own business on pain of forcing a conflict with Italy. It was only natural that no Power has under the circumstances been prepared to face the risk of the possibility of complications involved in interfering in face of this more or less veiled threat. If either Great Britain or France intervened, either singly or in concert, they run the risk of riding full tilt against the Triple Alliance. Germany, on the other hand, fond as she is of posing as the friend of Turkey, values the integrity of the Alliance more than she values the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey. It appears, therefore, certain that Turkey will have to carry on the fight single-handed. The result is easy to predict. The Turkish navy is too weak to cope with the Italian and the annexation of Tripoli is a foregone conclusion. If she chose, however, Turkey can, by carrying the war overland into the Balkans, compel the intervention of the Powers. That explains why Germany and the other Powers are so anxious to "localise" the conflict. As regards the actual incidents of the war so far we have had news only of an unconfirmed bombardment of Tripoli and of the driving ashore of Turkish destroyer by an Italian flotilla. All indications point to the probability of the war being brief. Tripoli will then become an Italian possession and Turkey will once more undergo that oft-repeated operation of dismemberment which it has been her lot to submit to ever since she became a European Power. And the Powers will congratulate themselves that it is only a case of another slice off Turkey again. But the consequences are undoubtedly most serious. For the second time within ten years an eastern and a western nation are in conflict and the effect this will have on the relations between the peoples of the East and those of the West cannot be under-estimated. Then again the pan-Islamic movement will gain an added impulse from this conflict and the fact that England stood aloof without lending Turkey a helping hand will undoubtedly cast a severe strain on the loyalty of the Moslem subjects of the Empire. Bearing all these consequences in mind, it is difficult to sympathise with the apathetic attitude displayed by the British Foreign Office.

"The Statesman."

THE invasion of Tripoli by the Italian expeditionary force is being made the occasion of a naval display which will, no doubt, thrill the hearts of the Italian patriots who have been shouting for war. The precautions taken to protect the transports, however, show the difficulty of carrying an invading army across the sea, even when the feebleness of the enemy in a naval sense is known to all the world. If it be true, moreover, that the ships of war and the sixty transports which they are convoying are steaming at night without lights a number of collisions is not at all an improbable contingency, and the occurrence of any such disaster would add materially to the cost of the marauding expedition. In any case the operations necessary to wrest Tripoli from the Turkish Empire must involve Italy in heavy expenditure. The question accordingly arises: Will the possession of the country which it is proposed to annex compensate for the outlay involved? And if economic disillusionment follow the annexation, the Government which planned and executed the *coup* will indubitably find themselves held up to execration by the very people who are now applauding their discreditable action.



The Sultan and His Policy.

WHY I AM HOPEFUL ABOUT THE FUTURE OF TURKEY

BY WILLIAM T. STEAD.

I WENT to Constantinople in a somewhat despondent mood. I returned with a hope, not exultant, but firmly based, that the Ottoman Empire may not only pull through the present crisis but even enjoy a new lease of life, not to the detriment, but to the immense benefit of its neighbours.

I was only a month in Turkey. But a physician does not need to spend a lifetime with his patient in order to ascertain the symptoms of his disease or to form a judgment as to the method most likely to secure his recovery. My report is drawn up after prolonged consultations with the doctors in attendance on the Sick Man. I give my reasons for the hope that is within me and the facts upon which they are based. I have set down nothing in malice. I am open to correction. I make no claim for any authority for this report other than that attaching to the judgment formed on the spot by an English observer, who in his inquiries made as little secret of his prejudices as of his nationality. From my youth up, in Eastern politics I have been a disciple first of Cobden, and, after 1876, of Mr. Gladstone. Whatever sins may be laid to my charge, no one can accuse me of any undue bias in favour of the Turk.

What every country needs is a man and a policy. I think I have discovered both in Turkey.

The man is the Sultan and the policy is the policy of the Sultan.

I was, I confess, entirely unprepared for these conclusions. I believe at the present moment they will be received with amazement, and in some quarters with ridicule and contempt. I admit that I am in the position of *Athanasius contra mundum* in this matter. My hopes may prove to be utterly unfounded. I am under no delusions as to the odds against the success of the policy I am about to describe. But I think I see daylight in that direction and I will proceed without more ado to set forth the reason for the faith that is within me.

I.—HIS MAJESTY MEHMED V.

Let me begin by admitting frankly the difficulties. The Sultan is a man well advanced in years. Of his sixty-seven years he spent thirty under constant surveillance, which made him practically a prisoner. No man can be long in confinement, whether in a gaol or in a palace, without to some extent losing nerve. I was not three months in Holloway, but it was a full month after I came out before I could summon up nerve to jump out of a train in motion. The Sultan had thirty years of it. The nerve and muscle of his mind might well have become atrophied by prolonged seclusion from the busy world. He has not the keen, alert, decisive temperament of a Roosevelt. He has not yet quite got his sea legs. He is not a man out of which "a riding Sultan" is made. His character is more contemplative than executive. He is given to mystic reveries. Persistent reports as to his ill health, although as constantly denied, leave an uneasy impression that the value of his life is not high from the point of view of an actuary of an insurance company. To put the case at its worst with frank brutality, the Sultan is regarded as a weak old man, remarkable neither for intellect, energy, nor resolution, advanced in years and infirm of body, who is a mere puppet in the hands of the Young Turks. To suit their turn, they summoned him to a throne which they are quite ready to provide with another occupant should he cease to be as clay in their hands.

All that, I admit, is said about the Sultan to-day, and there is, as the Sultan would himself recognise, a good deal of truth in the indictment. Nevertheless, it is not the whole truth, nor is it even the essential part of the truth. It is true that Mehmed V is neither a Peter the Great nor a Mahomed II. It is true that he is advanced in years and that he has lived most of his life as a recluse, finding consolation in the study of Arabian mystics rather than seeking his inspiration in Blue books and State papers. It may be true that his health is not of the best, and it is undoubtedly true that he was called to the throne by the military *promouements* which was exploited by the Young Turks in the interest of Constitutionalism.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding, I adhere to my deliberate conviction that at the present moment the Sultan is the man of the situation and that the hope of the immediate future lies in the opportunity which skilful and courageous Ministers may afford him of carrying out the policy which he believes to be the best for the maintenance and the preservation of the Ottoman Empire.

He is the man of the situation—first, because he is Sultan, secondly, because he is the Caliph of Islam, and, thirdly, because he has got fundamentally sound ideas as to the principles on which the Empire should be governed. He may be a weak, timid, irresolute, inexperienced old man. But he is still the man on the throne, the legitimate heir and accepted representative of the House of Osman, the recognised chief of the Moslem world. By virtue of his position, at once secular and sacred, he counts for more than any other human unit in the Near East. It is in his name and by virtue of his delegated authority that government is carried on. Not even the incredible *bétes* of some of the Young Turks have been able to rob His Majesty of the glamour and the glory that are inseparable from the person of the Padishah. Abdul Hamid traded on the credit of the position for over thirty years. Mohamed V finds the prestige of the throne unimpaired in the eyes of the majority of his subjects even by the crimes of his predecessor.

I went to see him expecting to find a reed shaken in the wind, a mere simulacrum of a sovereign, a conventional puppet of the palace going mechanically through the customary banalities of an audience. I came away feeling that I had struck upon a real man—a man of slow but steady intelligence, a man genial and sympathetic in temperament, a man modest and retiring rather than ambitious, but nevertheless a man capable of firm resolution, and not by any means incapable of conceiving a high ideal and adhering to his purpose with an altogether unexpected degree of firmness. Above all I found in him a saving sense of humour, a shrewd and kindly wit, a willingness to listen and to share ideas with a stranger. There was no affectation in the Sultan. He was a human being in a very difficult post, who rather wistfully welcomed any sincere converse on the duties and responsibilities of his great position.

He is not as keen as an American news editor, he is not a hustler like Mr. Roosevelt, nor a dramatic *entrepreneur* like the Kaiser, nor a complete man of the world like Edward VII. There may be about him a certain lack of alertness born of long seclusion, but after all has been said, Mehmed V is a good man—a kindly

man, a man with a mind and a character of his own, a man with a conscience and besides all that he is the man who more clearly than any other man whom I met in Turkey grasps with a kind of inherited instinct the only principles upon which it is possible to make the Ottoman Empire contented, prosperous, and strong.

That such a man should occupy the throne at the present moment in the heart of the Near East is, I frankly confess, to me the most reassuring fact of the present situation.

The Sultan then is the man
What about the policy?

II.—THE SULTAN'S POLICY

Policy is a resultant of forces. But forces can be deflected and influenced by those who are entrusted with the framing of policies. The Sultan is not a man to impose his ideas by autocratic or theocratic authority upon the Empire to which he has guaranteed Constitutional Government. But even in Great Britain the influence of the Sovereign is no minus quantity, in proof whereof we have only to look to the division list on the Veto Bill. In a Constitutional monarchy, the Sovereign, if he be a man of capacity, regains in influence what he has surrendered in the shape of personal authority. Mehmed V is no glib *phrasman* or *chop-logic*. But he has ideas, and good ones, which if he can find ministers capable of carrying them out will secure a renovated Empire a new lease of life.

What is the Sultan's policy?

It is a policy identical with what the Young Turks' policy was believed to be in the first moment of popular enthusiasm which hailed the downfall of the Hamidian despotism. It is first and foremost the policy of a Constitutional Sovereign. As His Majesty told me, he had all his life believed in the Constitution, and now that it was established he was determined to maintain it.

But in the second place it is a policy of one who, while being a loyal Constitutional Sovereign, determined to govern through his responsible Ministers, is a believing Moslem. "He is one of us," said the Dervish at the Mosque of St Demetrius at Salonica. He is not a fanatic. He is a mystic and we all remember what Lord Rosebery said as to the power of the combination expressed in the phrase, the practical mystic, which he applied to Oliver Cromwell. There is nothing of Cromwell about the Sultan, save his faith in an overruling Providence and a profound sense of his responsibility to his Maker. The difference between a fanatic and a mystic is that the fanatic can only see the truth of the particular formula which he has adopted as his own, whereas the mystic recognises the essential fundamental unity of truth under all its forms. Hence it is possible for the Sultan to be a convinced and devout Muhammadan and the same time to treat with profound respect the different forms of religious faith. Therein he differs from some of the men who put him on the throne. Holding no religious faith of their own, they regard all other men's religious beliefs to be drivelling superstitions. On the whole I do not think that I am without justification in thinking there is more chance of a sympathetic and successful government of the Ottoman Empire when the ruler is an Arabian mystic than if he were turned out in the latest pattern of French atheism with positivist trimmings.

Thirdly, the policy of the Sultan as he explained it to me, and as it has been expounded to me by one of the most trusted diplomats in his service, is a policy of peace. So far from being responsible for the policy of Chauvinistic aggression which in the last two years has so profoundly discredited the governing junta at Salonica, it is regarded by the Sultan with frank and unreserved abhorrence. His watchword is peace. Of course if the integrity of his Empire was assailed or its interests unjustly attacked, Mehmed V. would not hesitate to use the effective instrument which Mahmoud Cheftet Pasha is making perfect. But if he had to sanction war he would do so with a heavy heart. Peace, not war, is the policy to which he is devoted. This is not the expression of a mere empty platitude. The Sultan's idea of peace is twofold. So far as the European Powers are concerned, he is for friendship with all and entangling alliances with none. When I remarked, in the course of conversation, that in international politics I was an inveterate polygamist, and abhorred the monogamic ideal of an exclusive alliance with any single Power, the Sultan's eyes sparkled. "That is my idea also," he said, "but remember that even in a polygamous household it is possible to have a favourite wife." The post of favourite wife in Turkey may be held to-day by Germany or it may be held by France. That depends upon whether arms or cash are most in demand at the moment. But it is not a legal, much less a permanent, position, and the Sultan's ideal is to avoid the jealousies of the international harem by treating all its members with equal impartiality.

What is much more important than his views as to the relations between Turkey and the Great Powers is the conception, the statesmanlike conception, which he brought to the throne of reconstituting the protective unity of the old fabric of the Ottoman Empire by a policy of fraternal co-operation and alliance between Turkey and the Christian States which have been established on the site of Turkish provinces. The Sultan's dominant idea is the creation of a

friendly co-operative union rather than a federation between the Ottoman Empire on the one hand and Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro on the other. It was the object nearest to his heart when he became Sultan. No one grieved so much when the reckless Chauvinism of some of those who ruled in his name overcast the fair prospect of good relations with the Balkan States. Now that light has arisen out of the darkness and the counsels of the Chauvinist are at a discount, we may expect to find a vigorous effort being made by Turkey both at Athens and Sofia to create a self-defensive and mutually helpful union between Turkey and her former tributary States.

Fourthly, the Sultan is dead against the policy of enforcing uniformity of law, language, religion, or system upon all the races which make up his Empire. One of the most disastrous mistakes of the Young Turks can be traced directly to their French education. Their political ideas were framed in the spirit of a French logician. They were so obsessed by the idea of uniformity that they went very near to sacrificing to their fetish the unity of the Empire. The Sultan was against this centralising, Turkifying policy from the first. As constitutional monarch he was compelled to see it carried out in his name. But when in Albania and in Arabia it brought forth its fatal fruits in bloodshed, rapine and revolt, he ventured to assert his early and unconquerable repugnance to the policy of Turkification. Upon this subject I had a very interesting and intimate conversation with His Majesty. I had been explaining the fundamental principles of the British Empire as those of liberty and self-government. The Sultan observed somewhat dryly that nations were sometimes like naughty children—a little whipping did them good. When I pointed to the good results which had followed the adoption of a Liberal policy in South Africa, the Sultan said "I know all about General Botha and the Boers, but don't forget you had to whip them first." Then he went on to draw a parallel between British policy in South Africa and his own policy in Albania. He maintained that his policy in Albania was like ours in South Africa, and that the enthusiastic reception given to him by the Albanians when he visited Kosovo was a close parallel to the acceptance by the Boers of their position in the British Empire. I replied that our war was a mistake and a crime, but that even such blunders might be remedied by a policy which made the rebel of yesterday the loyal subject of to-day.

The fate of the Malissori was then still hanging in the balance. But when a week or two later Abdallah Pasha, my old acquaintance of the first Hague Conference, went to take farewell of His Majesty on his departure to his command on the Montenegrin frontier, he received instructions not to make war but to make peace, and to make peace on terms which embodied His Majesty's kindly intentions towards his Albanian subjects. The Black Dogmatists among the Young Turks scowled at the concessions made to the Albanians. Turkey has its Milners as well as Britain. But even at the moment of writing (25th August) comes the following welcome telegram that shows His Majesty's gracious intentions are no longer to be thwarted by uniformitarian fanatics, who wish to thrust even the Turkish letters down the throats of all Turkish subjects.

"If you grant the Malissori these terms, said one of the Black Young Turks, 'how can we withhold them from other Albanians?'"

"And a very good thing too, if you concede them all round," I replied. This appears to be recognised at last. The Constantinople Press of 24th August—published the text of a circular addressed by the Minister of the Interior to the Governors of Skutari and Yanina, stating that the Council of Ministers had decided to offer a free pardon to all Albanians now in arms who have not been guilty of common law offences if they surrender without further delay.

The circular adds that the Minister of Public Instruction has given orders to the Governors in question that Albanian schools founded for the purpose of teaching Albanian through the medium of both Arabic and Latin characters shall receive a subvention from the local revenues, and that the proceeds of the poll tax shall be devoted to local expenditure on roads and bridges.

This is not all that is required. But it is a step in the direction of realising the objects to which the Sultan pledged himself to his Albanian subjects.

In thus writing on the Sultan's policy I have confined myself to points upon which I have direct and authentic information as to his views. They seem to me to be sound views of a sagacious Sovereign. I shall now proceed, without referring further to the views of the Sultan, to make some further observations as to what seems to me the best means of carrying out a truly Liberal policy worthy of Constitutional Turkey.

III.—THE CONFERENCE AT SALONICA.

The question now arises how best to carry out the policy of the Sultan. In discussing it I do not for a moment suggest that Mehmed V. has expressed himself explicitly in favour of any of the details of policy on which I am about to enter. I call it the policy

of the Sultan, because he has explicitly declared himself in favour of the policy of equal rights for men of all races and of all religions within the Empire; because he has declared himself, with not less emphasis, in favour of a peace policy aiming at the establishment of friendly relations and co-operation with the Balkan States, and because he is the avowed champion of the Constitution. Beyond that I have no right to suggest that he has any responsibility for the policy which I am about to outline.

If you will the end you must also will the means to the end. The Young Turks who have been in power since the revolution have unfortunately in many cases pursued with obstinacy means which were directly calculated to defeat their avowed ends. Fortunately the more enlightened of their number has discovered their mistake. The pacification of the Malissori and the subsequent concession of liberal terms to the Albanians, may be accepted as the outward and visible sign of an inward change in the hearts of the omnipotent Committee. The Conference which is to be held this month in Salonica will reveal how far this change of heart or opening of the understanding has proceeded. We stand at the parting of the ways. Everything, it may be said, depends for the moment upon the result of the deliberations at the Conference summoned by the Committee to meet in Salonica, the revolutionary capital of the Empire.

There is reason to hope and believe that what may be described as the uniformitarian, Turkifying, Chauvinistic section has discovered its mistake. Some of its leaders, no doubt, are hopelessly committed to the Ottomanising policy, which would pass a street roller over all the privileges which have enabled the subject races to preserve their vitality even under the tyranny of Abdul Hamid. The cry of new lamps for old has been sounded in vain in the ears of the Christians of the East. They refuse, and rightly refuse, to abandon the old, imperfect but to a certain extent, effective guarantees for religious autonomy for the brand new untried machinery of the Constitution. What the more reflective heads of the Committee has begun to see is that it is hopeless to attempt to unite the infinitely varying races that are sheltered by the Crescent by forcing forward a crude, pedantic policy of uniformity, which if it were adopted in Germany or Great Britain would shatter the German and British Empires into remediless ruin. The ascendancy of the Jacobin in the councils of the Committee, it is to be hoped, is drawing to a close.

The Salonica Conference if it is to rescue the Constitution from the discredit into which it has been brought by the well-meant but disastrous blunders of the last two years, must revert to the lofty ideals and liberal professions which three years ago brought about such an enthusiastic fraternisation of all races and creeds within the limits of the Ottoman Empire.

It is not much to ask that a policy which has failed should be superseded by the reversion to a policy the proclamation of which won for the Young Turks the applause of the civilised world.

If the Committee of Union and Progress is to rise to the height of its great opportunity, it should begin by recognising the grievous mistake which it has made in tactics in belittling the Sultan. They ought at least to have shown more respect to the monarch whom their own hands had made. He is, after all, as said and done, in his dual capacity of Sultan of Turkey and Caliph of Islam the most valuable asset of the Empire. They need not fear that the homage which he legitimately demands from all his subjects, even if they be members of the Committee, will endanger the Constitutional liberties of which he is the responsible custodian. Had he been younger and a man of a more selfish or ambitious temperament, they might have had misgivings. As things are they can have none.

To make the Sultan's reign glorious it is necessary to give peace to his Empire and to win the loyalty of all his subject races by making them understand that they can better realise their aspirations after peace, liberty, security, prosperity and justice under the Imperial flag than by any conceivably possible re-arrangement of the map.

The first step in this direction is to reassure all sections that the new Government will leave them in undisturbed possession of all the privileges which they now enjoy, whether it be that of exemption from military service, autonomy for their churches and schools, the use of their own language, or the freedom of trade. The Constitution must represent to every race and province a plus and not a minus. When I was in Turkey at least two-thirds of the population of the Empire made no secret of the fact that so far as they were concerned, they had not profited by exchanging the monistic despotism of Abdul Hamid for the many-headed despotism of the Committee. The time may come when exceptional privileges enjoyed *ad antiquo* may be voluntarily surrendered as useless anachronistic survivals of a hateful past. No one dreams in England of protecting his dwelling by a moat and drawbridge. But to have abolished the right to protect one's home by such means before the law itself gave adequate protection to the peaceful citizen would have roused furious discontent.

After a guarantee of all existing privileges has been given, the second step should be to secure the Empire against the new régime being used as a stalking horse of financial speculators. I do not wish to enter upon the vexed questions as to how far the revolution itself was engineered in the interest of Jewish financiers. The accusation is constantly made, but it may be as baseless as the calumnies against the Jewish shopkeepers in Wales. But such accusations, true or false, have a dangerous tendency to excite popular feeling. They resulted in pogroms in Russia and in Wales and may end in massacre in Turkey. Even if they do not culminate in bloodshed, they produce an ugly suspicion that behind the high-flying political protestations of the Committee there are lurking many unscrupulous designs to exploit the public in the interest of the financial schemer. The Committee would do well to disassociate itself in the most emphatic manner possible from all complicity in the pseudo-Zionist schemes which excited so much suspicion last year, and turn down every proposal which, under the mask of patriotism, proposes to put money into the pockets of their own supporters.

If this Anti-Graft programme were consistently carried out, it would indirectly tend to remove one of the outstanding obstacles in the way of the Sultan's policy for the establishment of a friendly union with the Balkan States. Of all the wanton political and economic crimes of which the dominant section of the Young Turks have been guilty the Greek boycott was one of the most inexcusable. The Government, to do it justice, has never sanctioned officially what they have lacked courage to suppress. The first outward and visible sign of the triumph of a rational spirit of liberalism and fraternity will be the denunciation of the boycott, which is detested by all but the handful of traders who profit by the exclusion of their Greek rivals.

The problem of re-establishing friendly relations with the Christian States outside the Empire and the Christian races within its pale is one which is very difficult of solution. The dominant Chauvinists of the Committee who refused to allow the Greek Club at Salonica to present a loyal address to the Sultan came perilously near committing high treason to the Empire. The Conference will do well to consider in framing its policy for the coming general election whether it should not make formal overtures to the Christian electors for co-operations at the polls. One of the most hopeful signs of the times in Turkey is the disposition manifested by the Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians to come together for electoral purposes. It would be foolish to treat as hopelessly antagonistic one-third of the population of the Empire. If there is to be a union of hearts and a fusion of racial prejudices it should begin at the polling booth. At present the Christians fear and say that the Young Turks are only Old Turks—wolves disguised in sheep's clothing. It will be for the Conference to dispel this suspicion by laying down a practical programme on which they can appeal for the support of all the moderate liberal-minded men in the Empire.

The extension of the main principles of the Malissori settlement as a means of pacifying other discontented populations, the meting out of stern punishment to all officials convicted of such hideous crimes as the torture of prisoners or of suspects, in order to extort confessions, are measures which would do much to re-establish the prestige of the Committee already much shaken by the persistent reports of the recrudescence of the old policy of outrage and assassination not only in the remoter provinces but in Constantinople itself.

There are innumerable other subjects with which the Conference will have to deal to which I need not revert here. They are all more or less governed by the attitude which the Conference will take up towards the main question. Pride is an ill counsellor. He who humbly himself shall be exalted, and the Committee has been too much disposed to magnify its own vocation at the expense of the legitimate Sovereign and to sacrifice the finances of the country to the prejudices born of Chauvinistic conceit. If, instead of regarding itself as a kind of party caucus determined at all costs to run the Empire on the principles of a Jacobin Club, the Committee were to seize every opportunity of re-establishing the prestige of the Sultan on the one hand and the authority of the whole of the electorate on the other, they would do much to improve their position in the estimation of Europe. The right of a self-elected junta to engineers a revolution by the aid of conspiracy and assassination does not confer upon its successors a right either to usurp the throne of Othman or to rig the election in the interest of its members.

If the Conference at Salonica adopts the patriotic and loyal course of urging all Ottoman subjects to rally round the throne for the purpose of electing a parliamentary majority in favour of some such broad liberal policy as I have ventured to indicate, the financial outlook would be materially improved. In Turkey as elsewhere everything depends upon the terms of the new loan. It might be too much to expect the Young Turks to put their pride into their pocket so far as to ask the Administrator of the Debt to take over

the management of the whole finances of the Empire, but no other single measure would do so much to extricate them from their financial embarrassments. British administration of their Customs has increased the yield of that branch of the revenue by thirty per cent, and a limited period of international control of their finances need not be more shocking to their *amour propre*. If a statesman and patriot like Djavid Bey could recognise the advantage of such a policy, his colleagues need not resent so practical a suggestion.

IV.—A BALKAN BUND.

So far I have dealt with matters in the scope of the Conference. My last point relates to a subject of wider range. How is the Sultan's policy of a union of the Balkan States to be carried into effect? The policy of the Ottoman Foreign Office, we may take it, will be steadily directed in that direction. But in order to give body and substance to the policy of friendship and mutual support it is necessary to eliminate causes of friction which are constantly arising between the populations rather than between the Governments. If what may be called the Malissore pacification policy were generally applied most of the causes of friction would disappear. But after everything was done differences would from time to time arise between the populations on either side of the frontier. These differences at present have a disagreeable habit of expressing themselves in the shape of insurrectionary bands and punitive expeditions. These forms of friction are the product of popular feeling which the Governments find it difficult to control. Hence fiery sparks are constantly flying about, producing local fires which are for ever threatening a widespread conflagration. In such circumstances why should not the fire-quenching apparatus invented at the Hague be brought into requisition?

All the Balkan States signed the Hague Convention. They are therefore all of them parties to the third part of the Convention relating to International Arbitration, entitled "International Commissions of Inquiry." Article 9 of that Convention runs as follows:—

In disputes of an international nature involving neither honour nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on points of facts, the contracting Powers (that is to say, among others, Turkey and all the Balkan States) deem it expedient and desirable that the parties who have not been able to come to an agreement by means of diplomacy should, so far as circumstances allow, institute an international commission of inquiry to facilitate a solution of those disputes by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation.

Subsequent articles set out that such Commissions can be constituted just as the parties in dispute prefer. It is for them to define how the Commission should be constituted, where and when it should sit, what procedure it should adopt, whether or not it should appoint assessors, and so forth. It is, however, expressly provided that the report of such Commissions shall not have the nature of an arbitral award, each party reserving the right either to reject or to accept their conclusions as seems good in its own eyes.

Why should Turkey and Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece, Turkey and Serbia, Turkey and Montenegro, not agree to appoint permanent *commissions d'enquete* on their respective frontiers for the immediate investigation of all points of fact relating to questions in dispute? In that case the *modus operandi* would be something like this:

A complaint arises as to the operations of a Bulgarian band in Macedonia, or of some violation of the Greek frontier by Turkish troops, or any other similar question. Instead of wrangling at the Foreign Office, the local *commission d'enquete*, consisting in one case of a Turk and a Bulgarian, in the other of a Turk and a Greek, would at once come together, and with the full consent of the Governments concerned either proceed in person to the locality or send a competent assessor to collect the facts and report on the subject. The mere existence of such Commissions constantly ready to swoop down upon the spot where the dispute arose, with a standing order to prepare a joint report as to the facts, would operate as a most effective means whereby the Governments which desired to live together in peace and fraternal co-operation could remove the causes which at present render it difficult to control the combative passions of their subjects. No infringement of sovereignty would be occasioned by the mutual agreement of two sovereign States to adopt a sensible method of avoiding friction on their frontiers.

I put forward the proposal with all deference as a humble but practical suggestion towards the more effective realisation of the Sultan's policy, which seems to me to be a policy which deserves the sympathetic support of every European Power, and especially of our own Government. King George happens to have more Muhammadan subjects than any other sovereigns in the world. We cannot but regard with the liveliest sympathy all efforts to restore the prestige and increase the usefulness of the Caliph. Whether, as some think, it would be well to give an outward and visible expression of our sympathy by giving Sir Gerard Lowtheran efficient colleague selected from the many capable diplomats to be found among the Indian Moslems is a question for the future. Such a recognition of the Caliphate is, however, not beyond the bounds of possibility if the Sultan's vision of a regenerated Ottoman Empire is to be materialised on liberal and constitutional lines.

The first move belongs to the Conference at Salonica. Will the Young Turks there assembled justify the hopes of their friends or confirm the suspicions of their foes? The Conference may lead to a separation between the sheep and the goats, between the white and the black. If the sheep outnumber the goats, if the whites overpower the blacks, if the Conference in order to realise the ideals of the Constitution concentrates its attention upon securing free elections on a Liberal programme, we may see the dawning of a brighter day in Turkey than has hitherto been dreamed of.

If, on the contrary, the blacks triumph, and the pseudo Young Turks continue to be smirched with the bad old Turkish policy of Chauvinistic centralisation, boycottage, and oppression, although the immediate future may be overclouded, there would still be no reason for despairing of the Ottoman Empire. For the Sultan is a permanent force, whereas the Young Turks, if they forsake the principles the enumeration of which won them the applause of the world, will be like the chaff on the threshing floor which the wind bloweth away and which is not. They will then only be remembered in history as men who played a great rôle, but who failed to live up to the height of their vocation.

But I refuse to despair even of the blackest of the Young Turks.

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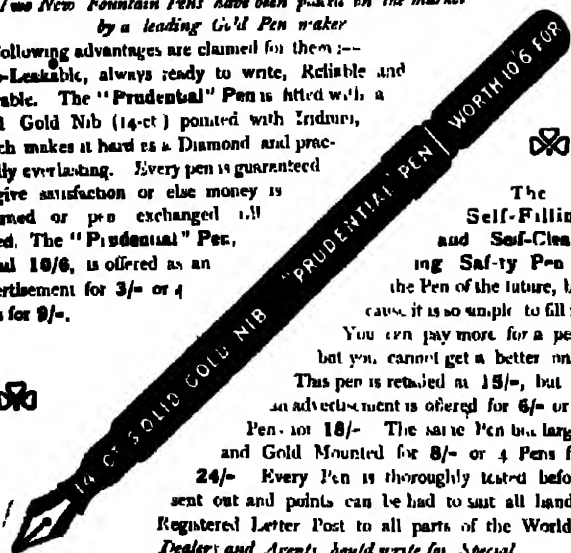
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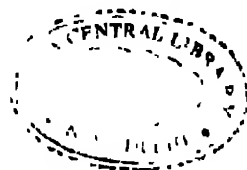
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The Week.

Ministerial Changes.

It is officially announced that the Cabinet has been reconstructed as follows:—Earl Carrington becomes Lord Privy Seal, Mr. McKenna, Home Secretary, Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. C. E. Hobhouse, Chancellor of the Duchy of

Lancaster, Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Agriculture, Mr. J. A. Pease, President of the Board of Education. The following appointments outside the Cabinet have been made.—Mr. McKinnon Wood, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Arland, Foreign Under-Secretary, Mr. A. Emmott, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Lord Lucas, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture. Mr. Whitley will be proposed as successor to Mr. Emmott as Deputy Speaker. The above appointments involve by-elections in Oldham, South Somerset and East Bristol. Mr. Emmott and Sir E. Strachey will receive peerages. The *Daily Express* states that Mr. Asquith has decided to accept a peerage at the New Year.

The reshuffling of the Cabinet has caused, surprise, especially the exchange of portfolios of Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill, which is the chief object of comment in the Press. The exchange has occasioned a curious conflict of opinion, one section of the Conservatives considering that Mr. Churchill's appointment to the Admiralty is a victory for the "Little Navyites," while on the other hand the *Morning Post* says the appointment is an indication that the Government is beginning to recognize the extreme urgency of national defence. The journal pays a tribute to Mr. Churchill's abilities and his strength of purpose. The *Daily Mail* compares Mr. Churchill's appointment to the action of Mr. Chamberlain in 1895, when he took an inferior post in anticipation of making history. The paper says "It is possible that Mr. Churchill believes that in the near future the Admiralty will be a more important post than the Colonial Office was in 1895." The *Daily Graphic* says the change will be profoundly unpopular in the Navy and states that Mr. Churchill was a most bitter Cabinet opponent of Mr. McKenna and Lord Fisher. The paper further declares that Mr. Churchill was in constant communication with the malcontents on the navy question, and that he advocated the building of war vessels of the "King Edward" type in preference to "Dreadnoughts." The *Daily News* makes no comment on the change. The paper thinks the exchange is due to the personal taste of the two Ministers and to considerations unknown to the public.

Morocco.

THE French papers indicate that there is a hitch in the Franco-German negotiations arising out of Germany's refusal to accept the latest French offer of compensation. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* says that France wishes to withdraw part of the compensation to which she previously agreed in principle, and adds that if this happens, the negotiations will be wrecked and a new political

situation created. M. Cambon and Herr Von Kiderlen Waechter had a fresh meeting after which it was announced that in spite of statements made in the French papers the result of the conference augured well for the favourable outcome of the negotiations, which will be continued under satisfactory conditions. Reuter wired from Paris—A sensation has been caused by the arrest of M. Destailleur, French Commissioner in Ujda, Morocco, the Vice-Consul, and the head of the Customs for speculation and gun-running. All three were arrested by General Toutee, commanding the district. The newspapers state that Destailleur and other arrested officials have been released pending an enquiry which will be conducted by a special commission from Paris. It is stated that General Toutee exceeded his powers in ordering the arrests.

Persia.

REUTER wires from Teheran.—The ex-Shah has left Persia and has arrived at Askabad. It appears that he has abandoned the attempt to regain the throne.

Reuters agency understands that the Persian Government has repeatedly telegraphed to the British Government asking Britain to refrain from despatching troops to the Gulf and giving details of the measures Persia has adopted to ensure order, as a result of which, the message states, the situation in Fars is quieter and Shiraz itself perfectly tranquil. Persia maintains that the presence of fresh foreign troops will only tend to make the work of Government in maintaining order more difficult. Persia does not deny that there has been certain unrest, but affirms that it has not been of a nature to endanger the life and property of Europeans. It is explained that the unrest is due to tribal dissensions which are now ended. A strong man, Ala-ud Daulah, has been appointed Governor of Fars and will leave immediately to take up his duties and he will be at the head of a strong force. Moreover, it is further declared, 350 cossacks have been ordered to Shiraz and Swedish gendarmes officers have also been ordered to Fars. In conclusion, the Persian Government lays stress on the statement that the despatch of troops will lower the Persian prestige and alludes to Persia's difficulties recently caused by the sudden appearance of the ex-Shah in the north. These difficulties, it says, have now been overcome, leaving Persia free to devote her attention to the south.

The Central India Horse and the 33rd Cavalry detachments that are under orders to proceed to the Persian Gulf in connection with disturbance at Shiraz arrived at Bombay on the 19th October. Their horses and baggage were shipped on two British India steamers, *Islanda* and *Ujima* that have been commissioned to convey them to the Gulf as hired transports. The *Islanda* sailed on the 20th instant and the *Ujima* on the 21st.

A *Times* message from Teheran states that in official circles it is declared that Russia objects to the employment of twenty additional Swedish officers to reorganise the Persian army and has formulated her objections both in Teheran and in Stockholm. Up to the present Russia had declared that she did not object to the employment of officers from the armies of minor Powers, but now states that previous applications from Sweden were for positions in the gendarmerie and not in the army. Persians allege that the number of officers asked for indicates that a serious attempt is being made in the direction of reform and that therefore the action meets with Russian disfavour. Concerning Russia's objections to the employment of Swedish officers in the Persian Army, it is semi-officially stated in Stockholm that the Foreign Office has received no communication relative to such employment. The Foreign Office states that applications from Swedes were exclusively on behalf of the gendarmes. According to a *Times* message from Teheran, Russian official circles state that no instructions have been received to object to the appointment of Swedish officers to reorganise the Persian Army.

China.

REUTER wired from Hankow:—The rebels are gaining the victory here. Reuter wired from Peking.—The newspapers are from some unexplicit cause allowed to publish a most despondent joint despatch from Admiral Sacheping and the Viceroy of Wuchang with reference to the fighting at Hankow on the 18th instant. The despatch describes the loss and recapture of the station and the final inability of the Imperialist troops to hold it owing to their heavy losses. The warships, it is stated, were unable to help for fear of hitting their own troops. The despatch concludes: "The Fleet is without coal and rice. We are now awaiting death and appeal to the throne to order the immediate despatch of General Yinchang." Reuter wired from Shanghai:—It is confirmed here that Ichang and Changsha have fallen. It is also stated that fighting is proceeding at Nanchang. The rebels have captured Kiu-Kiang and burnt the Yamen. Otherwise there is apparently no disturbance.

The application of the Imperial Government to the Anglo-Franco-German-American Syndicate for a loan has been refused owing to the desire of the Powers to observe neutrality.

Reuter wired from Peking.—Yuan-Shi-Kai's reply to the offer of the Viceroyalty of Hupeh and Hunan is published in the official Gazette. He says the time is so critical that he dare not ask the Throne to grant him leave, yet his health prevents him doing work. As soon as he sees the possibility, he will try.

Reuter wired from Peking.—The National Assembly has been opened. The Speech from the Throne makes no mention of the rebellion. It emphasises the wish to carry on Constitutional Government. A rescript orders Yuan-Shi-Kai to take up his duties as soon as his health permits.

General Yangchang has reached Suokan, thirty miles north of Hankow.

Amv, daughter of the Chinese Minister, launched the Chinese cruiser *Chanko* at Armstrong's yard at Elswick. The *Chanko* sailed in January. Sir Andrew Noble said this was the twenty-seventh ship built for China and it would be the most up-to-date vessel of this type. The Chinese Minister expressed his entire satisfaction with the *Chanko*. Wu, son of Wutingfang, dwelt on the importance of training the Chinese navy. The only yellow peril existing was for the Powers gratuitously attacking the honour and integrity of China. There was no more peaceful nation in the world than China.

The attitude of the European press with regard to the situation in China is one of extreme caution. There is undoubtedly some undercurrent of sympathy with the rebels, if only because the revolt must lead to a reformed Government, of which the recall of Yuan-Shi-Kai is evident. Reuter's Agency is informed that the policy of Great Britain with regard to the situation in China will be limited to taking every measure necessary to protect British lives and property. Any arrangements which may be needful with reference to the finding of blue-jackets for this purpose will be made on the spot. The *Niemye Vremya* is urging the Government to take advantage of the crisis in China and that country's negotiation with St. Petersburg for a revision of the Russo-Chinese Treaties and of the impending arrival of the Mongolian Khans to explain their grievances to secure autonomy in Mongolia and its definite establishment as a buffer state.

Hindu University.

THE Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Annie Besant have agreed on all the important points with regard to the proposed Hindu University scheme and shall work together. Mrs. Besant has cabled to the Secretary of State for India withdrawing her petition for a Charter.

TETE À TETE



A fortnight ago we were able to publish the telegram of the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy in a reply to ours, stating that His Excellency saw no reason to object to our raising a fund for the relief of the Turkish sufferers from the War. Till then, however, little fighting had taken place and we considered it better to postpone the opening of the fund. But in spite of the fact that no reinforcements can reach the Turkish garrisons, the Turks, aided by the Arabs of Tripoli—news of whose submission had been received more than once from Italian sources—have been selling their life dear, and in Benghazi alone the casualties reached 1,800 out of a total of 600 Turkish soldiers and 5,000 Arabs. Those who know the Turks and the Arabs will not marvel at the stubbornness of the defence. But we owe these brave men something more than praise and prayers. Their widows and orphans have to be provided for, and we are confident that the response of our readers and others to the silent appeal of those who have lost their all in the death of these gallant men would be worthy of India where seventy million Moslems hearts are beating in unison with those of the brave defenders of Tripoli. We trust they will not forget the significance of "Iqbal's Present."

چمکتی ہے تری دست کی آہر اسمین
طرابلس کے شہدوں کا ہے گہرا اسمین

WE PUBLISH elsewhere a short account of the monster meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta convened under the auspices of the Calcutta Red Crescent Moslem Meeting. Society and held on the grounds of the proposed Federation Hall, which were so kindly placed at the disposal of the organisers. We have not, in our limited experience, seen a larger gathering of people for the purposes of such meetings, and the assembled mass bore testimony not only to the feelings stirred by the aggression of Italy but also to the efficient work of the organisers of the meeting. We trust the Red Crescent Society would soon make proper arrangements to collect funds for the relief of the sufferers of the War, and that all promises hitherto made will without delay be converted into cash. We think it would be preferable to publish the amounts collected from time to time in the Press.

THE Autumn farewell meeting to take leave of the missionaries who are being sent out to all parts of the world by the Church Missionary Society was held on the 27th September at the Royal Albert Hall. The Bishop of London in giving his closing address said that he had recently been studying carefully Mr. Gairdner's "The Reproach of Islam." We have no acquaintance with this book, but if some of the ideas which the Right Reverend Bishop expressed at the meeting were the product of a careful but

evidently exclusive study of the book we can well understand to what category to consign it. The Mussalmans must thank the Bishop—and, of course, the original source as well—for recognising some of the merits of Islam and holding up certain features of Islamic life for all Christians to follow. But what must be thought of no less a personage than a Bishop of London who believed that Islam was "a faith that denied every cherished article of the Christian belief and cast out the name of Christ as evil." This is not so much a libel on Islam and the Mussalmans as a measure of a Christian Bishop's knowledge of a faith which he admits he regards as "the greatest foe of the Church throughout the world." What would the world say of a General who, while sending out soldiers on outpost duty, betrayed before them such colossal ignorance of the character and position of the enemy? As even Professor Margoliouth has shown in a letter to the *Times* on this subject, Christ is venerated throughout the Islamic world, and no Mussalman would ever think of referring to the founder of Christianity lightly as some Christians are heard to do. But this was not the whole of the Bishop's indictment against Islam. He said "his heart went out to the 100,000,000 Mahammedan women, the victims of unlimited concubinage and divorce. God help them if they did not hold out a hand towards their sisters in the Mahammedan countries." Now, Professor Margoliouth has pointed out in his letter the absurdity of the Right Reverend Bishop's statistics. There are not probably as many as a hundred million Moslem adult women, and divorces are not half so common in Islamic countries as, for instance, in some States of Christian and civilized America. As for the law of Divorce in Islam, it is far superior to the round-about and still very rigid provisions of the English law, which contravenes all the same the message of Christ as conveyed in the Gospels. The evidence given before the Divorce Commission is an ample refutation of the Bishop of London's evident belief that because God is in heaven all is well with the world of the Church of England. As for concubinage, we are surprised at the still greater ignorance of the Right Reverend Bishop. Apart from ordinary sinfulness among Mussalmans as among others—which is too much so long as there is even a single unreformed sinner in a faith—we do not know to what the speaker referred. We are by no means satisfied with the state of Moslem morals to-day, but that is quite different from a reflection on their creed itself. While fully appreciating the sympathy of the Bishop towards "their sisters in Mahammedan countries," would it be impertinent to hint that there is some work nearer home which the Bishop of London could undertake? The same mail which brought his speech to India has brought the last issue of a London paper which says—

Take a walk through Hyde Park at half past nine in the evening. You will see sitting and lying on the grass young men and young women. Passing by are boys and girls of fourteen years of age, fifteen at the most, giggling at the thoughts suggested by the slight. Walk through any London suburb you like at ten or half-past ten at night. At every street corner you will find a group of boys just in their teens. The centre of the group is a girl. She laughs at their sallies and retorts with a saucy smile to their very personal remarks. She is the fascinating flapper of the district. And she is proud of it. She stands at street corners at ten or eleven at night, at once the jest and the admiration of the youth of her district. She begins to understand the double meaning in her companions' remarks. She sees women making casual acquaintance with men, sees them go off together. She is told why. And presently she, too, joins those pitiable ranks.

But perhaps these people belong to a stratum of society too much beneath a Bishop in a country where the Archbishop receives an income of £15,000 a year, and where, as the same journal informs us, the amount of personal property left by 39 deceased Anglican Prelates from 1856 to 1885 was found on probate to average £54,000. In that case, let Mr. Sutro, "Rita," and Bishop Vaughan describe the "mild indiscretions" of Smart Society. Does the Bishop of London know that Miss Maud Allan, who danced before huge crowds in London in garments—or, to be more exact, a lack

of garments—which none of the “sisters in Mahamadan countries” could contemplate without fainting or a fit of hysteria, dined with Duchesses and lunched with the Prime Minister and his wife? With countries as with individuals it is best to follow the precept of Christ addressed on the Mount of Olives to the Scribes and the Pharisees: “He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her.”

AMONG the many problems of anxious weight and complexity with which British Imperialism has got to deal, none is so weighty and complex as the one which arises out of the fierce wars of colour and race.

The contact between the white and coloured races, especially in South Africa, has been subject to periodic outbursts of passions, ugly and insensate and elementally naked in their brutality. The conflict in its wider aspect is not so much economic as racial. The white resents the influence of the native races in Africa on the nascent societies he has planted in their midst, especially in the sphere of sex-relations, and he resents it with a depth of repugnance that is almost immeasurable. Only recently a Judge sentenced a native to death who had pleaded guilty to the charge of “assaulting a white girl on a lonely road in May.” The Judge characterised the crime “as a most brutal assault on a European girl.” Such a crime, he added, had a far-reaching effect, and he had always felt it his duty in clear cases to inflict the death penalty. The Hon. Mr. Cole, in British East Africa, shot dead a native whom he caught trying to steal one of his sheep. The jury acquitted him. But the Colonial Office could not bear, in the interest of the Empire itself, so flagrant an outrage on Justice and ordered his deportation from East Africa. However, a memorial signed by a number of white settlers has been sent to the Colonial Office on the plea that “public opinion deprecates his deportation.” Even a number of newspapers in England have joined in the campaign against the order of the Secretary of State. Such exhibitions, however, furnish an instructive commentary on the methods and ideals of latter day Imperialism. In this welter of race prejudice and passions, it is refreshing to come across an expression of opinion frankly and courageously calling a spade a spade and reflecting the Englishman's characteristic love of fairplay. Says the *Law Journal*:—“In ordering the deportation of Mr. Galbraith Cole from British East Africa for “exciting racial enmity,” the Secretary of State for the Colonies has acted with a severity which may be unprecedented but which most people will regard as just and salutary. Mr. Cole caught a native stealing, or trying to steal, a sheep of his, fired at him as he was running away, and killed him. This is the short history of the affair. . . . It is useless to try and justify such an act to the conscience of a law-abiding country, and the very attempt which has been made to do so, and the resentment of the white residents at Mombassa at the deportation, make the worst aspect of the affair. They reveal a contempt for native life and native rights which is, it is to be feared, far too common among English settlers. With such contempt the law cannot, while it remains a mere sentiment, interfere, but when it exhibits itself in overt acts of outrage and the partialities of a white jury paralyse the ordinary administration of justice, it is quite time for the Colonial Office to step in and give an impressive lesson such as will be conveyed by this order for deportation.”

The shooting of natives by settlers—taking the law into their own hands—is, in fact, neither more nor less than a reversion to savagery. The British Empire stands on an even-handed administration of justice to all—without distinction of colour or creed—who are under its protection; on this rock it has been built up, and it would be a disastrous day when such a British justice is replaced by the law of Judge Lynch.

THE activities of the promoters of Hindi at the expense of Urdu are like the epidemics in their elusiveness, and break out with strange virulence in the most unlikely places. The news of the latest outbreak comes from Cashmere. Some anti-Urdu stalwart, big with the

inspiration of Lala Lajpat Rai's unctuous deliverances against Urdu and of the formulas of the Hindu Elementary Education League of Lahore, seems to have found his way into the State and worked himself into a power behind the Durbar. Be this as it may, the order issued by the Education Department of Cashmere, substituting Hindi for Urdu as the medium of instruction in State schools, cannot be justified on any ground whatever. The Mussalmans form an overwhelming majority of the population of the State. For centuries together their literary languages have been Persian and Urdu and all their religious, moral, historical and social literature is enshrined in these tongues. To force upon them, by the exercise of a despotic fiat, an utterly alien language with an outlandish script is surely to ride roughshod over their most vital interests and sentiments, and to disregard the elementary basis of a just, sympathetic and benevolent rule. H.H. the Maharaja has to prove his sense of fairplay and the broad-minded liberality of his views. It is surprising to us that such an inconsiderate measure should have been enforced in his dominions, which will most effectually retard the intellectual progress of upwards of 90 per cent of his subjects. It is possible some overzealous official bitten with the virus of the Hindi Cult has issued the ukase without the knowledge of the Maharaja. We are informed the Mussalmans of Cashmere are sending up a memorial to His Highness for the repeal of the order of the Education Department.

MR. MONTAGU, in a letter to a correspondent published in the *Times*, foreshadows a number of reforms which would, when carried out, help to diminish, in an effective measure, the

The Indian Police. forms which would, when carried out, help to diminish, in an effective measure, the chances of torture, extortion or abuse in the work of police investigation in this country. He has no patience with those who think that the Indian Police is a thoroughly corrupt body and rotten at the core. “No greater mistake could be made,” says he, “than to imagine that the distressing cases of torture about which questions are asked in Parliament are the rule. They are, indeed, the very rare exceptions. The annual average number of convictions for torture during the last six years is nine! This, out of a force of 177,000, is a record of which many European forces might be proud.” He calls special attention to the fact that for 50 years past unremitting efforts have been made, in various ways, to increase and perfect the morale and efficiency of the force, and will continue to be made, as occasion offers or necessity demands, in the light of accumulated experience. He is not blind to the many imperfections that have yet to be remedied. “The most dangerous natural imperfection is the tendency to rely on confession, which inevitably involves temptation to apply pressure. It was laid down many years ago that no inducement was to be offered for a confession, that no confession was to be recorded by the police, that no confession made by any one in police custody was to be admissible in evidence, and that no prisoner was to be detained in police custody for more than 24 hours. It has been further laid down that only magistrates can record confessions, and that a magistrate must be satisfied that the confession is being made voluntarily. The magistrate's part is important, and with a view to seeing that it shall be performed adequately, the Government of India have recently collected the various orders dealing with the matter in the different provinces in order to prescribe uniform and efficient procedure and to eliminate opportunity for abuse by interested officers. In future the power to record confessions will be confined to (a) magistrates having jurisdiction in the case, (b) first-class magistrates (magistrates of high standing and large powers) or (c) specially selected second-class magistrates. Owing to considerations of time and distance a certain elasticity is necessary, but third-class magistrates will no longer record confessions. The Government of India have further prescribed that the Bombay rule which enjoins the examination of a confessing prisoner should be invariably adopted. The police interested must be ordered out of court, the accused

must be asked whether he has been ill-treated, and if there is reason to suspect ill-treatment, there must be a medical examination. Certain further measures are under consideration. Local Governments have been asked to consider whether it is advantageous to have confessions recorded at all before the trial begins except in very special circumstances or by order of the District Magistrate. There is, moreover, to be an exhaustive inquiry into the conduct of lock-ups with a view to obtaining proper supervision. The police are already forbidden access to the gaols and the Government of India are considering the possibility of a rule that no prisoner who has confessed should be given back to police custody and also that no confession should be recorded until the person confessing has spent one night out of police custody." There is every reason to believe that the reforms outlined in this passage will do much to achieve the object for which they have been designed. The Indian Police in its dual character as an instrument for the preservation of order as well as the detection of crime, has, no doubt, to work amidst conditions which are onerous in the extreme. The people, it need scarcely be disguised, feel an unconquerable repugnance to all police activities and attentions. They have yet to appreciate and realise in an intelligent manner the true value and function of the branch of the public service. Till then, it would be idle to expect the general public to come forward of their own accord and help the police in the investigation of crime and the swift and sure administration of justice. The growth of a civic sense and responsibility may materially improve the existing conditions, but no real efficiency can be attained in police work until a decided improvement has been effected in the intelligence and character of the rank-and-file. The raw, illiterate recruit, necessarily drawn from the strata of society never trained to a nice sense of discrimination as to the choice of methods, is of necessity a crude and clumsy instrument in the detection of crime. The education of the police is needed even more than the education of the masses. The schoolmaster is the panacea for the many ills that afflict society as well as the administration. In his absence the people will continue to be served by a police as good or bad as they deserve the mass of the people themselves.

The people of this country will, we are sure, feel grateful to Lord Amptill, that valiant advocate for humane treatment of Indians in South Africa, who has sought once more to acquaint the British public with "the feelings of those to whom His Majesty the King will shortly demonstrate in a striking and unprecedented manner that at any rate, in the eyes of the Sovereign they are fellow-subjects of ours and citizens of the British Empire." Lord Amptill states but a literal fact when he says that no single question of our time has evoked more bitter feelings throughout India than the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa. The same state of things continues, although an Imperial Conference has come and gone. In the deliberations of the Conference the most momentous question, a problem of Imperial range and magnitude, was hustled politely out of hearing, and even the Secretary of State for India accorded it a cavalier treatment. The gravity of the problem has been perceived and admitted by all those who have at all concerned themselves with the future of the Empire and the status of the diverse races and creeds under the Imperial sway. Yet it would seem as if a blind perversity has so far marked the attitude of the Imperial statesmen in regard to this problem. Leaving aside the question of the relations and status of the coloured races in other parts of the Empire, the problem in South Africa presents itself in its most humiliating and virulent form. Fresh disabilities and hardships are being persistently imposed on the British Indian residents, and in spite of the smooth assurances of the authorities which have lulled the British public into "a false sense of tranquillity, the problem is actually as serious as it has been at any time." The Vrededove Stands Ordinance of 1906,

dispossessing Indian stand holders; the Gold Law of 1908, making it unlawful for British Indians to reside outside of a location in proclaimed mining areas, and the Townships Amendment Acts of 1909, rendering the hectoring and coercive measures still more rigorous and stringent by subtly and indirectly penalising and prohibiting freehold rights in the case of British Indians in townships, have filled the cup of humiliation and bitterness to the brim. The enforcement of these laws "will result in driving away most Indians from their homes, in the confiscation of the property of others, and in the virtual ruin of the entire Indian population. The only possible alternative to compulsory residence in locations is the compulsory withdrawal—or shall we say banishment?—from South Africa of the Transvaal Indian community without compensation." Are these the privileges of belonging to an Empire of freedom and justice for which the Indians are expected to feel warmer sentiments than a mere enlightened self-interest? A little touch of humanity would make the Indian feel a living kinship with those who are bearing a great Imperial trust. The spirit of the Little Africander is, however, at present the measure of the status of the subject-races and their destiny. A people maimed and dwarfed in self-respect and manhood would be but a poor legacy of the Imperial rule. Will not His Majesty the King-Emperor's historic visit to this country be the harbinger of better days in the relations of the diverse races within the Empire? Will not this bar-sinister of colour, this badge of inferiority, be removed on the occasion of the celebration of this supreme rite in the ritual of the State? "It really does seem extraordinary and incomprehensible that the Government which affected to regard 'compulsory residence in location' as the test and proof of 'slavery' in the case of the Chinese should assent to the subjection of His Majesty's Indian subjects to these very same servile conditions." Logic may or may not be necessary to the success of political careers, but to divorce imperialism from ethics is to court disaster.

GHATILIB'S GRAVE FUND.

(Collected by S. H. at Mussoorie.)

1	R. B. Kadiri, Esq.	..	...	1	0	0
2	Md. Ayub, Esq	..	..	1	0	0
3	N. H. Ansari, Esq	..	..	1	0	0
4	Dr Z U Ahmad	..	...	1	0	0
5	Naim Uddin, Esq	..	...	1	0	0
6	Khalifa S A Hosain Esq	..	..	1	0	0
7	Qari Sarfraz Hosain Sahib	...	..	1	0	0
				Rs.	7	0	0
Ahmadulla Khan Sheavani, Esq				..	4	0	0
Amount received during the fortnight				..	11	0	0
Amount previously acknowledged				..	509	0	0
TOTAL Rs				..	520	0	0

Verse.

A Soliloquy.

(On the Down Darjeeling Mail.)

ALAS! the Puja's over
Calcutta calls me back
Once more to work I fain would shirk
Did I not fear the sack.
I think of happy mornings
I spent along the Mall
With Meme, sweetest girl of girls,
A fellow's perfect pall.
Then I remember Gladys
Ah! how she loved the Park
I think of happy afternoons
As twilight turned to dark.
I dream of erstwhile evenings
I spent with Margaret,
Most perfect dancer in the Hills
That I have ever met.
And now the good time's over
And I am all alone,
But friendships in the Puja time
For bachelorhood atone.

W. K. G

The Comrade.

The Drama.

WE HAVE often wondered why the best of English actors have left India entirely outside the sphere of their activities and influence, for we hope in some of the Presidency towns at least a large enough circle of such men and women exists as could be attracted by the pure delight of "legitimate" Drama. It is not only the Englishman who can enjoy it, for time has wrought many changes in India, and when English tastes have so much swamped Indian Society that Indian ladies can often be seen worshipping at the shrine of Musical Comedy, it would not appear so strange to see Indians, who have not yet shed their "high seriousness" even in their hours of recreation, flooding a theatre where *Hamlet* and *Othello* were performed. It is true that nowhere in India could the best of histrionic artists secure audiences for a hundred nights of *Lear* or *Midsummer Night's Dream*. But if a Provincial tour in England could be made to pay, we fail to see why an Indian tour should not be just possible.

Mr. Allan Wilkie has, at any rate, given us an opportunity of showing our esteem and love for the best English dramatists by bringing out an excellent repertoire company which deals with sterner stuff than the *Chocolate Soldier* and the *Quaker Girl*, and we trust that Calcutta's response will be worthy of a city that is not only the administrative metropolis of India but also its literary capital. Although Indians were not as prominent as they should be, there was a fair sprinkling of them in the very full house that welcomed Mr. Wilkie on Saturday last at the Grand Opera House. But Monday was a disappointment, and Indians, at least, should not plead, as a European journalist was heard pleading, that "on Mondays even the Bandmann's have a poor house." Even the Bandmann's! What a reflection on our intellectual calibre! As Mr. Allan Wilkie in a neat and modest little speech on the first night informed us, this is the first repertoire company, playing so many plays of Shakespeare, that has visited India, and only our welcome of it would determine whether it should be the last as well. The character of the performances and the houses Mr. Wilkie has been attracting—after the "melancholy Monday"—give promise of a financial success that should induce Mr. Wilkie and other Actor-Managers to include India in their programmes.

The Company opened their season with *The Merchant of Venice*, and no play could test the capacity of a repertoire company more severely. In no other play, perhaps, has Shakespeare played such havoc with the Greek Unities. Nowhere else is there such a mixture of tones. Nowhere else has the genius of Shakespeare produced such stirring passion-effects out of the rough-and-tumble of everyday life, that rude jumble of sport and earnest, that fabric in which the warp of brightness is woven into the wool of gloom. The Greek Drama presented only one aspect of life, but life's aspects cannot be presented singly without a laceration, which bleeds it woefully. As a writer remarks, in Shakespeare and the Romantic School generally, as distinguished from the Greek dramatists, "the world of the play is presented from every point of view as it works upon the various passions, and the difference this makes is the difference between simply looking down upon a surface and viewing a solid from all round; the mixture of tones, so to speak, makes passions of three dimensions." In *The Merchant of Venice* the three dimensions of passions are seen in the clearest relief. The hard-heartedness and tragic strength of the Jew's passion of revenge and his greed, relieved and yet set off by his love of his daughter, the gay girlhood of Portia in the earlier scenes, when she caricatures her suitors, developed into the ideal womanliness of the speech on the quality of mercy, with yet another glimpse of gullibility in the sportiveness of the Rings episode, the seriousness of the man of affairs in Antonio as a foil to the gay abandon of youth in Gratiano—all these provided for the actors the full gamut of the histrionic art and one could well estimate their merits and demerits in the performances to follow from the way in which they acquitted themselves in *The Merchant of Venice*.

It will not be fair to judge Mr. Wilkie's Shylock by comparing it with that of Irving, for Irvings are not born every day, and even when they are born it is not in every play that they can shine. Irving was, it must be confessed, made for the part, his emaciated figure lending itself as easily to an impersonation of the thrifty Jew as it made his performance as Romeo disastrous. Mr. Allan Wilkie must pay the penalty of his fewer years and his larger build, but in spite of that his action was natural, his enunciation clear and forcible, and his interpretation on the whole satisfactory. *The Merchant of Venice* brings out the idea of Nemesis. In the Greek Drama, Nemesis was the artistic bond between excess and reaction. The Greek word for law signifies proportion, *nomos*, and we can see how art was projected into morals with the Greeks if we consider that Nemesis, the power punishing violation of proportion in things, is only another form of *nomos*.

But the Renaissance of Shakespeare's day was tempered by the Reformation, and morality itself was projected into art. In Shakespeare, therefore, Nemesis is generally the bond between sin and retribution and instead of judicious art we have poetic justice. In the portraiture of Shylock, however, the conception of Nemesis is complex. While there is, on the one hand, the desire of the Jew to deprive Antonio of his life, which is awful and leads to the forfeiture of his own, unless the Duke show him mercy, and, on the other, there is the excess of the feeling of revenge, which in proper proportion was justified by the circumstances of the case, but which carried beyond due limits brings on a reaction, turning the audience from sympathisers of the persecuted Jews into partisans of the persecutors. Before Irving played the Jew, it was the tradition of the stage to portray him only as the flint-hearted usurer whetting the knife on the sole of his shoe. But with greater justice, as with greater art, Irving laid stress on the persecution which the race of Shylock had suffered at the hands of Christendom and on the feeling of revenge which moved him. Mr. Wilkie has followed the tradition of Irving. He brought out to the full how Shylock had worn the badge of all his tribe, and suffered the insults and the contumely of the Christians, specially of Antonio, and how he was overpowered by the desire for revenge. The surmise of the lines—

Shall I bend low and in a bondman's key,
With hated breath and whispering humbleness,
Say this,—

'Fair sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last,
You spurn'd me such a day, another time
You called me dog, and for these courtesies
I'll lend you thus much money.'

was brought out in all its razor-edge keenness. Nor did he fail to do justice to that magnificent passage, "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions," which almost persuades us to exclaim with the "pale, fair Briton," of Heine—who stood behind him in the box at Drury Lane and at the end of the Fourth Act fell weeping, passionately—"The poor man is wronged."

But the passion of revenge is not all that moves Shylock. There is the love of his ducats which degrades him and there is the love of his daughter which elevates him. Mr. Wilkie's interpretation of both was excellent.

I never heard a passion so confused,
So strange, outrageous, and so variable,
As the dog Jew did utter in the streets:
'My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
Filed with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
Justice! the law! my ducats and my daughter!'

We were not left to judge of this confused and variable passion from the speech of Salanio alone, for Mr. Wilkie had made the pardonable addition of some "business" in presenting on the stage the return of Shylock after Act II, scene v., and his discovery of the flight of Jessica and the loss of his jewels and his ducats. Another noticeable feature of Mr. Wilkie's impersonation was that he brought out the isolation of the outcaste Jew. Shylock was far more human not only with Jessica, but also with Tubal, "another of his tribe," than he was in the company of his insolent persecutors.

But the Fourth Act is the hardest trial of any actor who essays the role of Shylock, and although Mr. Wilkie's enunciation was clear, we fear we cannot say that he showed us he was the possessor of that personal magnetism which alone can thrill an audience through and through. He seemed to have almost exhausted himself in the earlier part of this long and taxing scene. Hartley Coleridge wrote of Shakespeare—

Great poet, 'twas thy art
To know thyself, and in thyself to be
Whatever love, hate, ambition, destiny,
Or the firm, fatal purpose of the heart
Can make of man. Yet thou wert still the same,
Serene of thought, unhurt by thy own flame.

Perhaps no less is required of an actor who has to repeat the expressions of the poet. He, too, must be unhurt by his own flame. While fanning into fury the emotions and passions of his audience, the player must remain "still the same" and just as "serene of thought" as ever. It is in this self-restraint that the true histrionic art lies. But it seemed that in expressing the passion of revenge Mr. Wilkie let himself go too far and spent himself too early. His performance lacked just that degree of self-control which rounds off an impersonation and makes the master-actor. Shylock argues most calmly and with great subtlety and effect. It is only when Portia first appeals to him in the name of mercy and then, unexpectedly, declares for the Jew that Shylock gets really excited and talks with fervour of "a Daniel come to judgment"—a phrase which lends itself remarkably well to a mocking repetition by Gratiano—

A Daniel, still say I, a second Daniel!

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

Had Mr. Wilkie kept himself in reserve and conserved some of his great vigour, he would have been more effective in the fever-heat of excitement, and the utter exhaustion of the last speech, I pray you, give me leave to go from hence, I am not well;

would have been far more impressive if it had not begun to betray itself in some slight but perceptible measure during the climax of his passion. But on the whole the performance was as good as we had a right to expect and the house cheered him heartily and deservedly enough.

To some extent the same defect was noticeable in Portia. Miss Hunter Watts is vivacious and sprightly, but the abandon of her frolics, although contagious enough for the playgoer, often made her enunciation less clear than it generally is. She was distinctly handicapped by the electric fans when in the speech on mercy she essayed to display the growing womanhood of Portia, the wider aims and deeper issues of maturity, in contrast with the sprightliness of girlhood. For that speech, so truly feminine in its beauty and grace, the voice should be like the quality of mercy itself, "not strained," and Miss Watts' enunciation would have been exquisite were it not for the buzzing of the fans. She was, however, at her best in the scene in which Bassanio comments on the caskets. It was as perfect a piece of acting as we have ever seen.

Mr. Gordon's Launcelot was quite good, but he too needs a little more self-restraint. In his case, however, there is every excuse, for it is the response of what Hamlet—rather than we—would call "barren spectator" that impels him to exaggerate. Mr. Mansfield was an excellent Bassanio and ought to make an equally excellent Romeo. But he should not play the exquisite too much with his legs. That had better be left to his gay companions. Mr. Turner's Antonio showed his "vinegar aspect" well enough, but not his hatred of the Jew nor his mislaid confidence in his solvency sufficiently. We heartily congratulate Miss Kathleen Clanchy on a very finished impersonation of Jessica. She had just the "smoothness" and "temperance" that Hamlet desired in the players.

On Monday, Mr. Wilkie's Company performed *The Taming of the Shrew*. His was a vigorous Petruchio, though it would not have been spoilt by a little less of vigour. Miss Watts must have found Katherine a very trying part, and it was a marvel that her ringing shrieks did not give her a sore throat on the spot. But the gradation of her taming was artistic and she was most entertaining when she was most lamished. Mr. Gordon's Grumio was even better than his Launcelot, and the inconsequential air of Mr. Dawson suited Biondello better than it had suited the Duke of Venice. But although it was very amusing to hear him rattle off the description of Petruchio's garments in which the tamer came to wed the shrew, we can vouch for it that not three persons among the audience could make out what he was saying. "A pitiful ambition in the fool," says Hamlet. The stammering falot of Mr. Barrington was good, and he could give some useful tips to stammerers, such as "larking out" the most difficult words.

The most successful performance hitherto given was the *School for Scandal*. Miss Hunter Watts was almost an ideal Lady Teazle and her acting in the scene in the house of Joseph Surface and specially after the discovery of the "little French milliner" was excellent. Mr. Wilkie was a trifle too young for Sir Peter, but otherwise the acting was good. Mr. Gordon was an equally good Sir Oliver, and Mr. Pittor found the right part at last in Charles Surface—where he is saying a good deal. Mr. Mansfield was too lovable as Joseph Surface, and Miss Gabrielle Pann looked exquisite as Maria—but did little besides. Miss Clanchy, however, once more distinguished herself as Candour. The whole performance passed off successfully and the warm appreciation of the audience was fully justified.

The War.

THE filibustering hosts, whom an episcopal benediction had invested with a "civilising mission," have established themselves on the coast-line of Tripoli. The vain expenditure of powder and shot to overawe deserted forts and the hapless remnants of civil populations in coast towns, has demonstrated "the efficiency of the Italian Navy and Army," for which King Emmanuel had pledged himself so solemnly to the dazed and speechless Europe. The Italian populace is moving on the giddy and mystic heights of patriotic war-fever after reading the thrilling accounts of the marvellous marksmanship of the Italian gunners, who shot away the lonely turrets of silent citadels to the glory of their nation—and the confusion of their betting brothers-in-arms. The news of the capture of Tripoli, Tobruk, Derna and Benghazi have been allowed to trickle out, at well-timed intervals, under careful censorship and with a sole eye to scenic effect; and naturally enough, the tremendous boom and daring of the feat are succeeded by a hush of expectancy

to catch the echoes of crowning fame through the whispering galleries of the Press in Europe. The hybrid inheritors of a vast imperial tradition have set out to imitate the destiny of ancient Rome. Italy would be nothing if not imperial, hath said her vanity. But the husks of vainglory and a big name will scarcely go to feed the gaunt spectre of hunger and sheer penury which drives thousands of her famishing children annually to seek sustenance in foreign lands. Even the time for vainglorious boasts about conquest and "the efficiency of the Italian Army" is not yet. The Nemesis may be slow in coming, but it is no great respecter of the *amour propre* of budding "imperialism" when it comes. The wheel of destiny is bound to move the full circle.

Notwithstanding the rigorous Italian censorship over what is actually happening in Tripoli, it is beginning to be manifest that the adventurous descent would not be after all a holiday excursion to the accompaniment of a spectacular review of men-of-war dressed with flags and bunting. The earlier part of the adventure that culminated in the landing of the army of conquest was delightfully made to fall in with the Cæsarean ideal of *veni, vidi, vici*. The Arab Sheikhs were reported to be overflowing with love for the despoilers of their homes and liberties. They were surrendering to the Italian admirals and generals and were even promising to help in the establishment and consolidation of Italian power and prestige. Even 150 officers of the Turkish garrison, we were assured, had quietly surrendered, and the whole of the garrison was reported to be contemplating submission. Then the tale began to be marred a little in its idyllic simplicity. The Turks began sniping at the Italian advance posts, but, of course, continued being repulsed with heavy loss. Gradually they developed stubbornness and even "ferocity" in their random onslaughts. The Benghazi affair rose to the dignity of "heavy fighting," and even the "surrendered" Arabs had the "treachery" to join in the fight. The wonderful mathematical accuracy of the reports computed the losses amongst the Arabs and the Turks to be 400 dead and 1,200 wounded, though his omniscient resources have failed the calculator, who has not yet been able to count up the casualties amongst the Italian rank-and-file. The benevolent aggressor, with his ghb message of peace and civilisation to a benighted and tyrannised people, has dropped his mask rather soon, and is beginning to shoot and kill with indiscriminate wantonness.

That Italy will not be allowed to grab Tripoli without resistance will be patent to those who fully realise the nature of the undertaking on which that ambitious country has embarked. The news of this unprovoked assault on their freedom, which to them means all that they hold dear in faith, tradition and mode of life, must have only just begun to stir the vast Arab and other Moslem populations of North and Central Africa. We must have absolutely failed to read the Arab character aright if we do not find them on an occasion like this rallying to the defence of the only independent symbol of their liberty and historic power in Africa. Italian progress in the hinterland will not be as simple an affair as their landing on the coast. Even if Turkey, as is obvious under the circumstances, cannot throw in reinforcements, the local garrison, with the help of the ever-growing body of Arab volunteers, every one of whom is a born soldier, will give a good account of itself. The entire subjugation of Tripoli, if Italy has enough nerve and resources for the task, will not be complete even after a decade. But we doubt very much if Italy is endowed, in any considerable measure, with the staying powers of the great Colonial Powers of Europe whose extensive dominions have roused her cupidity and whose imperial pose and manner she is so eager to imitate.

The attitude of Turkey has so far been one of watchful silence, which is not without some significance of its own. All what we have hitherto heard and learnt about the war has been, so to speak, "made in Italy." Apart from a few random and unilluminating guesses, not a single fact or hint has been supplied by Réuter, which could furnish a key to the attitude and probable direction of the Turkish action and policy. The inferiority of her navy has naturally left Turkey to resort to "passive resistance" as the only weapon for self-defence. Her magnificent army is quite helpless to save the situation, and one can well imagine the feelings of her War Minister, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, who holds a splendid weapon in his hands, yet cannot use it in defence of the Empire. The apparent quiet and resolute calm of the Government, even the absence of any reports about patriotic demonstrations amongst the Turkish nation whose feelings of resentment and revenge must have been stirred to their depths, cannot be explained on the hypothesis that both the Government and the nation have elected to bow quietly to the inevitable. That is not the stuff of which the Turk of Anatolia is made. And any Ottoman Government that entertained, even for a moment, the idea of surrendering a province of the Empire without lifting a finger in its defence, would be swept utterly out of existence. What then are the Ottoman Government and the nation thinking at this supreme crisis of their fate? One thing is certain, that, as the Grand Vizier declared during his exposition of the Government policy in the Chamber, the loss of Tripoli is not to be taken as an accomplished

fact, nor is it to be bargained away. What the Government course of action will be, yet remains to be seen.

Turkey has already despaired of any diplomatic help coming to her from any quarter in Europe. The official busybodies in Vienna, who confessed to a sense of "anxious resignation" only a few weeks ago, are beginning to accuse Turkey of having flouted their advice before the Italian *coup* was launched. We do not happen to know the nature of the "advice" which must now be lumbering in the archives of the Turkish Foreign Office, but the Power that quietly pocketed Bosnia and Herzegovina could not, we may take it, be expected to have any tender regard for Turkish honour and prestige in its "advisory" rôle. The righteous indignation of the Press is visibly subsiding, and even quite serious attempts are beginning to be made to hunt out some shred of justification for the "most shameful act of brigandage in this generation." The *Times*, with its fluid faith and nimble conscience, is engaged with the assistance of its "own correspondents" in Italy and elsewhere, in its favourite game of proving that black is not so black, and that there can be nothing blacker than the Turk. It is humming over with unctuous gratitude for the oft-repeated desire of Italy to severely restrict the area of conflict. As if the desire was based on benevolent solicitude for the integrity of Turkey or the peace of Europe. Austria had bluntly warned Italy off the Albanian coast, and it was only after the Austrian navy had shown signs of weighing anchor that "the desire" found its loud and persistent iteration. Nor is the invasion of European Turkey as easy and simple a process as the grandiose "Landing at Tripoli." The "Rome Correspondent" of the *Times* has sent a long apologia defending the action of Italy as an extreme measure to restore self-respect to the nation. She wants to rehabilitate her *amour propre* which suffered a grievous humiliation in the Abyssinian adventure. This delightful delirance lands us in a queer realm of casuistry tempered with unmitigated humbug. The heroic exploit of pouncing like a thief on an undefended and defenceless territory will wipe out the humiliating consciousness of the disgraceful Abyssinian *débâcle*, and restore courage and confidence to the heart and fibre of the race! Surely, no coward ever escaped beating by venting his spleen on those weaker than himself, or rose in stature and self-respect by bullying right and left. The grandmotherly attitude of the *Times* is, however, to be deplored for more reasons than one. It is patronising its latest *protégé*, Italy, counselling her how to conduct herself in her aggressive designs lest they end in misadventure, approve of her actions with ponderous wisdom and halting provisos which are offensive to the sense of honour and self-respect of the Turks, admires the Turks that they are doing nothing and warns them against the futility and mischief of doing anything at all. Never was a more rapid and impotent series of journalistic expressions edited with more mischievous effect. It was the ignorant and reckless extravagance of the *Times* "Constantinople Correspondent" that alarmed the Young Turks immediately after the restoration of the Constitution, and drove them into the arms of Germany. There is a significant passage in Sir William Ramsay's book on "The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey," which reveals the irretrievable damage done to Anglo-Turkish friendship by the attitude of the *Times*. He says that "I must record the opinion expressed to me by many different residents, staunch friends of England or truly patriotic Englishmen who read the *Times* carefully, that the attitude of that paper was ill advised, and productive of much harm to English reputation in Turkey, and that its sudden and complete *volte face* shortly after was urgently necessary." The *volte face* seems, however, to be impossible so long as its "correspondents" love the shrieking encrey and denunciation of angry paragraphs, or delight in exploring the possibilities of sensational journalism.

Apart, however, from the jejune "pacifisms" and mock dignity of the *Times*, which will only serve to exasperate Turkish feeling still further, there is another type of journalism which thrives in this country by exploiting a quite distinct prejudice in pictures for the satisfaction of its clientele. The *Capital*, a weekly journal in Calcutta catering for the business man, strays not unoften into political and other problems, perhaps from a business standpoint, and has, as such, developed a psychology all its own. Its views on affairs and things in general are not perhaps so much a matter of conviction as of those who know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Its "correspondents," who seldom fail to play the whole hoggers after the Bengali politician's programme, perhaps because it has its own price, naturally find very little to admire in the thoughts and aspirations of the Mussalmans. Quite recently a "Bombay Correspondent" of the paper has declared the boycott of Italian goods to be "childishly, nay, insanely unlawful enterprise." He has been "honestly surprised by the action of the Muhammadan leaders (like Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.) whom the Government have gone out of their way to cradle and exalt" and has "less faith than ever now in the movement for the establishment of a Muhammadan University in India." Surely, one seldom turns to money-markets and stock exchanges for faith and inspiration, and boundless self-sufficiency is not invariably a proof of wisdom. The Moslem boycott of Italy has led to disenchantment, and we may one day see that with the loss of "faith" in the Moslem University has gone

all "faith" in the goodness and tractability of mankind. "The movement for the establishment of a Muhammadan University" does not, however, depend on such fragile "faiths," which are in reality no more than a sneaking acceptance of what one is happily powerless to injure or destroy. But the "illegality" of the boycott is a quite novel and unsuspected discovery. We, however, fail to see what "legal" claim Italy has got to the allegiance of the Indian Mussalmans. The Bengali boycott of English goods was a movement of retaliation with a dash of defiance of the constituted authority behind it. What consideration of "legality" can Italy count upon in its trade relations with the Islamic world? She has warred on a Moslem people, their lands and liberties, without the least provocation. The Mussalmans will use against her all the available material and moral weapons they can command. It is in pure vindication of Justice and to bring the lawless aggressor to her knees. The Indian Mussalmans can do nothing more than cut off their trade relations with her, and their resolve to eschew all Italian goods and things is perfectly right and legitimate. It is, therefore, mischievous and impertinent to call it "illegal" and then run off at a tangent to inveigh against the Moslem leaders and the Moslem University movement. This exhibition is as paltry and insipid as it is spiteful.

The natural anxiety and grief felt by the Mussalmans for their brethren in trouble has worked some journalistic consciences in this country into a strange fever of doubt and perturbation. That ever vigilant custodian of "India unity," the *Leader* of Allahabad, is miserably disconsolate, and moves amidst the perils of the situation with insinuating smiles and tears. Perhaps an emergency meeting of the All-India Moslem League will have to be called in order to go once more through a declaration of its political faith that the equanimity and balance of our smug contemporary may be restored. We may, however, assure our contemporary that Moslem loyalty to the Government of India and the Sovereign has stood severer tests than this and that it is not of the tender stuff, which "separate electorates" or the partition of a province may hopelessly damage and distort.



Selection.

MOST INDECENT!

JOHN BULL. (*loquitor*)

Umph! Pretty cool, upon my word!
My view—don't care who's knowing it!—
Most barefaced thing I ever heard!
That young Antomo's going it

I've done some grabbing in my day;
But even when pursuing things
That aren't your own, there's still a way—
A proper way—of doing things.

The case of Egypt take. When I
Set foot in that locality,
I seemed to gain my object by
Offensive, crude brutality.

To my old pal the Forte, "Ahem!"
Said I, "with your good leave, best friend,
I'll give a helping hand *pro tem*,
And be to your Khedive best friend"

I lent him forty thousand men,
Who, by my orders, fought for him.
In all I did, as now, so then,
Considerately I thought for him.

If judgment sleeps in the Khedive,
My Agent's there to waken it,
And give advice—to take or leave—
(In fact, he's always taken it.)

That's how these little jobs I work,
With pleasing amiability.
Whate'er's to grab, I never shrink
The claims of due civility

Though oft my comprehensive hands,
Both formerly and recently,
I've laid on other people's lands,
I've always done it decently.

—Truth.

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

REUTER wired from Constantinople on the 20th October. The Chamber of Deputies yesterday by 125 votes to 60 declared its confidence in the Government's intentions to safeguard Ottoman sovereignty in Tripoli and the integrity of the Empire, after a speech by the Grand Vizier in which he claimed that the results of the Government's appeal to Europe had been favourable, as would be seen later. The Minister said, that the Government had been reproached with not taking reprisals against Italians, but that Turkey recalled that France had had to pay heavy indemnity for the treatment of Germans in France. He said that Government would continue its passive resistance while persisting in its diplomatic efforts for a settlement. He did not favour the idea of ceding Tripoli in return for monetary compensation.

The Foreign Office informs Reuter's Agency that the report that Great Britain intends annexing Egypt is totally unfounded.

Mr Lucien Wolf, writing in the *Daily Graphic*, says that Great Britain has addressed a friendly remonstrance to Italy on the subject of the Tripoli blockade notification. Mr Wolf says that the notification is tantamount to a proposal that Italy will annex two hundred miles of Egyptian seaboard, including the anchorage at Akaba-et-Solom which will be a possible rival of the new Italian strategical position at Tobruk. Reuter learns that Italy has agreed to limit the blockade and not to extend it to Egyptian territory.

The Italian administration notify that telegrams for Tripoli are admitted only in plain language and at the risk of senders. As an exceptional measure short telegrams in cypher or code language are also admitted if they are forwarded via Italy and if those concerned deposit two copies of their codes, one copy at the Telegraph Office at Rome and the other at the office at Tripoli. The Ottoman administration notify that telegrams in code to or from Turkey are not admitted.

Reuter wired from Tripoli:—The Italian squadron bombarded Homs on the refusal of the Turks to surrender and destroyed the Turkish barracks. Reuter wired from Tripoli on the 20th October.—Derna was bombarded all Wednesday. The Turkish flag was not hauled down until the fortifications had been destroyed. The landing of troops is imminent. A regiment has been landed at Derna and it is now strongly entrenched. Reuter wired from Tripoli on 20th October.—The Italians encountered considerable resistance at Derna and Benghazi. The former was only occupied after a smart bombardment, while Benghazi refused to surrender. The Turks fiercely attacking the landing parties. Eventually four thousand Italians landed. The fighting continued all day and the bombardment will be resumed to-day. More Italian troops are arriving. The Italians have occupied Benghazi. Their casualties during the recent bombardment of the town were 22. Reuter wired from Rome.—According to a despatch from General Bricola, the Turkish losses during the bombardment of Benghazi were 200 killed. Italians lost 16 killed and 61 wounded. The 22 casualties reported on the 21st instant are stated to have been among the bluejackets.

Letters from Benghazi state that the bombardment of the town caused great havoc and panic. The Maltese Church collapsed in parts and eight people were killed and ten wounded. The British Consulate was badly damaged and the Consul, Mr Francis Jones, wounded. Several British Jews took refuge in the Consulate during the bombardment. It is estimated that the total number of killed and wounded among the inhabitants during the bombardment reached four thousand. The Italian outposts in Tripoli are still frequently attacked. They were engaged for several hours on the 23rd instant when a number of Tripoli Arabs treacherously fired on Italians from the rear. Reuter on the 24th instant wired from Rome.—Two officers while on reconnaissance duty in a monoplane in Tripoli discovered four Turkish camps eight miles beyond the Italian outpost. Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The political crisis is seriously affecting commercial interest. Several important failures among the old provincial houses are already announced. The Banque De Mitylene at Smyrna has suspended payment and a run has started on the Banque De Salonique.

The Continental papers are seriously discussing a statement appearing in the Constantinople journal *Zanin* to the effect that Turkey is negotiating for admission into one of the European alliance groups. Colour is lent to this statement by the Grand Vizier's speech in the Chamber of Deputies in which the Minister declared himself in favour of Turkey seeking alliances. On one side it is stated that Triple Alliance, on the other hand it is hinted that the "Entente" Powers are endeavouring to induce Turkey to join them.

A great fire in Constantinople broke out simultaneously with fires in Stamboul and Bajazid, in the quarter near the Ministries of Finance and War and Commerce at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 21st October. Several hundred houses have already been

burned. The damage done by the Stamboul fire is estimated at two hundred thousand sterling.

With a view to the re-establishing of the lighting of the Red Sea, Great Britain has proposed that the Red Sea shall be declared neutral. The Porte is agreeable to the proposal but wishes that it shall be entitled to transport troops by that route. This, however is incompatible with the neutrality of the route and the matter has been left at that stage for the present.

The Austrian and German Ambassadors in Constantinople had a long interview on Saturday with the Grand Vizier with reference to the suggested mediation in the Turko-Italian hostilities.

Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami at the London Moslem meeting to protest against war declared "The Orientals of London are arranging a meeting to resolve on a boycott of Italian goods, not only in the Mussalman world, but all over the East."

The London branch of the Moslem League has made a representation to the Foreign Office calling attention to the strong natural indignation of the Muhammadan subjects of the King at Italy's war of aggression and spoliation. It points out that the Government has the greatest stake in the maintenance of peace in Eastern regions, and begs the Government to use its good offices with a view to the termination of hostilities on terms maintaining the integrity, honour, and prestige of the Ottomans, while satisfying the legitimate Italian aspirations for economic privileges. The League is convinced that if the Indian Mussalmans come to think that the Christian nations view with complacency, if not approval, the dismemberment of Islamic countries, it will leave them exposed to the malign influences seeking to undermine the Government of India.

Reuter wired on the 25th instant from Tripoli:—By order of a Court Martial, an employé in the German Consulate named Kavass was yesterday shot publicly for stabbing a wounded Italian soldier.

The Italian losses at Tripoli were considerably increased owing to a treacherous attack from the rear by the Arabs who had previously submitted to the Italians. The Bersaglieri were the worst sufferers, they being heavily assailed both from the front and rear. They lost two officers killed and ten wounded. It is a significant fact that the losses among the Italian rank and file are not published, the latest official telegram simply stating that these casualties have not yet been ascertained. Many of the Arabs were captured and shot on the spot.

Reuter wired from Vienna.—Replying to interpellations, the Prime Minister regretted that the Porte had utterly failed to appreciate the timely advice of Austria-Hungary in favor of an agreement with Italy on the subject of the latter country's economic interests. Italy's decision to act peremptorily was ascribed by the Prime Minister to that cause. Austria would resume her efforts to discover a basis of settlement as soon as it was opportune. The Minister believed that Austria's view that successful mediation was at present impossible was shared by the other Powers.

A number of Tripoli Arabs, who took part in the fighting at Benghazi, have been shot. Many natives found carrying arms have been arrested. Some of them will be court-martialled and others expelled. A decree has been published declaring that the penalty for persons found carrying arms is death.

The House of Commons re-assembled on the 24th instant. Mr David Mason asked why the Government had not offered its good offices in connection with the hostilities between Italy and Turkey. Mr. Asquith replied that he did not consider a public announcement was desirable at present.

Reuter wired from Rome:—The fighting at Benghazi was of the heaviest character, six hundred Turkish regulars were reinforced by five thousand Arabs. They lost four hundred killed and twelve hundred wounded. The damage done by the bombardment is officially described as not great.

The brutal murder and mutilation of the Greek Metropolitan of Gravena and his two attendants in the vilayet of Monastir has excited the greatest indignation in Greece, where Young Turks are unhesitatingly accused of conniving with the Romanian Propagandists to plan and carry out the crime.

Italy has notified the Powers that Italian sovereignty has been established from the Egyptian to the Tunisian boundaries and inland to British and French spheres of influence.

Censorship now being exercised in Italy makes it difficult to ascertain the facts, but it seems that though he had a miraculous escape, the Consul of Benghazi was not wounded.

The bombardment of the town began at nightfall in order to save the troops landed, whom it was impossible to reinforce, owing to a rough sea, from annihilation. Hence the difficulty of accurate aiming and destruction of many peaceful buildings.

A court martial has been established at Tripoli to try the

Arab prisoners. Up to the present thirty Arabs have been publicly shot.

Two thousand Arabs have been arrested at a town near an oasis in Tripoli. Quantities of hidden arms were seized by the Italian troops and many huts found to be full of provisions and ammunition were burned.

Italy has ordered the relighting of Italian lights in the Red Sea.

A Memorial has been forwarded by the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam to His Excellency the Viceroy, urging that in view of the difficulties that are likely to arise in consequence of the Turco-Italian war in regard to food supplies of Indian pilgrims in Arabia, the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay be requested to take such immediate steps as may be desirable to prevent any scarcity of food supplies being felt by Indian pilgrims. Pursuant to the above resolution the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay made enquiries of the Agent to the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company and found on Saturday, the 7th instant, two of their steamers *Humayun* and *Nasari* were detained at Aden and under orders from the Resident made to discharge whatever foodstuffs they had on board for Jeddah. The *Humayun* had 6,000 bags and the *Nasari* had 15,000 bags of foodstuffs. Since the Company have stopped booking cargo for Jeddah and the reason given for the action by the Resident was that he considered the steamers were in danger. By danger he probably meant the danger of being captured by Italian warships in the Red Sea. The memorialists, therefore, pray that it may please His Excellency to take such steps as His Excellency may deem proper to see that food supplies shipped for Jeddah are not interfered with at least during the pilgrim season.

News by the English Mail.

Tripoli, September 29, 10 p.m.

The commander of the Italian destroyer *Garibaldi* has visited the Italian Consul-General Avvocato Galli, and Signor Galli afterwards called on the British Consul-General in charge, Mr Alfred Dickson, to ask permission that the few remaining Italians might take refuge on board the British steamer *Castlegarth*, which was loading esparto.

At 12.30 p.m. the destroyer *Lancetti* steamed into the harbour. Her commander landed and informed the Italian Consul of the ultimatum. At 1 p.m. the Italian Consul advised the Consular Corps that he had just received notice from his Government that Italy had sent the Ottoman Government a final ultimatum, which expired at midday. If a negative reply to her demands was then received hostilities would begin at 2 o'clock.

All the Consuls advised their subjects to take refuge at their respective Consulates. A panic ensued, people rushing along the streets with bundles of clothing and whatever they could lay their hands on.

The Arabs have applied this afternoon to military headquarters asking for arms, which have, however, not been given to them. All the lights are out on the Marina front and in the side streets. Excellent order prevails.

September 30.

At 10.30 a.m. the big guns were heard of an Italian cruiser, which was practising 10 miles out at sea west of the city. At noon two cruisers steamed in to within three miles of the harbour, one of them flying a white flag at the masthead. At 12.30 the British steamer *Castlegarth* and all the sailing ships left the harbour crowded with refugees.

The Ottoman soldiers at Spanish Fort, on the western point of the harbour, and those forming the main guard within the Castle precincts have been withdrawn. Camels loaded with ammunition and rifles are going inland towards the cavalry barracks.

The lower class Arabs are clamouring to fight and are demanding arms and ammunition.

The city is quiet and orderly.

Constantinople, September 30.

The Italian attack on Preveza is here believed to be merely a raid, having for its object the destruction of a possible base for torpedo-boat attacks on the Italian line of communications from Tarento to Tripoli.

The Janina division has been mobilized, but the Porte in order to avoid causing alarm in Greece has instructed the Turkish Charge d'Affaires in Athens to assure the Hellenic Government that the measure is a defensive one, directed solely against the Italians now attacking Preveza.

Constantinople, October 2.

The newspapers publish a letter from Marshal Fuad Pasha, the victor of Elena in the Turco-Greek War, to the Italian Charge d'Affaires returning his Italian decorations with the remark that as a Turkish soldier he is determined to keep without reproach the breast which is always ready to face the bullets of the enemy.—*Reuter*.

Sofia, October 2.

The Stambulovist organ *Wolka*, referring to the report that Turkey intends to concentrate troops on the Thessalian frontier, says

it would be the duty of Bulgaria to send forces into Turkish territory directly the first shot was fired on the Greek frontier, without paying any attention to the counsels of the Powers.

A number of Young Macedonians visited the Italian Legation to-day, declaring that they wanted to go to Tripoli to fight for Italy, but their offer was declined.—*Reuter*.

Constantinople, October 3.

The Government has received a cipher despatch from Tripoli via Tunis to the effect that the Italian Admiral yesterday summoned the Military Commandant and Acting Governor to surrender in order to avoid useless bloodshed. The Commandant requested to be allowed to communicate with the Ottoman Government but the request was refused. He then refused to surrender.

Malta, October 3.

The director of the schools of the *Alliance Française*, who was one of the refugees, informs me that Arabs are flocking daily from the interior to the coast fully armed. Some of their weapons are old, but they possess numerous revolvers and hate the Italians. The efforts of the Acting Governor have alone detained them from showing their hostility. The Turkish authorities are extremely careful. The streets are patrolled all day and soldiers are ready to suppress the least disorder. Anyone showing signs of drunkenness is at once arrested. My informant told me that the Turks are also disliked by the Arabs.

Rome, October 4, Morning.

The following details of the bombardment of Tripoli, which began at 3.30 on the 3rd October, have now arrived:—

At 3 o'clock Rear-Admiral Faravelli from his flagship the *Benedetto Brin* gave the signal to prepare for action. The battleships *Varese*, *Giuseppe Garibaldi* and *Francesco Ferruccio* thereupon steamed up to within two kilometres of the town. The sea was fairly calm. At half-past three the *Giuseppe Garibaldi* opened fire on the Palace of the Vali. There was an immediate reply from the Palace and from the Hamidieh and Sultanieh forts. The Turkish aim, however, was bad and the projectiles all fell wide or short. The *Varese* and the *Francesco Ferruccio* directed their fire against the fortifications near the lighthouse and on the mole. The national flags were flying over all the Consulates and the forts displayed the Turkish colours. After the bombardment had been in progress for an hour shells from the *Varese* struck the lighthouse, which collapsed in ruins. The destruction of the lighthouse was inevitable from the fact that the adjacent fort was keeping up a heavy cannonade in reply to the Italian fire. The bombardment now became heavier, while the fire from the Turkish forts grew feeble. Many of the Turkish guns, it was seen, had been dismounted. The Vali's Palace had been severely battered and its walls were riddled with shot. At 5 o'clock the central forts ceased fire, but the Hamidieh and Sultanieh forts, on the outer fortifications, kept on firing. The quays were completely deserted and a number of fires broke out. When darkness fell the bombardment ceased. The bombardment was resumed at daybreak this morning and was of an even heavier nature than yesterday. The outer forts, however, were in ruins and were no longer able to reply. The Turks removed the guns to the heights above the town, and from their new positions reopened fire, but they were dispersed by shrapnel from the Italian guns and fled in all directions. All the forts were now entirely demolished and fire broke out in several military buildings. The first white flags were then noticed and the fleet began to prepare hoist in order to land men from the warships.—*Central News*.

Rome, October 5.

A telegram from Tripoli of to-day's date states that the bombardment by the Italian ships was continued yesterday morning, the fire being directed against the outer defences. The central defences were spared, so as not to destroy the town. The Sultanieh and Hamidieh batteries were dismantled. The cruiser *Giuseppe Garibaldi* entered the outer harbour, and the Hamidieh battery was visited by two Italian officers, who found it had been evacuated. The officers took away the Turkish gun sights. Three dead bodies were found in the battery. Up to the time of telegraphing no offer of capitulation had been made.

Milan, October 5.

Rear Admiral Faravelli reports that the Turkish batteries at Tripoli have been so damaged by the bombardment that the Turkish soldiers have been forced to retire into the town. Along the quays the dead bodies of Turkish soldiers could be seen. If the attempt at resistance is maintained a final bombardment will take place to-day. Captain Craveri of the Carabinieri, who organised the Cretan *Gendarmerie*, has been ordered to Tripoli to organize a force of Carabinieri there.

Sofia, October 5.

This morning the local committee of the Labour and Social Democratic Party held a public meeting on the situation created by the Turco-Italian War and agreed that the only way to avoid a bloody conflict in the Balkans was to proclaim the political and social autonomy of Macedonia, Adrianople and Albania. An appeal in

being made to kindred societies in the Balkan Peninsula as well as to International Socialists to urge the claims of these countries to autonomy, as only in this way the free development of all the Balkan nations and their economic and political alliance can be realized.

Constantinople, October 5

The Customs House hands to-day refused to discharge Italian goods from a British steamer, the anti-Italian boycott being thus begun.

Abu El Salem Ben Sadoun is an Arab from Tripoli, well known by sight in Paris, where he sells carpets and rugs on the boulevards. On the night of 3rd October he was sipping coffee at the corner of the Rue St. Antoine, when he overheard some Italians congratulating one another on the capture of Tripoli. "It is not true," said Abu El Salem. "If you go into Tripoli we throw you out like this," and seizing the smallest Italian by the leg, Abu El Salem, who is a brawny Arab, sent him flying through a plate glass window and into the street. The other Italians drew knives and rushed at the Arab. When the police came he had been so badly hurt that he had to be taken to the Hotel Dieu, where the doctors, despairing of saving him. Two of the Italians have been arrested.

A Review of the Operations

(By THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT)

THE mystery of the reported escape of the Turkish Fleet from Beirut to the Dardanelles is still unexplained. It is true that some doubt is still thrown in Italy upon the return of the Turkish Fleet to safety and no independent and trustworthy reporter has yet declared that he has seen it with his own eyes. But no doubt appears to exist on the subject in any of the telegrams from Turkish sources, and for want of a better explanation, it is declared that Italy has been a consenting party to the escape of the Turkish ships.

This is not by any means certain. The naval action of Italy in other quarters has not been marked by any weak considerations for the feelings of the Turkish Empire or for its ships, and it must have been a primary objective for Italian sailors to put out of count the squadron which alone seemed capable, given luck and good management, of interfering seriously with the expedition to Tripoli. We have practically no news of the proceedings of the main Italian battle fleet. Has it missed its objective, and, if so, why and how? It will be a very interesting point later on to ascertain whether Italy took steps to intercept the Turkish ships, and, if so, why these steps apparently failed.

We do not as yet know for certain what course of military action will commend itself to the Porte in case negotiations for a settlement fail. In face of hostile predominance at sea, the Turks are virtually disarmed, and it is a pity that Turkish statesmen neglected this situation in the account when they decided upon their political friendships. Friendships that offer Turkey military support take roots to Newcastle. The good fight which Turkey made in 1877-78 was obtained thanks to Turkish predominance at sea, and the geographical situation of the Turkish provinces is such that successful war in almost any quarter is dependent upon a free sea. It is the lack of the party of Union and Progress not to have recognized these elementary conditions of the strategic situation. Little avails the Osmanli's friendship without a long arm that reaches to the Mediterranean. All that the Turks can hope to do in the way of active and offensive measures is to risk blockade running with fast ships carry of troops and ammunition. The extent of the coast line of Tripoli and Cyrenaica does not place the success of such action beyond hope, and if it entails many disappointments and losses the Turks will console themselves with the thought that there is nothing else in their power to do. The other preparations of Turkey will probably be of a defensive character. Seven classes of *redifs* have been recalled and six brigades of *redifs* under Fetki Pascha appear to have been told off to the defence of the coast of Albania. There is also a talk of collecting 100,000 men at Salonika, 50,000 at Uskub and 30,000 at Koscovo, but the object of this move is obscure.

There is very little expectation that the Turks will be able to offer any long or determined resistance to the actual landing at Tripoli. The Turkish troops are not numerous and are probably much scattered. A large part of the garrison is away in the south, as the French have cause to know, and time may not allow their return to Tripoli before the landing takes place. The naval ordnance, larger numbers, and superior equipment of the Italians should place the success of the landing beyond all doubt. It is only when Italy is in actual possession of the chief points of the coast that she will be likely to view negotiations for a settlement with favourable eyes. The affirmation of Italian sovereignty by the occupation of the interior is the real difficulty of the Italian undertaking. This may be a long and tiresome process, and it may be that the Turks will be in no great hurry to facilitate Italy's work by a surrender.

Moslem Feeling in India.

THE Punjabi Muhammadans in Rangoon at a meeting held on the 20th October, in connection with the Turko-Italian war, have, besides passing the usual resolution of protest of what they termed the 'unprovoked and piratical proceedings of Italy,' unanimously pledged themselves to boycott Italian articles till the end of their lives. The meeting closed with cheers for Turkey and a "vote of shame" to Italy.

The following telegram has been sent by the Moulvis of Madras to the Viceroy:—The Mussalmans of Southern India are intensely agitated over the Turko-Italian aggression and respectfully beg His august Majesty, our beloved King George, through Your Excellency, to exert his friendly influence with Italy for peace and to maintain the integrity of the Khalifate as the son of the World's great Peacemaker, His late Majesty King Edward, of revered memory.

Under the auspices of the Indian Red Crescent Society a monster meeting attended by about a lakh of Mussalmans was held on Sunday, the 22nd instant, in the Federation Hall grounds at 3 P.M., Muhammadans coming in with banners and flags bearing on them verses from the Koran, such as "Help from God and speedy victory," "There is no god but God," etc. The proceedings commenced with the recitation of the Surah called the Battle-array by the Egyptian Imam of the Lower Chitpore Road Mosque. The following resolution was then put from the chair and passed unanimously:—"That appeals be made to all Moslem nations to unite and rally round the Caliphate at this supreme hour of trial in the history of Islam and give practical proofs of sympathy and unity." A second resolution was passed—"That the Indian Red Crescent Society do take the necessary steps effectively to proclaim a boycott of Italian goods." Aga Moayyed ul-Islam, editor of *Habul Mathur* in the course of a speech, said:—"Let us in the name of Islam, unjustly stigmatised as the Religion of the Sword, meet the blow of the aggressor with that moral force and unity which the soul-stirring strains of the Koran have breathed into the heart of Islam." The proceedings concluded with a fervent prayer for victory to the Ottoman arms and the safety of the honour and prestige of Islam. The assembly replied with loud cries of "Amen." The speeches were listened to in silence and with rapt attention.

London Moslems' Protest.

A STRONG protest against the Italian attack on Tripoli was made at a meeting held in the hall of the Institute of Journalists and attended by some hundreds of Moslems and by other sympathisers with Turkey. The meeting was a striking evidence of the deep feeling roused by Italy's raid throughout the Moslem world. Its chief feature was the strong demand that Great Britain, as the ruler of 100,000,000 Moslem subjects, should intervene to prevent further aggression. Lord Lamington, a Conservative and a former Governor-General of Bombay, was in the chair, and among the non-Moslem speakers were Mr. Harold Cox, Professor Browne, of Cambridge, Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Mr. D. M. Mason, the member for Coventry, and Mr. E. N. Bennet, formerly member for Mid Oxon. The Rajah Moushad Ali Khan gave his support. A letter was read from the well-known Mahanumadan leader Mr. Ameer Ali in which he said:—"I feel assured that when the British nation realises the inevitable consequences of this act of aggression by Italy against an Empire in whose welfare millions of British subjects in all parts of the world take the keenest interest, it will raise its voice in the cause of justice and humanity and insist that the alleged grievances of Italy should be referred to the arbitration of an impartial tribunal."

Lord Lamington said that Italy's action had given a shock to the whole civilised world. It was as unexpected and unforeseen as an earthquake. He pleaded for moderation of language in the crisis. The Turkish Government had been a model in that respect. Every one must admire her forbearance, her magnanimity and patience under the great blow which had fallen upon her. He had all his life regarded Italy and the Italians with the greatest friendship, and the political relations of Italy and this country had always been most harmonious, but when they came to consider the grievances which had led to her action it was impossible not to agree with the unanimous opinion of the people of this country and of the press that they had no real substantial value—(Cheers.) It was absurd to hold the alleged abduction of a girl in Asia Minor or the holding up of an Italian boat carrying on a contraband trade in arms in the Red Sea as giving any excuse for acquiring territorial possession of Tripoli. They were told that Italian commerce had been hampered, but he heard that all that happened was that an Italian bank had been prevented from acquiring land in a way contrary to Turkish law. Would it not be far easier to produce evidence of disorder and brigandage if they turned to the South of Italy? Great Britain had an almost equal number of British subjects living in Tripoli. If there were grievances, how was it that Maltese people had never complained of ill-treatment it would have been much better if Italy had made no

protest but had simply declared her intention of possessing herself of the coveted seaboard instead of making these ridiculous complaints

ITALY'S MOTIVE.

It was clear that Italy thought it was high time to take action on her own account in view of what happened in regard to Bosnia and Morocco. Her action was probably hastened because a Commission for delimiting the boundaries between Tunis and Tripoli was about to proceed to Tripoli. This may have been another incentive to Italy to take action at once before Turkish rule in Tripoli was in this way confirmed. As to the argument that Great Britain had no right to complain because of her position in Egypt, the difference was that we only went to Egypt when we had been invited by the ruler of the country and after full conference with the other European Powers, and it was impossible for Great Britain to be indifferent to what happened to the Suez Canal in view of the interests of our Indian Empire. He did not suppose for a moment that we should stay in Egypt if it were not for our Indian Empire. Italy's action would be taken as proving that might is right. Although the Great Powers of Europe took steps to show the futility of war, and although they had realised how terrible war was in breaking up the ties that interlaced one country and another, yet it would be said human nature was strong, and a powerful country would still desire to benefit itself at the expense of a weaker one. "That," said Lord Lansdowne, "is an inference which we ought not to allow to go unchallenged."—(Cheers) That was a terrible example to preach to the weaker nations of the world. It was particularly sad that at a moment when Turkey was putting her house in order and bringing herself more into line with Western civilisation she should be singled out for one attack after another, reducing her strength first in Europe and now in Africa. He could not believe for a moment that the British Government was not most anxious to preserve the peace of Europe and to safeguard the interests of Turkey, particularly in regard to the fact that millions of Moslem British subjects were deeply grieved by what had taken place.

A MENACE TO THE WHOLE EAST

Major Syed Hassan Belgrami moved a resolution expressing heartfelt and sincere sympathy with the Government and people of Turkey in their present troubles, "brought on by the action of Italy against all principles of international law and moral law, and without referring the alleged grievances to the arbitration of the tribunal especially constituted for the settlement of international disputes." The resolution expressed deep resentment of the whole of the Moslem world against Italy's high-handed proceedings against a friendly Power. Major Belgrami said that this tearing up of all international law was a menace not only to Turkey but to the whole of the East. No one knew how far such an example set by one of the Great Powers would be carried. A meeting of Orientals would shortly be held, at which it would be proposed that the boycott of Italian goods should not be confined to the Moslem world, but should extend to the whole of the East. No one could predict the effect of this crisis upon India.

Cries of "Brigands" were heard when the next speaker Mr. Syed Hosain, described the war as another act in the "scramble for the Sick Man's inheritance." Italy, he added, might yet find that the Sick Man she had so recklessly attacked was like the other sick man of whom it was said that the gout in one foot only lent him additional strength to kick with the other. (Laughter)

Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., said they should lose no time in urging the Government to use their good offices in the cause of peace. It had been said that Great Britain could not mediate until Tripoli was occupied.—(Shame.) But if Italy's action was wrong, and everyone in the country felt strongly that it was, the time to take action was at once.—(Cheers.)

The resolution was carried, and Mr. Abdul Majeed moved "Placing absolute confidence in the justice and humane character of the British nation, and relying on the unfailing regard of the British Government for the religious sentiments of their one hundred million Moslem subjects, this meeting earnestly entreats the Government through the Foreign Secretary to use its good offices for securing an early conclusion of peace on the basis of the *status quo* and the integrity of the Turkish Empire." "The friendship of Turkey," Mr. Majeed said, "means not only the friendship of the Ottoman Empire but the friendship of the whole of the East."

MR. HAROLD COX ON OUR RIGHT TO INTERVENE.

Mr. Harold Cox was one of the supporters of the resolution. In judging the problem, he said, the Secretary of State must not look at it simply from the point of view of the material interests of this country. This country had moral interests as well. There was a time when English statesmen never hesitated to put those moral interests on the higher plane. He quoted Cromwell's words in justification of his intervention on behalf of the Waldenses: "To be indifferent to such things is a great sin, and a deeper sin it is to be indifferent because of policy or ambition."—(Cheers) England had a moral right to intervene as a great Christian Power. It was therefore her duty to uphold the principles of Christianity. "It seems

to me," he said, "that it is far more important to take an actual step to prevent an actual war than to talk sentimentally about putting an end to all war by arbitration." England had a moral right to intervene because she was a great Muhammadan Power, and it was her duty to look at the question through the eyes of her millions of Moslem subjects in India, as well as through those of a purely European Power. We had also a moral duty to intervene as citizens of the world. It was part of the common law of England that if anyone saw a crime being committed under his eyes it was his duty to stop it. We were citizens of the world, and we now saw one citizen committing robbery with violence and murder on another; for when war was undertaken solely for the purpose of stealing territory it was murder and nothing else.—(Cheers) Our policy was unfortunately dominated by jealousy of Germany and Germany's jealousy of us, but on this occasion it was certain that if we went frankly to Germany and said, "You and I together have to stop this thing," the Germans would jump at the opportunity.—(Cheers) Whether Germany helped us or stood aside it was our duty as a great Christian country, as a great Muhammadan country, and as an honest citizen of the world to prevent the most shameless act of brigandage that had been committed in this generation.—(Cheers)

Mr. E. N. Bennett pointed out that it was not merely the privilege but it was the duty of any of the signatory Powers to the Hague Tribunal to intervene in the cause of arbitration.

Professor Browne described Italy's attack as the most cynical act that had happened in recent international politics. They could not but believe that the Government would take cognisance of the deep feeling that had been aroused among the Moslems of the British Empire. Everyone must deeply regret that the nation hitherto unsmitched by a policy of land-grabbing should have committed such a deed in the very year in which she celebrated the jubilee of her freedom.

MR. W. S. BLUNT ON THE NEED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION.

Mr. W. S. Blunt urged that if England was to act she must act soon, she must act strongly, and above all things she must act alone. To rely upon Germany would be to rely on a broken reed. It was obvious that Germany was a consenting party to Italy's act, and that this dismembering of the Ottoman Empire, by giving over Tripoli to Italy, was arranged when the Morocco affair was arranged. There was not the smallest chance of the German Emperor being able to intervene to save Tripoli from the Italians, unless later on to allow Italy to occupy Tripoli under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Mr. Blunt added that Great Britain had a strong interest in the matter as the guardian of Egypt, for the occupation of Tripoli by the Italians would certainly endanger the safety of Egypt. He suggested the adding to the resolution of a clause—"That as an immediate measure orders be given to the Mediterranean Fleet to go in full power to Tripoli to put an end to aggression."

The resolution was carried in its original form. The resolutions will be sent to Sir Edward Grey and the Turkish Grand Vizier.

The New Turkish Cabinet.

SAID PASHA has at last succeeded, after great difficulties, in forming a Cabinet. The new Ministry, the political colour of which does not differ from that of its predecessor, is composed as follows—

Grand Vizier	Said Pasha.
Sheikh-ul-Islam	Kassim Effendi.
Minister of War	Mahmud Shevket Pasha.
Minister of Finance	Nail Bey.
Minister of Public Works	Holousi Bey.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Assim Bey.
Minister of the Interior	Djelal Bey, ex Vali of Erzerum.
Minister of Marine	Khurshid Pasha, Aide-de-Camp to the Sultan.
Minister of Mines and Forests	Snapian Effendi.
Minister of Justice and Pious Foundations	Hami Bey.
Minister of Posts and Telegraphs	Ibrahim Soussa.

Said Pasha is an old man of 73, but is still full of energy. It was he who persuaded Abdul Hamid to make peace with the revolutionists and restore the Constitution. This is the fourth time that Said has been Grand Vizier, having formerly been Governor of Syria. When threatened by Abdul Hamid with death or exile he took refuge on a British vessel stationed in the Bosphorus. Djelal Bey, the new Minister of the Interior, has been Vali of Erzerum and Adrianople and is popular with the Committee of Union and Progress, one of whose principal members, Nazim Bey (not to be confused with Dr. Nazim) is its responsible delegate in Constantinople. Neither Khurshid Pasha, Minister of Marine, Snapian Effendi, Minister of Mines and Forests, nor Ibrahim Soussa,

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, is particularly identified with any party. The last named is a Syrian Catholic. The absence of any Greek from the Cabinet and the retirement of Hahl Bey and Nedjm-ed-Din have aroused much comment. Halil Bey has been recently severely criticised by the Left for his failure to support Hussein Kiazim Bey, the Young Turk ex-Governor of Constantinople. Nedjm-ed-Din has of late been subjected to attack by the *Tanin*, which after two years' silence has unearthed his former association with Nedjid Melhamieh. The Cabinet is generally believed to meet with the approval of the Salonika Committee, which appears to be backing Said Pasha. Opinion is, however, divided as to its chances of surviving the first days of what promises to be a turbulent Parliamentary Session.

October 5.

Said Pasha's Ministry, though it meets with the approval of the Committee's organs, has been coldly received by the rest of the Press.

Berlin, October 5.

Doubts are expressed as to whether his Cabinet is in any case likely to be long lived, and according to the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who is frequently well informed, there is some probability that Kiamil Pasha, who, it is stated, can rely upon the co-operation of Hilmi Pasha and Tewfik Pasha, may before long be called upon to form a Ministry. Other correspondents suggest that English influence is being exerted to procure this result, Said Pasha being regarded as too much inclined to make concessions to the Committee, against whom the English are declared to be energetically working.

ITALIAN MINISTERS

Signor Giolitti, Premier (for the third time) since last March.

Marquis di San Giuliano, Foreign Minister since last March. Previously Ambassador in London and Paris and Foreign Minister for a few months.

General Spingardi, Minister of War (second time) since last March.

Signor di San Martino, Chargé d'Affaires, Constantinople. Negotiated with Turkey during the crisis. Presented the Italian ultimatum.

Marquis Imperiali di Frankavilla, Ambassador in London since April last year. Previously Ambassador at Constantinople for nearly six years.

Text of the Italian Declaration.

"THOUGH the term granted by the Royal Government to the Imperial Government for carrying out certain measures which had become necessary has expired, no satisfactory reply has been received by the former Government. The lack of such a reply is confirmatory evidence either of the ill-will or of the powerlessness of which the Imperial Government and authorities have given so many proofs, particularly with regard to Italian rights and interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Royal Government is in consequence obliged to safeguard its rights and interest, together with its honour and dignity by all means at its disposal. The result can only be regarded as the necessary, if painful, consequences of the conduct of the authorities of the Ottoman Empire. Friendly and pacific relations between the two States being thus broken off, Italy henceforth is at war with Turkey."

The Italian Case.

(The 'Times,' 30th September.)

WE HAVE received the following statement from an authoritative Italian source—

The conflict which appears to have broken out unexpectedly between Italy and Turkey is only the epilogue of a long series of vexations and injuries, none the less real because not very apparent, inflicted on Italy and on the Italians by the authorities of the Ottoman Empire. From time to time there have been innumerable complaints by our nationals in every part of the Empire to the Italian Government demanding prompt justice for the long drawn-out vexations, for justice denied, for cases of real and personal oppression from which they had suffered and the solution of which was endlessly delayed.

Numerous and important complaints by private persons and an infinite number of other controversies of greater or less gravity exist, as, for example, those of affronts and other vexations offered to the *personnel* belonging to the Italian Consulates. These are such as to demonstrate how for some time past Italian nationals have been surrounded by a hostile atmosphere not in keeping with the good official relations existing between the two States. And with the new régime which aroused so many hopes in Italy there has been a multiplication and aggravation of painful incidents.

A very grave incident which occurred recently was the abduction of a young girl under age, Giulia Franzoni, a girl of 16, who

was snatched by fraud from her own family of honest working people employed on the works of the Turkish railway at Adana, carried off, and converted by actual force to Islamism, and married with violence to a Mussalman citizen, notwithstanding the protests of her parents and of the non-Italian foreigners, notwithstanding the intervention of the Royal Consulate and of the Royal Embassy. This incident, which is of grave importance for every nation, has still more importance for Italy, which has to provide for the protection of a large number of working class emigrants who find employment on the railways of Asia Minor. Now the fact of not having given speedy punitive satisfaction for this barbarous system of forced conversion and of the abduction of an innocent girl may be an incentive to other similar acts which tend directly to strike at the whole working-class population, in great part Italian, obliged to live with their families in these regions.

But the most persistent acts of dislike and hostility on the part of the Ottoman authorities occurred in those parts of the Empire where Italian interests were greatest, that is in the Red Sea and in the Tripolitane. By the reports of our Consuls, by the accounts of those returned from these regions, by the repeated incidents due to the incitements of Turkish officials, it is clearly shown that there was a desire to create an atmosphere of hostility to Italian interests, as if their continued steady development of them were distrusted. The attitude of the Ottoman authorities in the Red Sea and on the Arab coast opposite to the colony of Eritrea has always been violent and persistently provocative. The series of incidents with which insult was offered to the Italian flag would be too long to recite in detail: let us instance only a few which have happened under the new régime.

On 5th June 1909, the Turkish gunboat *Nurhad* at 40 kilometres from the Turkish coast took possession with violence of the sum of 2,340 thalers on board the Italian sambuk (sailing boat) *Cerina*, a distinct act of piracy without any mitigating circumstances. The *Cerina* was seized by a Turkish gunboat, *Kimudyan*, towed to Hodeidah, and subjected to iniquitous proceedings and attempts at appropriation by force. Animated by a spirit of conciliation, the Italian Government sought to make an inquiry with the object of arriving at a satisfactory adjustment of the incident. The inquiry gave, so far as concerned the conduct of the local officials, results which would reflect discredit on any civil Government. But this was not all. While negotiations in respect of the incident of the *Cerina* were proceeding, the commandant of the gunboat boarded by force the sambuk *Belima* on 5th December 1910, and compelled the captain to give up the correspondence of the traders of Massowah. Arbitrary acts of another nature and of not less gravity were committed to the injury of Eritrean sambuks, belonging to Ali Kozem and to Kalid Hamed. The Turkish authorities, always glad to take any opportunity whatever to damage Eritrean commerce, let themselves go on 21st August 1910, hoping that they might do so with impunity, on Eritrean merchandise loaded on board ship, taking possession of all the goods, including the victuals of the crew. The Eritrean merchants, terrorized by the continual menaces directed against them on the part of the Turkish authorities on the Arab coast, have therefore in great part given up trafficking there, to the great detriment of the commerce of our colony.

In the Tripolitane the systematic hostility of the Ottoman authorities, now open and violent, now concealed and malignant, assumes still greater proportions. They have but one intention—to wage war against the economic and commercial interests of Italy, to impede in every way the development of Italian influence. Let us cite a few examples selected from a long series which we might adduce. The Banco di Roma introduced into the Tripolitane with Italian capital a genuine and beneficent work of economic progress and of civilization of the country, the authorities forbade the natives to have relations with that institution and punished them if they had recourse to it, it put obstacles in the way of the bank's obtaining legal recognition before the local tribunals, and when, after two years of laborious negotiations, the recognition could no longer be denied vexations began under another form. The Valis succeed each other rapidly in the government of the Vilayet, but the policy has been always the same until, in 1910, the new Vali Ibrahim Pasha openly declared in the Administrative Council that he would offer systematic and unceasing opposition to all Italian initiative, letting it be clearly understood that such were the instructions of his own Government. And thus all the proposals, all the demands for concessions and for undertakings made by Italians, such as aqueducts, wireless telegraphy plants, road works, etc., are rejected without more ado. Contrary to the treaties, the subjects of the King are hindered from acquiring land and the registering of land transfers at Hums, at Bengazi, and at Deina, natives who wish to sell are threatened, and the vengeance taken is explained by pretexts foreign to the real cause. Contrary to definite agreements, obstruction is put in the way of Italian archaeological and mineralogical missions. Every obstacle and difficulty is raised against Italian tanning and oil-making businesses and against our navigation. The natives, terrorized, dare not avail themselves of such beneficent institutions and plants for fear of the treacherous revenge.

With these obstacles and difficulties are mingled very grave crimes, such as the assassination of Father Giustino at Derna, and that of Gastone Terreni which was given the appearance of suicide, though this was denied by witnesses and by subsequent revelations. This was a barbarous crime, for which no satisfaction whatever has yet been obtained nor even a serious inquiry, either criminal or civil, although such an inquiry has been insistently demanded by the relations of the victim and by the Royal Diplomatic and Consular authorities. A declaration of incompetency to proceed and of extinction of the penal action by an amnesty was all that the Turkish authorities deigned to concede to the Italians. Two such deplorable incidents, notoriously occasioned by the hatred of the Turks for the Italians, produced consternation and discouragement in the Italian colony, which perforce became timid in the presence of any initiative, however useful. Every intervention of the Royal Consular authority in the Vilayet was opposed, openly, or secretly, by the Ottoman authorities, as is shown by the incident of the journalist Arbib, beaten by the police, against which the intervention of the Royal Consular dragoman had no other effect save that of provoking a new and more flagrant violation of the Capitulations. All this interrupted series of injuries, acts of violence, of intimidation, of annoyance, is openly encouraged and supported by the journal *Al-Nasir*, the official organ of the Vilayet, printed in its printing office and inspired by the *Vah*, a journal widely circulated among the Arabs, which does not neglect any occasion of offering outrage and insult to Italy.

From all these proceedings it clearly emerges that the Italian Government has found itself in the presence of a system or programme of preconceived opposition to Italian subjects and interests in the Ottoman Empire in general and in the Tripolitaine in particular.

The warm and almost universal sympathy with which Italy had hailed the advent to power of Young Turkey, the proposal to give time to the new regime to consolidate itself, the desire of not increasing the difficulties and embarrassments of the Ottoman Empire and of Europe, led the Italian Government to evince a patience and a condescension which have not many examples in the history of peoples. Hope was always entertained of the consolidation of the new Government, of the welcoming of good counsels, of repentance, of the exchange of a friendship which on our side has been pushed almost to the sacrifice of our own interests. But all in vain. Every day the situation grew worse. Our very patient attitude was confronted at Constantinople alternatively by Government which uttered honeyed words and promises, which, however, were devoid of any correspondence with the facts, or by a Government without authority which was incapable of imposing obedience on the dependent local authorities, a Government lacking the power to ensure that treaties, capitulations, contractual undertakings should be respected and observed—a Government, in fact, which has fallen short in the opinion of Italy of its own international duties.

The cup was now full. The violent attacks and other insults of the Ottoman Press which have passed all bounds and the systematic obstruction and the bad faith of the local authorities, the extraordinary series of incidents, the demands of every kind increasing every day in number, have ended by agitating and wearing out public opinion, the Press, the Parliament, and the Government of Italy. Italy has now no longer any confidence in the friendly solution of her own questions with Turkey and disillusioned by so many vain words, by mendacious promises given in these latter years, has lost patience and decided to depart from a tolerance which might have been reproved as weakness and a recognition of inferiority, and has decided to obtain with the greatest energy respect for her own rights and the protection of her own interests. The blow falls on those who, for the last three years, have every day provoked her, creating by little incidents as well as great, such an atmosphere of hostility against Italy in the various provinces of the Empire, and especially in the Tripolitaine, as to impair the safety of Italian subjects and to imperil the peaceful development of Eastern commerce in the Red Sea.

The Turkish Standpoint

(The "Times," 30th September)

WE HAVE received from an authoritative Turkish source the following account of the causes which have led to the present crisis:—

During the last few days the Italian Press and Government have endeavoured to convince the world that their action has been provoked by grievances suffered by Italians in Tripoli and by their exasperation at the failure of the Turkish Government to provide redress. These endeavours have not been very successful. It is everywhere recognized that the Italian action is due to the desire to realize the long-standing political aspirations of Italy with regard to Tripoli, and if it has been provoked by anything the provocation has not been any action or inaction of the Turkish Government, but the prospects of a speedy settlement of the Moroccan crisis.

The grievances alleged by Italy fall into two classes. There are vague allegations of hostility to Italy and of Turkish suspicions of Italian designs. It may be admitted that Turkey has been suspicious of these designs, and it is not surprising. In Italy, and in Tripoli itself, Italian newspapers, and even Italian public men, have spoken openly of Italian aspirations in the province, and it has been clear from their language that these aspirations were not only economic but political as well. At the present moment it is absurd to reproach Turkey with cherishing these suspicions, for they have been amply confirmed by the action that Turkey has just taken. Even when efforts were made to disguise the political nature of the Italian designs it was made perfectly clear that even as regards the economic development of Tripoli what Italy desired was not the right to participate on equal terms, but a privileged position and even a monopoly. Eight years ago the Italian Ambassador in Constantinople demanded from the Sublime Porte a written guarantee that concessions for public works in Tripoli, large or small and of whatever character, should be given to Italians. This demand, the concession of which would have established a protectorate in a veiled form, was, of course, refused by the Porte. It alone would have been sufficient justification for Turkish suspicion.

In spite of this suspicion, Turkey, far from interfering with legitimate economic interests of Italy, did everything she could to recognize these interests as far as they were compatible with her sovereign rights. This is shown by the fact that practically every concession of an economic nature granted in Tripoli has been granted to Italians, and the most recent enterprise in that province is the Italian Banco di Roma. Difficulties have, of course, arisen with regard to that bank. They were inevitable from the way in which its business was conducted. A great deal has been made of the refusal to allow Italians to acquire land. The facts were as follows:—

By Turkish law it was impossible for institutions such as banks to acquire landed property. The Banco di Roma attempted to evade this by lending money to Italian subjects with which to purchase land—which was promptly mortgaged to the bank, and which the bank attempted to treat as its own property. One of the great difficulties in Tripoli has been not the jealousy shown by the Turkish authorities towards the Italians, but the jealousy shown by the Italians towards enterprises of other nationalities. Not long ago the *Tribuna* and other Italian newspapers violently attacked Turkey on account of the rumour that mining concessions in Cyrenaica had been granted to a non-Italian company. The rumour, it may be mentioned, turned out to be baseless.

It has already been stated that nearly all the concessions in Tripoli have been given to Italians, but in order to avoid even the suspicion of unfairness towards Italy the attempt was made by the Porte to introduce the system of giving concessions by adjudication to the lowest bidder. It was, however, discovered that the Italian firms which entered for these competitions offered terms so low that they could only lose money by obtaining the concession and were evidently acting on instructions to sacrifice their economic interests in order to establish an Italian foothold.

As for the various minor incidents that have now been brought forward as justifying the Italian action, such incidents occur every day in almost every country. It is only when they occur in Tripoli that political capital is made out of them. It would be useless to go at length into all these trivial cases, but with regard to the sunbaks which were seized in the Red Sea, the Turkish authorities reported them to be carrying contraband and when that was denied by the Italians the Porte offered to settle the affair by a joint investigation, the results of which were to be referred, if necessary, to an impartial arbitrator. The fact that the question has not been so settled has been due to the fact that the Italian Embassy in Constantinople has put off the opening of this investigation. A great deal is made out of one or two cases of murder that have occurred in Tripoli. There is every reason to doubt whether incidents of this kind are always the fault of the Turkish authorities.

It is alleged that the authorities in Tripoli have stirred up fanatical feelings of hostility towards the Italian population. This is sufficiently refuted by the fact that in spite of all the provocation given by Italy in the last few days no regrettable incident has occurred in the city.

With regard to these alleged grievances, Turkey has attempted to find out what are the actual complaints of Italy and what redress or reparation Italy demands. The reply has been an ultimatum and the despatch of an armed expedition.

Protest of the Committee of Union and Progress.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika October 2 1911.

AFTER sitting for 24 hours, the committee late last night drew up an enormously long proclamation to Europe, of which the

Following is a résumé:—

"The Committee feels the need to address the European public, which loving equity and justice, cannot rest indifferent in face of a flagrant, monstrous, and criminal violation of the fundamental International rights of humanity and civilization. We are convinced that Europe will do justice and consider the present act of piracy unjustifiable. While seeming to encourage us, Europe closes its eyes to the violation of our territory. These attacks are sufficient to make our population lose confidence in the new régime and consider the old better fitted to defend our territory. The last act is without parallel even in barbaric times. Italy has declared war and sent her fleet and army to invade a province whose people desire to live under our jurisdiction, to bombard ports and capture boats. We wish only that Europe should appreciate this act of piracy and give its verdict, considering the undeniable fact that the ultimatum orders us to evacuate Tripoli for no other reason than that Italy wants it. It is impossible to call this an heritage of the ancient régime. Tripoli cannot be considered an autonomous province; it is a vital part of Turkey. Seeking a reason for the occupation of an immense country, Italy's brutal ultimatum accuses us of failing in our mission of humanity and civilization—a truly original *casus belli*. If Tripoli has not reached the stage of civilization desired by Italy, we reply that Italy is certainly inferior in civilization to England and Germany. We ask Italy if she would be content to see Sicily invaded by England under the same pretext. The new régime is still young. It is unjust to expect us to transform Tripoli into a paradise in three years. The other contention of the ultimatum referring to the proximity of Tripoli and alleging that commercial relations lack security is ridiculous and an insufficient pretext for an act of aggression. Italy underestimates our means of resistance. Turkey protests as one man against this unjustifiable aggression, and will lay down her arms only when the former conditions are restored. We are convinced that our appeal will not be in vain, and that Europe will, out of respect for the principles of civilization and humanity, aid us in our fight against the unprecedented aggression of Italy, who, calling herself civilized, proves by her conduct that she lacks every element constituting true civilization."

Indignation in Constantinople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT) Constantinople, Oct. 1

THE Italian ultimatum and declaration of war have caused surprise and indignation among the European colonies here. It is felt that this sudden aggression on the part of a Constitutional Western State is not only calculated to endanger the peace of the Balkans, but also to arouse a bitter anti-European feeling among the Turkish masses, and to intensify that anti-foreign spirit which has manifested itself of late among a section of the educated governing classes and against which the majority of the foreign Embassies and Legations were led on one account or another to enter a protest in recent years.

Yet although the language used by the Young Turk journalists and politicians concerning Italy has sometimes been contemptuous and wounding, and although Ottoman officials and individual members or local branches of the Committee of Union and Progress have contributed to the difficulties of the Italian Consuls and merchants, yet it is generally admitted that no Italo-Turkish incident has occurred within the last two years of a nature to justify the high-handed action of the Italian Government. A certain ebullition of Chauvinist sentiment was inevitable in Turkey, given the circumstances in which the revolution of 1908 was effected and the subsequent history of the country. Italians have not been greater sufferers from it than the citizens of other States. So far as is known no Vali forcibly expropriated the houses of Italian subjects, or offered derisory compensation to the owners, no Turkish soldiers hoisted the Star and Crescent in islands claimed by Italy.

Two incidents chiefly exploited of late by the Italian Press, namely, the capture of an Italian sambuk (sailing vessel) and the detention of the captain, who complained that he was mishandled at Hodeidah; and, secondly, the refusal of the Turkish Government, acting under the pressure of the Committee of Union and Progress, to surrender an Italian girl, who had eloped with a Turk at Adana and embraced Islam, to the Italian authorities, who demanded her surrender on the ground that she was a minor and that her profession of Islam, though made with due formalities, was invalid, it must be admitted that if the Turks encroached their rights in the latter case much can be said from their point of view.

The cumulative effect of these and other incidents has doubtless acted as an irritant to Italian public opinion, but neither the misadventures of an Italian skipper nor the adventures of the Signorina Julia Canzoni can be employed by the most skillful casuists to obscure the real cause of the war—the determination of the Italians to take Tripoli from the Turks.

Italian Views.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, Oct. 1.

IN SPITE of the noisy, hysterical clamour of some of the Italian newspapers, headed, one regrets to say, by the two chief journals of Rome, whose tone is only calculated to bring ridicule on the country, Italians are entering upon war in that sober spirit which is the best sign of a quiet determination to carry the business through to the end. There may be a lack of enthusiasm and it may even be said that the war is not popular, but now that the patriotism of Italy is aroused there can be no doubt that the Government can count absolutely upon the loyal and steady support of the nation as a whole. The protests of the Socialists are finding little response, and the chief leaders of the party seem now reduced to silence. On the other hand, the attempts to create feverish excitement among the populace in the streets have also failed. There is a general feeling that the war is now an inevitable evil to be borne with fortitude and without idle boasting.

Italy's Apologist.

(FROM THE "TIMES" ROME CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, October 1.

I HAVE already sent you what I understand to be the view of the average Italian citizen with regard to the war and to-day I can supplement it with that of the Italian official. The position of both is much the same, with the exception that the latter, if he be a Minister, has been brought into more constant and painful contact with the policy of obstruction, wilful irritation, and tergiversation which has characterized Turkish dealings with Italy for some time past. It has been his lot to watch the cup of bitterness slowly filling drop by drop, often even to rise in the Chamber and minimize outrages and insults offered to his country in order to prevent some untimely explosion of popular indignation. He, more than any one else, has felt that the cup was filled to overflowing.

The English Press, at first benevolent to the Italian cause, has been exclaiming against what seemed the sudden violence of the Italian ultimatum. It would be difficult to explain that the provocation offered and the actual conditions in which it was offered really acquit Italian action of any unexpected violence, for only the Turkish Government can know how it has itself deliberately, step by step, pushed Italy over the brink of peace. Italians are somewhat inclined to resent this change of attitude on the part of their English friends. They had hoped that England would have more willingly given them credit for patience and a wish to maintain peace which only absolute necessity has broken down. The relations between Italy and Turkey seemed doomed to be poisoned in perpetuity by this festering sore. There was but one remedy left, actually to occupy Tripoli and so resolutely cut out the cause of discomfort. The moment had come when Italians could bear the conduct of the Turkish Government no longer, but it also happened to be the time when owing to the season of the year and the recent successful efforts made by the Turks to suppress the rebellion in Albania, there was less chance of Italy's action finding any repercussion in the Balkan Provinces.

This, as I have said, is the official or, let us say, the Government view of the situation. One might at least add in its support that outside Italy and Turkey there can be no full comprehension of the chain of events which has driven Italy to immediate action. The Turks are past masters in the art of covert provocation, and their Government was probably far less surprised by the Italian ultimatum than were the other nations of Europe.

Rome, September 29

Now that the Italian Government has taken the irrevocable step it can count absolutely on the support of the country as a whole. The cry of the protest raised by the Socialists meant little or nothing. The failure of their anti-war demonstrations served only to show that patriotism is still alive in Italy and that Italians, for the most part, will put the honour of their country before their private interests. This is the more to their credit since they make no illusions for themselves on the score of material advantage. They know that Italy can hope for no profit from the adventure. Recent expeditions in the Tripolitaine have proved that as a home for some future Italian colony the territory is useless. Neither the climate, nor the nature of the soil, nor any other conditions are favourable for agricultural enterprise. The possibility of mineral wealth is too problematic to be worth considering. Moreover, such experience as Italy has had of the indigenous population would show that administration of the Tripolitaine will be a difficult task, subject to constant interruptions from unruly Arab tribes. War, even preparation for war, is a costly matter, and this is not a moment when Italy can contemplate with a light heart any increase in her expenditure. And yet there are but few Italians who, while confessing their distrust of the adventure and their misgivings as to its ultimate results, will not at the same time declare that Italy could not have acted otherwise and that the Government

has rightly interpreted the spirit of the nation. There are occasions, they would say, when a country, as an individual, acts well in running counter to the dictates of commonsense just as a man, in disregard of all friendly advice, may do well to challenge another to a duel for the mere satisfaction of his own self-respect, so Italy, careless of all inevitable loss, may do well to embark on a costly adventure for the satisfaction of her *amour propre*. To appreciate the general feeling of Italians on this matter one must recall the constant humiliations they have suffered on the African shores of the Mediterranean. If ever a country seemed by its geographic position to have a right to an extensive footing on that side of the sea, it was Italy. Partly owing to want of prescience on the part of her statesmen, partly owing to ill-luck she has had to stand by and see all that she desired absorbed by nations stronger than herself. She has never ceased regretting that she refused to enter the door opened for her by England in Egypt. That was, indeed, her own fault, but the absorption of Tunis and Morocco by another Power was less her fault and it has left her with no prospect but the barren area bordering the Cyrenaic Gulf of which even the *Hinterland* is practically claimed by others. However useless the Tripolitaine may be from a material point of view, it is the one and only opening left to Italy on the African shores which face her own. Her right there has been recognized by the other Powers of the Mediterranean and she clings to the assertion of that right. It was not unnatural that such an assertion on her part found no favour with the actual owners of the Tripolitaine, particularly at a moment when, under the inspiration of the Young Turks, the Turkish nation was beginning to develop an *amour propre* of its own. But what has irritated the Italians beyond all bearing is the feeling that the Turkish reprisals would never have been made against a stronger nation than herself. She has seen all her attempts at "peaceful penetration" thwarted at every turn, her subjects not unfrequently ill-treated, her Government flouted when it sought redress. She knows that no German, French or British representations would have been treated with the ill-concealed contempt with which the Turkish authorities have met her own, and this knowledge is full of bitterness. For once she feels a real necessity, outweighing all other considerations, to rehabilitate herself not so much in the sight of Europe as in her own eyes. That, at least, seems the point of view of the average Italian, and the average Italian is patriotic. He hates all useless adventure and dreads the consequences of this particular one, but he would rather suffer those consequences than let his country sink in his own estimation. His only complaint is that the step now taken by his Government was not taken many years ago, and in that he is quite right, but it has been the constant misfortune of Italy to act too late. It must, at least, be conceded that the Italian motives are not altogether unworthy.

Letters to the Press.

Englishmen and Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—Since the beginning of the present unfortunate state of affairs between Italy and Turkey the Turkish Embassy in London has been the recipient of letters from Englishmen living in all parts of the United Kingdom expressing their sympathy with my country and volunteering to serve in either our Army or Navy, and also letters of sympathy and offers of service from private political and intellectual bodies.

On behalf of the Turkish Embassy I desire to express, through the valuable columns of your paper, our deep appreciation of the sympathy and offer of services from our English friends, whom we cannot thank individually, because they are too numerous, and owing to the amount of work with which we have to cope at the present moment.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

DJEMAL,

Councillor of the Turkish Embassy,
London.

Imperial Ottoman Embassy, Oct. 1

Turkey and Italy.

"SPARK" writes to the Editor of the *Saturday Review*—

SIR,—Is it not possible that the burst of righteous indignation which follows invariably every "fresh violation" of Turkey's integrity should become a little wearying to the practical-minded newspaper reader, by whom I mean the man who from the materialistic standpoint discards all cant and humbug as so much lumber?

Home politics to all except members of the Cabinet and electing agents resemble a Maskelyne and Cook's entertainment—a comparison not insulting, I hope, to either—as speculation and discussion do sharpen the reasoning and deductive faculties. In foreign politics we are not even allowed to judge or attempt to guess

the trick on its own merits. Who has seen the text of a Note or heard a Conversation? The orchestra takes hold of it, sets it to suit its own music, and blows it at us in such form that I doubt whether even its originator would recognise it.

Perhaps I can make my point clearer by a comparison with Euclid. Let us start with a definition: "The Turks are unfit to govern their country, provinces, and people residing in them", then an axiom, "that as in private so in public affairs, it is better that business be carried on as smoothly as possible, i.e., that a few foreign newspapers be subsidised and that foreign secretaries' nerves receive no sudden jars." Thirdly, a postulate, that the sooner the Turkish flag disappears from the face of the earth, to be replaced by that of any or several civilised powers, the better for humanity. On these bases several very pretty theorems could be built up, but the problem that arises is always the same—"to appropriate a given piece of Turkey." And if public opinion would follow the example of private opinion by dealing with the problem on the above lines, many hard words and much hard cash would have been and would be saved. Just think of the time and labour Lord Cromer would have saved. His "anovoyia," by the way, though excellently written in many ways, must have, I think, very nearly defeated its own ends, inasmuch as his very elaborate defence of England's policy leading up to the occupation cannot but have led the average man, not historian, who had no idea that her policy ever needed defence, into inquiring more deeply into it and—well, I suppose he would not inquire deeper than a school history or encyclopædia, so that no great harm will have been done.

Then again, if only Austria had observed the axiom I laid down! If only the English public had not been—ragged is the only word I can think of—by its newspaper reporters anxious to show off their knowledge of the Berlin Treaty, England would have for once given the lie to her calumniators on the Continent, who urge, and according to modern history not unjustifiably, that she is always ready to stand up for international peace and honour, or any poor oppressed people, as long as it doesn't cost her anything. The *Saturday Review* was, I think, the only paper to keep its head and point out the futility and bad policy of making such a fuss. Germany is frankly materialist and succeeds. France from the days of Victor Hugo was the friend of the downtrodden, and from personal experience the Frenchman is to-day the most welcome stranger in the East, in Greece, in Poland, in Bohemia.

Well, well, poor Italy is coming in for her share of hard words and all because she did not take the trouble to arm a few natives with rifles and patriotic principles or get up a plot to dethrone the Pope involving all the infidels in Tripoli.

I hope, Italia, that dislike of cant may lead others to express their sympathy for you besides

The War and the Hague Conventions.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Will you allow a private person the use of your columns to attempt to discharge a duty which all the Governments of the world have undertaken to perform, but which hitherto they have unaccountably neglected?

My only qualification for attempting such a task is that, whereas they appear to have completely forgotten the fact that The Hague Conference ever met, I remember it.

The Powers, 43 of them, sent their representatives to The Hague in 1907 to "give a fresh development" to the work begun by the Conference of 1899. That Conference recorded in an International Agreement the principles of equity and right on which are based the security of States and the welfare of the peoples. "Recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations" and "being desirous of extending the Empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of International justice," the Powers established "a Court of Arbitration accessible to all in the midst of the Independent Powers" for the pacific settlement of disputes which might hereafter arise. So impressed were they with the importance of the work they had accomplished that they unanimously declared it was their "duty" (*dévoir*) to bring it before the attention of any Powers whose dispute endangered peace. The text of this momentous declaration (Article 27 of 1899) is as follows:—

"The signatory Powers consider it their duty, if a serious dispute threaten to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the Permanent Court is open to them. Consequently they declare that the fact of reminding the conflicting parties of the provisions of the present Convention and the advice given to them in the highest interests of peace to have recourse to the Permanent Court can only be regarded as friendly actions."

In 1907, Article 27 became Article 48, with the following significant additional clause:—

"In case of conflict between two Powers, one of them can always address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration

that it would be ready to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration."

Such was the decision, such was the pledge of the world in council, the unanimous declaration, only four years old, of the representatives of all the Governments which are charged with the control of the human race!

To-day we are confronted with a war actually in progress in the east of Europe. The papers are full of talk of intervention, mediation, demonstrations, and I know not what, but nobody, from China to Peru, appears for a single moment to have remembered the existence of The Hague Conventions. Neither of the disputants has appealed to its Tribunal, and, what is still more amazing, not one of the 43 contracting parties had thought it worth while to perform the "duty" which they undertook to discharge in 1907.

This is the bewildering, the stupefying fact, which will puzzle the future historian, and which is well calculated to dismay all those who believe in the ordered progress of human society.

My purpose, however, in calling attention to The Hague Convention is not to wring my hands in unavailing lament over the apostasy of Government and their abandonment of the lofty principles they professed in 1907. I have a much more practical end in view.

Every one professes to be anxious to stop the war, but neither of the disputants has taken the most obvious method of attaining that desirable end. May I venture to point out that although hostilities have begun, the way of peace is still open through the door of arbitration? The latter clause of Article 48 quoted above is conclusive on this point. This clause was added to the original Article 27 of the Convention of 1899. It expressly sets forth that "in case of a conflict between two Powers" either of the disputants can *always* address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration that it would be ready to submit to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration, which Power would either have to accept the arbitration thus offered or face the responsibility for refusing to refer the merits of the case to an impartial international tribunal, together with the discredit unavoidably attaching to such a refusal.

In the present dispute, one of the disputants has pre-judged somewhat its own case by a precipitate appeal to the sword. But that fact does not preclude it from appealing to a more civilized and more rational arbitrament. Still less does it deprive the Power attacked from that appeal which the Conference expressly declared can "always" be made. Why, then, should either Turkey or Italy hesitate to appeal, under Article 48, to The Hague for the settlement of their dispute?

Most of the questions in dispute, as set forth by the Italian statement of grievances, "arise from difference of opinion on points of fact, which the contracting Powers, Italy and Turkey included, deemed it expedient and desirable should be sent to an International Commission of Inquiry in order to "facilitate a solution of these disputes by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation" (Article 29). The points in dispute which do not come under this category might be referred to arbitration.

The question of the ultimate ownership of Tripoli is not a matter which Turkey or Italy can settle either by war or by agreement between themselves. The ultimate disposition of any part of the Ottoman Empire can only be decided by the Powers of the European Concert under the Treaties of 1856 and 1878.

Italy, through Count Niox and Count Tornelli, took a leading part in framing the Conventions of The Hague. The Italians have always been faithful and energetic supporters of the principle of international arbitration. It was their boast in 1907 that they led the van of the nations in this cause. Despite adverse appearances, I refuse to believe that the true Italy, which we have loved and revered for 50 years, has vanished from the world. If the Turkish Government would offer to submit the whole dispute to arbitration it will be difficult for any Italian Government under any specious plea to explain to its own subjects why it has not made an affirmative response to the offer of their adversary.

But in any case there is a plain duty before all civilized men in every country in the world. The Hague Conventions, however much they may be derided and neglected, represent the aspirations of all that is highest and best in the human heart. They also embody the mature result of the experience and reflection of the responsible rulers of all the nations in the world. They are the millions of men and women in both hemispheres the most authoritative expression of the moral conscience of mankind.

To make war without having first invoked the aid of the machinery therein created for the avoidance of armed conflict is not merely to make war upon a single State; it is to declare war upon The Hague Conventions. This forces all those whose zeal and enthusiasm and patient labour have built up these Conventions to resort to any and every lawful means at their disposal to repel the aggression and to punish the aggressor. If Italy were merely making war on Turkey for the purpose of annexing Tripoli it would be as nothing compared

to the war which she is waging against The Hague Conventions, with the certain result, that, if she succeeds, she will have destroyed the faith of the nations in the existence of such a thing as international right, of which The Hague Tribunal is the supreme concrete embodiment.

The Caliph of Islam is said to be considering whether in response to this attack by a Christian Power upon the Moslem Empire in Africa he ought to proclaim a Jihad in defence of endangered Islam. Whatever course he may decide upon, the time has come for the proclamation of another Holy War, waged not with cannon and bayonet, but the as yet unused arm of the pacifist, the silent, persistent, but relentless boycott of the nation which in cynical defiance of its own professions at The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 is waging deadly war against the principles of arbitration and of international justice.

It is now or never with us. We have our backs to the wall. If we surrender the Temple of Justice reared by the labours of successive generations into the lawless hands who are substituting international anarchy for international law, we shall hereafter attempt in vain to lay the foundations of the world's peace upon its shattered ruins.

The Governments of the world may forget their "duty." The nations have a better memory. In the name of all the high hopes which hailed the creation of The Hague Tribunal we appeal, and we shall not appeal in vain, to all those in whom conscience is not finally extinct, to defend this palladium of the world's peace as men fight to defend their fatherland against an invading foe.

I am, yours truly,
WILLIAM T. STEAD.

French Pacifist Appeal.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, October 25th.

THE outbreak of war has acted like a bomb-shell in the congregation of the pacifists. Italy was such an active member of the last Hague Conference that her French pacifist friends are horrified at her present action. M. d'Estournelles de Constant has addressed a letter to the French Prime Minister in which he notes that "for several years, by virtue of one of those secret agreements which are still a tradition of our Republican policy, France has encouraged the present action of Italy in Tripoli." For this reason and because the Italian action excludes the possibility of an appeal to arbitration by the belligerents themselves, must France, asks M. d'Estournelles de Constant, confine herself to the rôle of a disinterested spectator? He thinks that, on the contrary, it is the interest of all the Powers to stop a war which may last for years, which may ultimately involve other countries, and which may entail ruinous consequences for the Italian nation. He therefore appeals to M. Cailiaux to consider whether the French Government, without abandoning any of its diplomatic engagements or its attitude of friendliness towards Italy, could not offer its good offices to both parties in the sense of Article 48 of The Hague Convention of 1907.

The "Times" on Arbitration.

October 5th.

WE publish this morning a resolution adopted yesterday by the National Peace Council and a characteristic letter on the same subject from Mr. W. T. Stead. They urge the Government to offer mediation, either alone, or in co-operation with other signatories of The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, and to press upon Italy the submission of her complaints and claims against Turkey to The Hague Court or to some other method of international determination. Their case is of course mainly based upon the well-known provisions of the Articles in the Convention of 1907, which they set out. On paper it looks very well, and we have no doubt whatever that our Government will do what the French Government have promised M. d'Estournelles de Constant to do, and use their endeavours to promote mediation in accordance with the terms of the Conventions. We are as anxious as the National Peace Council themselves that success may crown these endeavours. We cannot, however, pretend to be very confident on the subject. The articles on which the Council and Mr. Stead rely were carefully framed so as to leave loopholes for Powers who may not choose in given circumstances to be bound by them. Both of them are qualified by the elastic phrase "so far as circumstances allow," to which the Council do not appear to have paid sufficient attention. Italy would probably reply to any indiscreet insistence upon her obligation to have gone to arbitration before she resorted to arms, or upon the rights of third Powers to tender their good offices without offence, that in her judgment circumstances did not allow the one and do not allow the other. Mr. Stead would have the other signatories coerce her into submission by the institution of a grand international "boycott" of her trade. The idea is magnificent, but it is not practical politics, or even

commonsense. The truth is that these and other provisions in Peace Conventions are only effective in a world given over to *Realpolitik*, if and when, the parties invoking them are able and willing to assert them by armed force. They cannot in the present imperfect state of civilization be a substitute for that force. This, perhaps, is the most valuable, as it is the most direct, lesson taught to us and to others by events in the Mediterranean. We trust that it will not be thrown away upon the nation or even upon all of our eminent peacemakers.

Press Opinion.

The "Times."

October 2nd.

ITALY has raised the phantom of the Eastern question, and it may prove difficult to lay. The extreme moderation of Turkish statesmen and the desire of many of the chief Powers to conjure that phantom are the principal grounds for hope in a gloomy situation. The Turkish Government on Saturday night issued another circular to the Powers. They note the existence of the state of war which followed upon the Italian declaration, but they announce Turkey's resolve to suspend the execution of war-like measures, and the despatch of a fresh appeal to the Powers "in the hope that there is still time to avoid war," though they acknowledge that the course they are taking is against the sentiment of the nation. No measures, it is proclaimed in an official communication to the Press, will be taken against Italian subjects or interests in Turkey until the result of this appeal is known. It is impossible not to recognize both the wisdom and the courage which these documents display. Nobody who knows Turkish opinion, whether amongst the advanced section of the Young Turks or amongst the Conservative masses, can doubt that the easy and popular course for the Turkish Government to take would have been to meet the Italian demands by defiance, and by resort to all hostile measures against the tens of thousands of Italian residents in the Empire which the laws of war permit. But action of that kind would have been as reckless and as unpatriotic as it would have been popular. The Turkish Ministers deserve high credit for the self-sacrifice with which they have postponed their personal ambitions and interests to what they sagaciously recognize as the real and abiding interests of the State. How long they will be able to maintain their attitude in the face of such events as the bombardment of Preveza remains to be seen.

October 4th.

There is no doubt that the Powers are exerting themselves in the cause of peace, and if only the Chauvinism of a section of the Young Turks and the fanaticism of the Mahumadan masses can be restrained to the end, the Turkish statesmen may resign themselves to bow to the inevitable. The Turks have always known how to submit to the irresistible force without loss of dignity.

October 5th.

The Italian flag will probably fly over Tripoli to-day, if it is not flying there already. No discredit falls upon the Turkish garrison or their commander for this result. It was inevitable. They were utterly outmatched and outnumbered, and they appear to have done all that the honour of their flag and their old renown in arms demanded of them. Our Rome correspondent makes some statements as to the attitude of Italy which should check the foolish and the interested rumours that have been circulated of the imminence of peace. He assures us that no peace overtures will be even considered in Rome until the annexation of the vilayet is accomplished and an irrevocable fact. That, indeed, has been clear to serious observers from the first. Nations do not readily draw back their hand when the prey they seek is already within their grasp. We hear from the same source with more surprise, and with rather less implicit belief, that Italy now holds it to be too late to talk of coming to an arrangement with her opponent on the basis of a money indemnity. We cannot help thinking that as a mere matter of political business the conclusion of such an arrangement, if Turkey would consent to it, might be very much to her advantage. Oversea expeditions are very costly undertakings as she will very soon find out, if she has not made the discovery already; and the special conditions of Tripoli, where food and forage are scarce, bid fair to make this particular expedition unusually expensive should it be prolonged. We have already touched upon some of the general considerations of a political character which must render it undesirable for her as a Great Power to have a large proportion of her military forces indefinitely detained outside her own borders. It cannot hurt her dignity or her susceptibilities to do what Austria-Hungary wisely did when she annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. All this is so simple and so manifest that, despite any declarations which may be made in the flush of a first success, we shall not readily believe that Italian statesmen will "bang, bolt, and bar" the door on what may ultimately prove to be the readiest and the cheapest way out of a situation not unattended by embarrassing possibilities.

The "Nation."

October 7th.

THE progress of the Italian adventure in Tripoli resembles an execution rather than a war. From the assumption of the black cap to the erection of the gallows, the whole dismal procedure has followed its appointed time-table and prescribed routine with punctuality and an inevitability which forbids us to regard it as a struggle. Italy has pronounced sentence, and Turkey has been the victim of a superior force, which lacked nothing of judicial authority save justice itself. The nice adjustment of the prescribed delays and the uneventful pauses which intervened between the successive stages of ultimatum, blockade, and bombardment, have only heightened the effect of the parody. One could not call it a lynching—it has been a hanging in due form. If we cannot think of Italy as a nation which has risked life and honor in war, even less can we feel that the Turks enjoy a gallant people's compensations amid the miseries and losses of a forlorn hope. There is, needed, a formal state of war, but Turkey assumes of necessity that familiar attitude of passivity, under which she used to be constrained to endure a naval demonstration or the occupation of a customs house. Her shells at Tripoli fall harmless in the sea, her fleet retires to the shelter of the Dardanelles, her cockle-shell despatch boats on the Adriatic coast submit to capture or run themselves aground. A spectacle so repellent and so unsoldierly as this can but increase the disgust with which Italy's action is almost universally regarded in Europe. Where the disparity of force between the aggressor and the victim is so overwhelming as in this instance it is the normal checks which restrain a modern nation from wanton warfare are absent. The risks and the accidents of war are commonly so great, even when a strong Power attacks a weak people, that some adequate cause is usually required to bring about a breach of peace. To excuse the certainty of a slaughter of her own sons which will be reckoned at least in hundreds, there must be fierce passions, substantial wrongs, or great stakes. But a war undertaken without passion or provocation, because it seemed to be free from risk and to promise profit is the gravest of all offences against the comity of nations. It is the act of a hound who enjoys the security of a judge.

It would be unprofitable to analyse in detail the sorry document in which Italy has thought fit to expose the weakness of her case. As one passed from the story of the Italian girl who had been converted to Islam in Syria, to the tale of the native smugglers under the Italian flag who had been arrested in Arabia, and reached the climax of the wrong done to Italy in the despatch of a Turkish transport to a Turkish province, one only reflected that honesty, even in this minor matter, would have been the wiser policy. Italy has resolved to take Tripoli because she thought that the condition of Europe made a favorable moment for the realisation of an ambition which she has cherished since first she became a nation and avowed with hardly a disguise for twenty years. If Tripoli has not been under Turkish rule a soil for her economic expansion and emigration as friendly as she could have wished, the reason is only that she had been at such little pains to conceal from the Turks that her banks and her emigrants were the pioneers and forerunners of a political conquest. Her procedure differs vitally in form from that which we and the French have followed in other regions of North Africa, but its motive and its outcome are substantially the same. A stage of pacific penetration preceded the occupation of Egypt and Morocco. The entry of France and British capital was sufficiently gradual and sufficiently hesitating to provoke resistance. We could point to the massacre at Alexandria as the French could use the murders at Casablanca as a pretext for entry. The authority of the Khedive in Egypt and the Sultan in Morocco had become shadowy and ineffective, whereas the prestige of the Turks stood unchallenged in Tripoli. There was rebellion in Egypt and civil war in Morocco to excuse intervention. In Tripoli, under a Government which was certainly defective and unprogressive, outward order was seldom troubled. These are differences which make the Italian aggression incomparably more brutal and more wanton than any previous conquest in North Africa. France went originally to Algiers to destroy a nest of pirates. Italy has assailed a Power which ranks among civilized nations, and its struggling with doubtful omens towards ordered liberty. But the fact remains that the driving force in this violent expansion is the same which carried our troops to Cairo and the French army to Fez. The last and the worst of these adventures is possible only because of the precedents which went before it.

The problem which Italy has made for a Europe that has lost all sense of cohesion is too urgent to permit of much indulgence in academic reflection. It presents itself as a grievous dilemma. If, on the one hand, Turkey should decline compromise and trust to the Arabs and her feeble garrison to make the Italian occupation of the interior dangerous and difficult, the war will be protracted. Italy will be tempted to strike some blow nearer the heart of the Empire and no pressure will avail to restrain the Balkan states from taking advantage of Turkish weakness. If on the other hand, Turkey, with such dignity of resignation as she can command, accepts the inevitable and surrenders Tripoli at a price, we must reckon on internal unrest

which will be scarcely less dangerous than war. The Balkan Powers and the non-Turkish races have witnessed the present impotence of a concert, which in the past had always been weak for reform but strong to maintain the *status quo*. The effects of such a shock to public confidence may be felt long after the original disturbance has subsided. A State unprepared to seize the occasion now may argue that a Europe so weak to-day will hardly be stronger next Spring. The Turks will be surprisingly wise and more Christian than the whole of Christendom if they avoid the temptation to make their yoke heavier and their back stiffer in dealing with races and states which lack a navy. The impulse to take some action which may restore their prestige, and the desire to prove that their army at least is not to be despised, may deflect their policy, already sufficiently chauvinistic, for years to come. Italy may indeed contrive to limit her concern to Tripoli but for the rest of Europe, and above all, for the Balkan peoples, her egoism may have started a *terribile momentum* of mischiefs.

"Truth."

October 4th.

TO READ the observations of neighbouring nations on the Italian adventure in Tripoli is like hearing a party of ladies with a past discussing the conduct of some damsel who has lapsed from virtue. It is truly edifying to note the up-lifting of hands and eyebrows, the holding of fans before blushing cheeks, the various expressions of shocked sensibilities in France, England, Germany and Austria, and I dare say also in Spain, Russia and Japan. But as a matter of justice it is as well to reflect that Italy has done little or nothing more than they have all done in their time, and would probably have done this time if they had been in her place. To say this is not to extenuate the conduct of the Italian Government. As one sanctimonious German critic observes, the proceeding is "brutal." But as compared with many of the precedents, its peculiar brutality is more a matter of form than of substance—a breach of the standard of gentlemanly manners by which international brigandage is nowadays regulated—and the act itself is most certainly the direct outcome of the recent proceedings of the various neighbours who are so terribly shocked by it.

Since she became a European power Italy has always cherished and avowed ambitions in regard to the southern shore of the Mediterranean. It was a grievous disappointment to her when the French absorbed Tunis, and her acquiescence in that move was only given grudgingly and of necessity. From that date there has been a sort of tacit understanding that she had a reversionary interest in Tripoli, expectant upon the demise of the sick man at Constantinople, and she has acquired by the movement and enterprise of private citizens interests in the country greater than those of France, much less Germany, in Morocco. Nevertheless, she has had to look on while Egypt has gradually fallen under the thumb of England and while France has extended her North African empire to the shores of the Atlantic. Two years ago she saw the Austrian occupation of two Turkish provinces converted into a formal annexation, Germany aiding and abetting, in defiance of treaty engagements with the other Great Powers and without even a pretence of asking their assent. It is not surprising that her statesmen should have thought that the impending conclusion of the Morocco agreement between France and Germany offered as good an opportunity as was likely to occur of making good an Italian feeling in Tripoli. With the lesson of Morocco before their eyes, they may well have guessed that Germany, having relinquished her claims on that country, might turn her attention to Tripoli, and that it would not take long for the active and enterprising Teuton to establish interests in that country which, under the friendship of the Sultan, would develop with astonishing speed. If a German company once came to Tripoli with a concession from Constantinople it would be good-bye to all Italy's reversionary estate in that country. She would have then to deal with Berlin, not with Constantinople. That is the lesson of Agadir for Italian statesmen. They had further before their eyes the lesson of Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely, that if you see your way to lop a province off the Ottoman Empire without any other power interfering, you are justified in lopping without any reference to the views of other people. The Italians are not a slow-witted people. They have had a series of object lessons and their statesmen appear to have profited by them. As a matter of practical politics and setting ethics aside, I should say they were wise in deciding that if Tripoli was ever to be absorbed without serious risk of trouble with other Powers the present is the time for setting about it.

The outburst of virtuous indignation with which the *coup* has been received north of the Alps has evidently been inspired less by conscious rectitude than by selfish apprehensions regarding the consequences. It is not easy to see, however, what the other nations are afraid of. France has certainly no ground for alarm, and, with her jaws closing on Morocco, she might have had the

decency to keep silence about the propriety of her neighbour's conduct in Tripoli. For Germany, who has been nursing her influence at Constantinople for years and cultivating the part of friend and protector of Turkey, it is no doubt inconvenient that a member of the Triple Alliance should proceed to lay hands by force on a large slice of the Sultan's dominions. It is always inconvenient when two parties, with both of whom you want to be on good terms, fall out with one another; but the consequences in this case do not appear to amount to more than temporary inconvenience. The position of this country in the affair is much the same, with the additional element that we are specially interested in the effect of the incident upon our numerous Muhammadan subjects and upon our quasi-subjects in Egypt. This point is represented in the press as one of most serious import to us. But for the last five-and-twenty years our Muhammadan subjects have never had any reason to suppose that we have undertaken to champion the Sultan of Turkey against all comers, and we on our side have no reason to suppose that they except this of us. A good many slices have been lopped off the Ottoman Empire since 1877 without any protest on our part and without any visible effect upon our Muhammadan subjects. It is difficult to suppose that the Commander of the Faithful, viewed to-day in the Oriental world as he was half a century ago, and since the last revolution at Constantinople he has certainly fallen into contempt among a good many of his own Mussulman subjects, if not among ours. As for Egypt, no Egyptian of the present generation can seriously regard himself as a subject of the Sultan, and after the Egyptians have seen their own country occupied by British troops, and Algiers, Tunis and Morocco successively swallowed up by France, it is difficult to understand why the equanimity of the Egyptians should be disturbed by the hoisting of the Italian flag in Tripoli.

As usual British journalists are engaged in painting the situation in the most lurid colours. The public is given to understand that not only has a blow been struck which shakes international morality to its foundations, but that the whole Eastern Question has been reopened, that all the Great Powers are in danger of being set by the ears, and that we must arm ourselves and prepare for the Armageddon so long foretold by the prophets. No one who knows what he is talking about will deny that there is an element of danger for the rest of Europe in any incident which affects the integrity of what is left of the Ottoman Empire. But when the present situation is examined rationally, it appears that the danger chiefly depends upon what happens at Constantinople and what the Turks may do in face of this unexpected and unprovoked attack upon them. If they follow the fashionable doctrine of international politics they will demand "compensation," as Germany demanded compensation for the occupation of Fetz by the French, and if they want to make themselves particularly unpleasant and if their domestic situation allows of their doing so, they might follow the example of the Italians themselves by seeking compensation from the nearest neighbour whom they feel they can attack successfully—for example by taking a province from Greece. But there are a good many ifs here. Of course, there is also a possibility that claims for "compensation" may be put forward from other directions. A good many of Turkey's neighbours regard themselves as having reversionary interests in her estates besides Italy—Russia, to wit, and the various Balkan States. It is open to any of them to suggest that as one reversioner has anticipated the demise of the tenant for life and taken possession of his inheritance, others may as well do the same. In this way the whole Eastern Question may be reopened. But these are mere visionary possibilities. Austria, Germany and Russia between them can easily keep the Balkan States in order if they have the will, and there is no reason to doubt that they have it. As for Turkey, Tripoli is of no more value to her than it is to Italy—probably less. Her interest is to acquiesce in what she cannot prevent, and to all appearance her Government is disposed to do so, unless it is carried off its legs by some outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism. Failing any unfortunate development in that direction, the solution of the difficulty will probably be found in some conventional arrangement which will save the face of the Sublime Porte and give the Italians the practical footing in Tripoli which they demand. It is the business of our own and other Governments concerned to labour for some such result, and they ought to be able between them to bring it about. In that case Armageddon will have to be postponed again.

In the meantime, the less said north of the Alps about the moral aspect of the affair the better. If it were necessary that judgment should be pronounced upon Italy, this might be done at Berne or The Hague by a committee of the minor States of Europe. Assuredly no Great Power should have a voice in that judgment. But it is only fair to reflect that if Italy had consulted her neighbours before taking any action she would have thrown an apple of discord into their midst, creating a much greater international difficulty than exists at present, and very possibly not getting what she wanted in the end. From her own point of view she was certainly wiser in acting on the principle of "*L'Italia farà da sé*," and it is a question whether the other Powers ought not

to be grateful to her for presenting them with a *fait accompli* (more or less) and leaving them to make the best they can of it.

—*Scrutator*

The "Spectator."

September 30th

ITALY hopes by means of her Navy to isolate the war, if the Turks should resist, by preventing Turkish troops from being sent to Tripoli; but we need hardly say that if the Turks entered upon a war at all they would not fall in with this idea of restricting it to places which suited the convenience of their enemy. Reprisals would be taken against Italians throughout Turkey, and a boycott of Italian commerce—a form of retaliation at which the Turks are becoming considerable adepts—would no doubt be energetically practised. So far as we can learn, the number of regular Turkish troops in Tripoli is something over twenty thousand. But the most serious trouble in the long run might come from the native population, above all from the Senussi. Even if the Turkish Government thought a struggle hopeless and abandoned the attempt to hold Tripoli, they might determine to pull the whole fabric of European stability to pieces. Thus they could do by seizing Greek territory. Such an act would be the signal for all the Balkan peoples to stand to arms, and no one knows what might follow. The Turks, we may be sure, will not be pushed out of their empire piece by piece without knowing the reason why. As for Italy, her troubles in Tripoli might outlast by years an official Turkish resistance. When Bosnia was handed over to Austria-Hungary by the Treaty of Berlin, the Austrians had to suppress a protracted rising against their rule, in spite of the fact that they had the formal sanction of the Sultan. The past history of Italy in relation to Turkey in no way prepared Europe for the present crisis. When the Treaty of Berlin was being negotiated, Bismarck and Bismarck offered Italy the island of Mytilene, Tunis and Tripoli. Italy declined, saying through her representative, if tradition speaks truly, that she desired to keep her hands "unsouled." In 1881, again, she would not take the action in Egypt which was suggested to her. Even in 1899 Italy did not object when Great Britain and France absorbed the hinterland of Tripoli. We do not, of course, mean that Italy, as her interests and her strength grow, should not extend her influence and exact just treatment for her nationals. In that respect Italians would enjoy here all the sympathy which springs from the ancient British affection for their country. But Italy knew the inestimable advantage of being helped and encouraged by stronger Powers when she was picking out her own feeble steps in the way of freedom and independence. We deeply regret that the Young Turks, who in spite of all their faults, provide the only feasible government for Turkey at this time, should not be allowed a reasonable opportunity to win their way through, if they can, to a better and wiser system of government. Turkey ought to be most carefully maintained in her prestige because she is the hub of a wheel, and if this hub is smashed the spokes fall into one knows not what confusion.

It must not be supposed that the perilous crisis which Italy has precipitated by her action in respect of Tripoli is due to a sudden outburst over a suddenly discovered grievance. The complaints of Italians against the treatment they have received in Tripoli from the local Turkish authorities are of long standing and are genuine enough. At the same time it is safe to say that if Germany had not sent her ships to Agadir and if, to look further back, Austria-Hungary had not annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy would not now be threatening intervention in Tripoli and holding the peace of the world up to auction. Violent and provocative methods become an inevitable part of diplomacy when the tone of international dealings has become so forced and reckless that quiet and simple methods no longer appeal with the necessary urgency. Diplomacy in these circumstances is like the conversation of people who shout at one another louder and louder in order to make themselves heard. When the public law of Europe was violated in 1903 we feared that there would be many and various consequences of a very undesirable kind. Affairs in Morocco and Tripoli are instances of the new spirit of impatience and want of consideration, and we fear that there are more examples to come. The Italian Government has succeeded in imposing a very efficient censorship on news during the last few days; so efficient, indeed, has it been in serving its purposes that the only English comments which appear to have reached Italian readers are in praise of a strong anti-Turkish policy. If such praise has been expressed here we have misused it. The general feeling, which we sincerely share, is unquestionably one of deep regret that Italy has rushed into a position from which escape may be impossible except by war. And this regret is based largely on a real sympathy and friendship for Italy, because no one here who has seriously thought the matter over can persuade himself that Italy, if committed to a military occupation of Tripoli, stands to gain anything at all proportionate to the expenditure, the sacrifice of lives, and the anxiety in which she will be involved.

In writing of the Morocco negotiations we have said more than once lately that when Germany and France had settled their differences the demands of Spain and Italy would be announced. Germany, absorbed in her negotiations with France, appears to have ignored the possibility that Italy's plan of action would not have direct reference to Morocco, but take shape in a country which raises most embarrassing questions for Germany. But for her absorption in the Morocco business, Germany might well have remembered that last winter and again during the past summer Italy requested Turkey in the plainest terms to cease putting hindrances in the way of Italian commercial enterprises in Tripoli. The Turkish answers adopted the traditional vagueness of the Porte, and now Italy, profiting by the German example in diplomacy, has lost her judgment and embarked upon a course which of all possible courses Germany would have wished her to avoid. Germany must choose between her ally and the nation whose friendship she has assiduously cultivated in and out of season. She cannot be frankly favourable to both; the only possible third course is a weak and equivocal shuffle which will neither retain for her in Italy the feelings which one ally ought to have for another, nor save for her in the eyes of the Turks the reputation of being the best of Turkish patrons and the true champion of the Moslem world. Whatever Germany does she will not be doing good business. It is Nemesis. The country whose ship still lies at Agadir has not a vestige of moral agency in arguing that Italy ought not to send ships to Tripoli. Italy knows this, she knows that Germany cannot possibly reprove her. As for the Young Turks, they are also put in a position of considerable embarrassment. The one country to which they should be able to appeal with confidence—Germany—is the ally of Italy, and can do practically nothing for them. Great Britain in any case has no ground for interfering, and can do little but show in a general way that her greatest interest, now as always, is peace, that she has no desire to fish in troubled waters, and that she deplores all acts which upset the *status quo*. Of course if there should be war it would be impossible to say how many sleeping dogs would not be stirred. In the present state of Europe, Turkey is the pivot of peace in the Balkans. If we wished well to the Young Turk régime for no other reason we should wish it for this reason, that the existence of a reasonably stable Turkey prevents the beginning of a general scramble. To attack Turkey is to injure the symbol of Balkan peace—to lay hands, as it were, on the Ark of the Covenant. Punishment is bound to follow and will involve many innocent persons. Greece, restless, ambitious and rather weakly vainglorious, will want to snatch whatever she can as the scene falls about her ears. We have always desired that Greece should have Crete, but we should not wish to see her grab it in such circumstances. Turkey herself, well knowing the value of putting herself where she has to be hought out by the Powers which protect Christian populations, would occupy Greek territory, say Thessaly or Epirus; the Bulgars could scarcely be restrained from rushing into Macedonia; Austria has too many ungratified ambitions to stand still while anyone else blocked her way to Salonika, and where Austria stepped in there Russia would be almost bound to follow. Apart from the mad rush to arms in Europe the occupation by a Christian Power of a Muhammadan country would cause a ferment from one end of Islam to the other. If ever Armageddon comes a Turkish war might well be the beginning of it.

The Young Turks are probably sensible enough not to refuse some concessions to Italy, but the fact cannot be insisted on too strongly that the Turks are a military people, and would not dream of swallowing anything that could be interpreted as an affront. In the last few years their authority in Tripoli has actually increased, they have sent exploring parties far into the interior, and it would be futile to overlook their desire to have a share in the development of Northern Africa. They have been encouraged by the attitude of the Senussi, those anti-foreign Moslem priests who by recognizing Turkish rule have greatly simplified the work of Turkey in Tripoli. The Turks, of course, feel quite differently about Tripoli and Tunis, the latter country has slipped from their grasp in all but name, but Tripoli is a genuine Turkish possession. Ever since the military party got the upper hand in reformed Turkey the Italians have been deeply mistrusted in Tripoli. The local authorities have so far as possible prevented Italians from starting new commercial enterprises and from renting land. If Italy simply demanded that these grievances should be redressed—in other words, that the Turks should not discriminate against Italians in any way and that commercial opportunities should be the same for all—we should heartily sympathize with her. It is because she threatens war without any attempt to state her grievances precisely and ask for precise remedies that we are filled with misgiving. A military adventure in Tripoli would cost Italy many millions of pounds, and returns would scarcely be as many thousands. It is true that she can prevent fresh Turkish troops from coming by sea, thanks to her vastly superior naval strength, but she would still have to get herself accepted, so to speak, by the native population in an extraordinarily difficult country—a country that is almost without water and without roads. In the interior the way is blocked by hills with narrow passes that are capable of prolonged and easy defence. A determined and decently

armed population would give the Italian troops an enormous amount of trouble. The Senussi alone, perhaps, would harass them for years after the regular Turkish troops had been disposed of. We earnestly trust, for all the reasons we have mentioned, that Italy and Turkey may at the last moment be able to come to terms, and that Germany, although she has tied her own hands, may somehow be able to play the part of honest broker between them.

"M. A. P."

THE Turcotripolitanian—my own word—the Turcotripolitanian trouble leaves me as cold as the many unfortunate men, women and children who will shortly lie dead unless the devil can be driven from the breasts of European diplomatists.

Some strict people seem to imagine that Italy has been guilty of some particularly heinous crime because she has gulped down Tripoli at one mouthful. These moralists do not mind a country devouring new territory provided that the appropriating is done slowly, as in Egypt. Now

It may be rude

To bolt your food,

but if the food is stolen from your neighbour, it really does not matter whether you munch it or swallow it, always assuming that you do not choke.

The conquest of Tripoli by Italy is really no worse than the conquest of Korea by Japan, or of Egypt by Great Britain, or of Morocco by France, or of Bosnia by Austria. My only hope is that the Republic of Hayti will not be tempted by these precedents to annex the Isles of Wight. I mention this misgiving because the treatment of Jack Johnson by the Rev. F. B. Meyer assuredly affords a clear *casus belli*—which means excuse for bullets—to the civilising statesmen of the Black Republic.

If I were the Poet Dante, I should not hesitate to employ my literary faculties by consigning the Italian Cabinet to the depths of the Inferno, where I would have these gentlemen either roasted head downwards with their toes twiddling in the air, or packed like Australian mutton in chests of chilly ice, or turned into trees with blood for sap and tears for dew—preferably gooseberry bushes.

Italy is a land of artists, and perhaps the most æsthetic touch in her case against Turkey is the sad narrative of the young Italian girl, Giulia Franzoni, aged sixteen, who was forcibly converted to Islam and married to a Mussalman. When I heard that Tripoli was to be seized, I felt assured that there would be somewhere or other a lady in the case.

Italy, and especially Sicily, from which plumed island she drew her Foreign Secretary, is a good judge of violence. Whatever irregularities may stain the innocent annals of the Barbary States, it is certain that the vendettas of Naples and Sicily continue to be a disgrace to Europe and to the Government which dares not suppress them. There is such a thing as civilisation, like charity, beginning at home.

The sad case of Giulia Franzoni, who for all we know may be living in great content with her husband, is backed by the complaint that the authorities in Tripoli refuse to borrow money from Italy for wireless telegraphy and railway construction. This subtle association of maiden virtue with Marconigramphonetics—another new word—shows that the genius of Machiavelli still semineates in the Umbrian groves. I remember a time when Lord Halsbury and Sir Frederick Banbury declined to allow trains to cross the bridge at Westminster, and I cannot conceive why Italy did not then step in to annex Camberwell. Battersea is just the very place for a bombardment. In that noble suburb you cannot avoid hitting non-combatants—Mr. Burns does it every day.

Italy's pathetic desire to confer the inestimable boon of wireless telegraphy on the desert tribes of Berberia strikes me as being the more unselfish, because, judging from all the textbooks, there is no country in Europe that might more suitably than Italy devote a little of its surplus capital to its own impoverished provinces.

Here is a description of Italy by Dr Theodore Fischer, taken from *the International Geography*.—

Agriculture no longer stands at its former high level. The system of large estates and the prevalence of malaria renders great areas of the most fertile land unproductive. In some provinces only 18 per cent of the land is under cultivation, and the average for the whole country is 37 per cent., while only 11 per cent. can be considered as naturally unproductive. Cattle breeding is in a still worse position. Italy is poor in live stock, and it is only in the north, especially in Lombardy, that cattle are profitably kept for butter and cheese.

There is a certain grim humour about this policy of financing wireless telegraphy in Tripoli while a third of Italia herself lies fallow.

I note one other fact that illustrates how disinterested is the Italian Government. In the last year of which I have record, the debt of Italy rose from 531 millions to 539 millions—an increase of £8,000,000. The new method of saving money is to start a war

whenever you find it difficult to pay your way in time of peace. War is so economical—like a prize fight at Earl's Court.

Perhaps the prettiest incident so far has been the seizure by Italy of some harmless Tripolitan fishermen on the ground that they were spies. The fishermen had the audacity to deny the charge, adding that they did not care who governed them if only they might be left alone to do their fishing in peace. Men so indifferent to wireless telegraphy will, I suppose, be shot at sight.

What doubtless angers Italy is the monstrous suggestion that perhaps Tripoli may not "belong" in any real sense either to her or to Turkey or to any outside Power. The people who own a country are always fundamentally the people who live there, and perhaps Italy will one day discover that even a Tripolitan may have his own ideas about the people who should govern him.

It is useless for me to speculate upon the question how far the conflagration will spread. I will be content with mentioning one or two possibilities. If we assume that Italy only wants Tripoli and that the war will be confined to that object, then, of course, the situation is fairly simple. Turkey has no navy and she must pay the penalty.

But there is also the Balkan Peninsula to be considered. The Queen of Italy is a Montenegrin Princess. Her august father has just assumed the title of King and for years past he has hankered after carving out of the Ottoman Empire a greater Montenegro—witness recent incidents on the frontier.

Again, we have Bulgaria, armed to the teeth, and panting to "liberate," which means to annex, Macedonia, a territory long drenched with Christian blood. Serbia, too, when she is not engaged upon the fascinating task of changing her dynasty, by the simple process of assassination, has aspirations for a Serbian Empire.

Even Greece has little grudge, while Austria is always ready for a second helping, whenever the plate is handed round. Russia is moderate in her aims. She only wants Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Moreover, Germany will be quite content with Asia Minor, Palestine and the Garden of Eden—otherwise, "that blessed word, Mesopotamia."

It is, perhaps, no wonder that Sir Edward Grey, after a busy Saturday at the Foreign Office, left London for a quiet week-end. I should have done the same myself.

The "Saturday Review."

September 30th

NO SOONER do the Powers appear to be emerging from the Moonish wood than they find themselves involved in the Tripolitan jungle, and of all the European States, we have least cause to be pleased with this new menace to peace. Ignorance can hardly go further than it does in certain German prints who see our hand in the Italian move. No country of all concerned runs more risk than ourselves of untoward results from this most sinister proceeding. The letter of the distinguished Muhammadan jurist Syed Amir Ali, a member of the Judicial Committee, explains to those who did not recognise it already the grave dangers that may result to all Powers with Muhammadan subjects, and especially to those with large spheres of interest in North Africa. This is of extreme import both to France and ourselves. We both have vast tracts in that region under our control, but the numbers of our Muhammadan subjects throughout the world much exceed those of any other Power. To France and ourselves the results may be incalculably troublesome and serious if anything like a Holy War were to break out in North Africa. It is not possible to say how far such a conflagration might spread or how far it might affect our rule in India if we were to get the credit of approving Italian action or if we were merely to appear as the complacent abettors of the spoliation of Turkey.

Unfortunately our influence in Constantinople being now a negligible quantity we can do nothing to allay discord. Germany alone can say a word in season, but it does not appear that her mediation is the least likely to have any satisfactory result. Italy is resolved to assume at once a Protectorate over Tripoli. No doubt she has been preparing for a long time and is adequately equipped to carry out the enterprise. For the rest of the world it would seem that either her success or failure may be equally disastrous. Germany, however, is undoubtedly not very well qualified morally to ask her to stay her hand, for it was German policy that especially encouraged her to look to Tripoli for compensation when France had gone to Tunis and indeed earlier. As long ago as 1866 Bismarck was whispering that Italy might hope for a Mediterranean Empire and Mazzini suggested it even before Italy existed at all. For at least ten years France has formally sanctioned Italian ambitions in Tripoli. The original arrangement was made in December 1900 and the whole thing was made definite and precise in November 1902, the map annexed to the Anglo-French Treaty of 1899 being appealed to as fixing the boundaries between Tunisian and Tripolitan territory. All this was certainly not done without our knowledge and acquiescence for our relations with Italy in the Mediter-

reanean have long been regulated by friendly agreement. Though the Italian *coup* is very annoying both for France and ourselves, there is no chance of our interfering usefully. It may be plausibly argued that to enforce her claims Italy had to act soon and the practical acquisition of Morocco by France naturally set the pace. The Italian ultimatum offers no such serious grounds of complaint as to justify the forcible appropriation of a Turkish province. But any allegation serves when aggression is determined upon. It may well be that Turkish officialism has been dilatory and aggravating—as it invariably is—but the only possible excuse for the Italian Government is that the question has really become a national one, or has been made so, and that no Ministry could withstand the national demand. There is apparently some substance in this excuse, but it must be said that Italy has proceeded in the most inconsiderate way both to her allies and her friends. They have had no chance of helping her to remedy her grievances by putting pressure on Turkey. They are faced with what is practically a *fait accompli* and left to take the consequences so far as they may concern themselves, which they may well do to a most disquieting degree.

"Capital"

THE war between Turkey and Italy is still proceeding but qua war it cannot be said to be violently exciting. It is all bluster on one side, all protest on the other; there have been no pitched battles on land or sea, nothing indeed to employ the lurid pen of the War Correspondent. Italy is in possession of Tripoli, which she means to keep come what may. The Turks and their friends declare she is a brigand who has taken booty which can do her nothing but harm. Then why not let her rip? She is solemnly told that Tripoli, even with Benghazi, is of very doubtful value. Tripoli itself is largely desert, interspersed with chains of oases. Benghazi (Barka), the Eastern Province, is in part very fertile, but there has been considerable immigration of late years of Mussalmans from European Turkey and Crete, and there cannot be much land open for Italian Colonists. Minerals are always problematical in value, and it is not clear that the country is rich in them. It would be far more profitable, it is urged, for Italy to colonise the large estates in Sicily and her Southern Provinces with returned emigrants from Argentina. If all this be true then Italy is in for what some people call poetic justice, which should be a great consolation to her Indian Mahammadan haters, who are praying the heavens to open and shower fire and brimstone on her ugly head.

It is astonishing the amount of cant and humbug people will say and write about an action they dislike, taken by a person they suspect. The writers and speakers who are howling at Italy for her aggression in Tripoli are the very ones who justify the British occupation of Egypt after the failure of poor old Arabi Pasha, who has just been gathered to his fathers. And yet the provocation for the latter act was hardly so strong as that for the former. It is universally admitted that since the Berlin Congress there has been a tacit understanding among the Powers that in the inevitable break up of the Turkish empire Italy was to get Tripoli. But for that understanding the replies of the Powers to the Porte's protest against the Italian occupation of Tripoli would not be so utterly insincere as Reuter reports them. We have therefore to face the proposition that Italy has had a reversionary right in Tripoli for nearly thirty years, during which the Turks have done their utmost to crush Italian interests in the country and make the lives of Italian residents a misery. Since the advent of the Young Turks to power this persecution has been emphasised until Italy's patience was exhausted and she resolved to end it by pushing out the Turks. Is not that the story of every conquest since the dawn of civilisation? During the week Reuter regained his grasp of home politics and sent us many interesting cablegrams of much more consequence than all the fiddle-faddle about the Mahammadan Jihad against Italy.

Bombay Letter

At a public meeting of Mahammadans held last week under the auspices of the Ajman-i-Islam of Bombay, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim presided, and Mr Ibrahim Rahmatullah, another prominent Khoja merchant, took a prominent part. In fact, the meeting gained distinction from the presence of wealthy Khojas and Borahs, who really dominated the proceedings. Tell it not in Gath these gentlemen belong to the Shia sect of Islamism and in ordinary circumstances love the Sunnis, whose Khalif is the Sultan of Turkey, as much as the devil loves hot water. According to the newspaper report, a resolution to boycott Italian goods was carried amid great enthusiasm. One amirlik Syed called Awer—the name is ominous—and that there were seven crores of Mahammadans in India and assuming that they use Italian goods costing only one rupee per head per annum, the boycott would mean a good deal, and so it would.

In the Chukla and Jackeria masjid there are scores of Mahammadan importers of Italian stores, and I wonder if religious fanaticism will blind them to their own worldly interests? I heard it wickedly suggested that Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim's

chief interest in promoting the Italian boycott was to stop the export of raw cotton to Italy and thus leave more for the local mills to secure at a low price. Of course, I scouted the base insinuation as soon as I heard it, but that it was made at all shows how careful a member of the British aristocracy should be before lending the prestige of his great name to the childish, nay insanely, unlawful enterprise on which the Indian Mahammadans seemed prepared to embark.

If the suggested boycott is executed in a logical manner I do not see how Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Mr Ibrahim Rahmatullah can escape committing the very same crime which they themselves have loudly condemned in Babus Bepin Chandra Pal, Arabindo Ghosh and Surendra Nath Banerjee. I cannot conceive how Borah, Khoja and Memon dealers are to be weaned from importing Italian oilman's stores unless by pressure from their leaders. Would such pressure be any more innocent than the nationalist picketing in Bengal? I cannot believe it.

I am honestly surprised by the action of the Mahammadan leaders whom the Government have gone out of their way to coddle and exalt, and I have less faith than ever now in the movement for the establishment of a Mahammadan University in India. If Western education can do no more for a clever Mahammadan than turn him into an irresistible demagogue, one dreads to think what the graft of Western literature on Islamic fanaticism will make of him. Sir George Clarke, who is a good friend of the Honbhai Mahammadans, would do well to lecture his *protégés* on the evil of their ways. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart, Boycotter-in-Chief of Italian goods, The Hon'ble Mr Ibrahim Rahmatullah, Member of Council, Head Deacon of the Italian boycott. These titles sound well, don't they amidst the din of the preparations for the Royal Visit?

The "Labour Leader."

October 6th.

THE raid upon Tripoli is the latest and worst of a series of campaigns of brigandage which have brought shame and disgrace upon Europe. In pouncing upon Tripoli, Italy is following the example of England in seizing Egypt and the Transvaal, and of France in annexing Tunis, and of France and Spain in their penetration of Morocco. England, France and Spain have thus been the practical instigators of Italy, and they must share the responsibility and the blame for Italy's criminality. For criminality it is, and that of the deepest dye. Never has there been a more wanton act of buccaneering since the days of the Spanish conquistadors—since Cortez ran riot in Mexico and Pizarro subjugated Peru. It must be acknowledged that International morality has sunk to the lowest possible depth when the Government of a civilised nation in the second decade of the twentieth century descends to the level of the Spanish brigands of the Middle Ages. In the middle of the nineteenth century Northern Italy herself lay under the heel of the Austrian bandit and enslaver, and in so short a time Italians, forgetful of their past and of the glorious days of Garibaldi and Italian emancipation, now seek to enslave others. In little over a century Italy has plunged from the heights of libertarianism to the abyss of imperialism, and imperialism, as every libertarian knows, is merely national brigandage with a halo. It is the fact that the Great Powers of Europe are all simply glorified brigands that makes it embarrassing for them to set up as mentors of Italy. In setting her the example they have all lost their moral standing and authority, and the moment any one of them begins to talk to Italy of the inequity of her conduct she can turn round and say: Pray, who are you? But if the Powers have no moral standing they have a material standing, and it is on this basis that intervention must take place.

The "Jewish Chronicle"

September 29th.

THE Jewish race has received so many evidences of friendship from both the *King of Italy* and the *Sultan of Turkey* that it would be sorry to see any weakening of their strength as a result of war. The circumstances now prevailing are precisely of the kind in which Jews are prone to suffer. Indeed, we notice, not without surprise, that a number of Jewish refugees are already in flight from Tripoli. It will not have escaped notice that a portion of the territory over which the dispute has arisen was not long ago the object of an enquiry by the Jewish Territorial Organisation. For the rest, we would only say that the situation at the moment is one of particular interest for Jews, if only because the present and the future of the Jewish race are so much bound up with the Ottoman Empire. It would, however, not be difficult to foretell with the present European unrest and the craze for annexation which has seized the nations, a situation which may be fraught with consequences of immense importance to the Jewish race.



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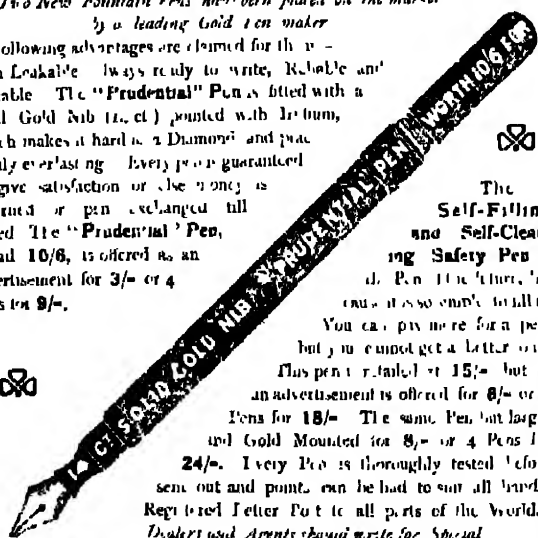
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اس فہرست میں مندرستالی

رامائن — مارواڑی — سندھی اور

سازے ۶۸ لے ڈیڑ طرفہ ۱۰ الیج ریکارڈ

یعنی ۱۳۶ گالے میں

گالے والوں کے نام اور اولیے گالوں کی

تعداد درج ذیل ہے

۳۹ گریڈے — اور ۱۳۶ گالے —

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نابست ہوئے ہیں

معصل فہرست ہمارے باضابطہ ایجنٹوں

سے فوراً طلب فرمائے تمام ریکارڈ مندرجہ

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المستشرقین

دی گراموفون کمپنی لیمیٹڈ

پوسٹ بکس ۴۸ کلکتہ

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by / Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere
They only live who dare!

—Morris



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Kaiser and Islam.

THE Kaiser on the 31st October received two missionaries from German East Africa. His Majesty enquired as to the progress of the colony and emphasised the fact that the natives must have religion and must also work. He warned the missionaries that they must energetically combat Islam, which might be a danger to the colony. Referring to this the *Berliner Zeitung* says that the Kaiser's words at such a moment sound to his Turkish friends like a hostile demonstration. The news has, however, been semi-officially contradicted.

Morocco

REUTER learns that the Franco German Agreements will be comprised in two separate Treaties, of which only the one relating to Morocco will be formally communicated to the Powers. Both Agreements will be signed before 8th November when the French and German Parliaments meet. Reuter wires from Berlin.—The Morocco portion of the Franco-German Agreement has been communicated to the Powers and the second part is practically completed. In the House of Lords, Lord Morley said it was matter for enormous satisfaction that the discussions between France and Germany in relation to Morocco had at last come to a conclusion, which, in the opinion of those in authority in Berlin and Paris, would be acceptable to the people of both countries.

Persia.

PERSIA has informed Great Britain that the fullest enquiry is being made into the case of Miss Ross, who was recently robbed on the Shiraz road. Persia, in the meantime, expresses regret and will compensate Miss Ross.

Reuter wires from Bushire.—The Central India Horse have arrived and are disembarking. No active opposition has been offered. The town is quiet. Reuter wires from Teheran.—The international situation has much improved. A force is about to march to Azerbaijan, which alone is disorderly. Mr Shuster's reforms are making steady progress, the Mejliss reaffirming its hearty support. Persia deeply regrets the arrival of Indian troops, declaring that there is no danger to the Consulate, and they hope it will not afford a pretext for Persia's northern neighbour. The contract with Mr George New, as Administrator of Persian Telegraphs, has been signed.

Reuter's correspondent at Teheran, confirming the victory of the Turcomans on the 25th instant near Bandargaz, says the Russian troops and Russian gunboats assisted the Turcomans. The ex-Shah is near Gumeshtep. A German firm has received orders for ten quickfiring from St Petersburg for "A Persian Pasha." Two hundred Russian troops landed on Saturday at Enzeli. It is reported that 1,700 more will follow and that the whole 1,900 will

The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of November at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

Ministerial Changes.

MR. TENNANT, M.P., has been appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office and Mr. J. M. Robertson Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

According to *Lloyd's News* Lord Haldane will shortly be appointed Lord Chancellor, Sir Rufus Isaacs Lord Chief Justice, Lord Alverstone a Lord of Appeal, Sir J. A. Simon Attorney General and Mr. Buckmaster Solicitor-General.

move from Julfa in the direction of Tabriz. It is semi-officially stated in St Petersburg that troops have been landed at Enzeli. The two sotnias of Cossacks, which were sent to relieve the Consular guard at Resht, are returning to Russia. The force sent to Julfa and Tabriz was merely to escort the new Vice Consul. No further despatch of troops is contemplated. Reports of a joint Anglo-Russian scheme for the subjugation of Persia are baseless.

The disembarkation of the first two squadrons of the Central India Horse is completed. They proceeded to Shiraz on the 1st November. The transports have started on their return to India China.

REUTER wired from Peking.—The rebels are taking the most extreme precautions against excesses. They are not anxious to take over sympathising cities until they are prepared to administer them efficiently, aiming at a bloodless revolution. The Imperialists contend that one Imperial victory will crush the whole rebellion, which they declare is merely sporadic. A message from Shanghai states that Li-Yuan-Heng, who was recently described as the leader of the mutineers, has written to Admiral Sachemping pointing out the friendliness of the Manchus and foreshadowing a gradual permeation of all the provinces by the spirit of revolt and the eventual declaration of the entire Empire in favour of a republic with Hankow as its capital. Li Yuan Heng makes an impassioned appeal to Sachemping to join the revolution. Reuter wired from Peking.—Sheng Kung Pao, Minister of Communications, has been dismissed on the ground that he was responsible for the nationalisation of railways, in consequence of which the rebellions arose. Nationalisation was intended to benefit the people, but Sheng Kung Pao failed to carry it out successfully. Tangshaoy has been appointed to succeed him. The dismissal of Sheng Kung Pao constitutes the utter surrender of Government. Foreigners regard Sheng Kung Pao as an enlightened, capable official. His successor in the Ministry of Communications, Tangshaoy, is a partisan of Yuan Shi Kai. Reuter wired from Peking. Li Yuan-Heng has informed the foreign Consuls that he will be the President of the Chinese Republic. His communication not being answered by Foreign Ministers, he proposed that he should administer the Customs at Changsha and other centres, but on the Ministers objecting, he agreed that the revenue should remain to the credit of the Inspector-General of Customs. The negotiations are said to reveal the ability and tact of Li Yuan Heng and his desire to avoid misunderstandings with foreign Powers.

Reuter wired from Peking.—An Edict has been published releasing from custody the President of the Szechuan Assembly and other leaders of the rising at Chengtu. The Edict orders the punishment of Chao-Erh-Feng and Weng Jan Wen, the present and past Viceroy of Szechuan. The Chinese papers report that the troops at Chengtu have mutined and have killed Chao-Erh-Feng.

It is officially stated that Foochow has fallen. Reuter wired from Peking. Three thousand Imperial troops are marching against the Changsha rebels. The Imperial troops have recaptured two Szechuan towns. Yuan Shi Kai's supporters are planning an entirely Chinese Cabinet and Constitutional Government and are summoning an immediate Parliament. Yuan Shi Kai has postponed his departure from Changte southward and it is expected that he will soon enter Peking as Premier. Reuter wired from Peking.—An attempt was made to assassinate Sheng Kung Pao, who had a narrow escape. He took refuge in the American Legation and was subsequently escorted from there to Tientsin by ten soldiers. This is the first sign of the revolutionaries in the capital. An Edict has been published confirming the appointment of Yuan Shi Kai, who will rank as an Imperial Minister. Yuan Shi Kai, it is stated, will proceed to Sing Yang-Show to take up the supreme command of the army and navy. The British, French, German and American Ministers have made representations to the Government with the view of preventing the possible decapitation of Sheng Kung Pao. The Foreign Ministers say that they felt in honour bound to prevent any possibility of the decapitation of Sheng Kung Pao, because

it was they who had pressed Sheng to conclude the loan contracts. They had further urged him to take a strong stand, which advice had resulted in the present upheaval. Sheng Kung Pao's escort from the American Legation to Tientsin consisted of two soldiers from each of the Legation guards of France, Britain, Germany, America and Japan, commanded by the American Military Attache. Sheng Kung Pao is going to T'ingtao.

Reuter wired from Peking.—The French and Belgian Syndicate has concluded a large loan bearing interest at 6 per cent to be issued at 96. The banks will receive 4 per cent. Commission. The loan concluded by the Syndicate is for six million sterling.

It is officially stated that an engagement between the rebels and the Imperial troops took place in a rainstorm. The Imperial troops displayed great valour and captured large quantities of ammunition. Flushed with victory they occupied the Chinese city of Hankow. Imperial reinforcements are hurrying up and are protecting the railways. Reuter wired from Peking.—It is stated here that the rebels offered little resistance to the advance of Imperial troops and abandoned their main position at kilometre ten with all guns and camp equipment. They retreated utterly demoralised. Admiral Sachemping afterwards notified the Consuls of his intentions to bombard Wuchang and Hanyang at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon and also has requested the foreign shipping to withdraw out of danger. Reuter wired from Peking.—The situation at Nanking is most uncertain. The new troops fear attack and the old are clamouring for ammunition, which the Viceroy refuses. When ordered to leave the city, they objected. Six thousand troops at Lanchow have refused to entrain for Hankow and have memorialised the Government urging the immediate establishment of a Constitution. Reuter's special correspondent wired that General Yinchang reports that the Imperial troops made a fresh attack on Hankow in the evening of the 28th instant. The rebels made a brave stand against a deadly fire from the housetops till they were at length routed by the Imperial troops' guns. General Mu distinguished himself by gallantly leading the attack. The Imperial troops occupied Hankow on the morning of the 29th instant. The rebels' forces were for the most part composed of recruits and their dead were piled high on the river bank. Fighting was still going on at a late hour in the afternoon. The rebels' losses were then about 500 killed and 1,500 wounded. They had also lost fifteen field guns and many of them had been taken prisoners. The Imperialists are virtually in possession of Hankow, including the powder factory. There are further in a good position for making an attack on the arsenal of Hanyang. The fighting was one-sided, the rebels being a mere armed rabble against the trained troops of the Government.

Reuter wired from Peking.—An Edict is published in which the Throne humbly apologises for its past neglect and grants the immediate constitution of a Cabinet, from which the nobles shall be excluded. The Edict further grants a free pardon to rebels and political offenders. The Edict from the Throne further allows the Manchu President of the National Assembly to resign and appoints Lichachu, a Chinese, while the Manchu Minister of Constabulary is discharged, Chaoping-hun, a Chinese, succeeding him. The Emperor denounces the trusted officials who have been embezzling the people's money. He says: "I swear to reform and carry out the Constitution faithfully." He appeals to his subjects not to misunderstand him and adds: "If the people are misled by outlaws and do not unite, then the future of China is unthinkable." In the National Assembly the President announced that the Regent had sent assurances that the Edict would be faithfully carried out and was not "mere words." The members expressed satisfaction with the Edict.

The foreign troops marched round the Copsessions on the 30th October morning as a demonstration.

The Customs Commissioner has received a letter from the local branch of the Revolutionary Committee announcing the intention of the Committee shortly to seize Tientsin and Peking and abolish likin dues, which the Committee describes as a great nuisance to the Chinese foreign trade.

TETE À TETE



There has, indeed, been a year of sadness for the Native State where so many rulers have passed away, mostly in the prime of life. Our heart goes out to the Death of a Prince. If H. H. the Nawab of Rampur, who has suffered a second and far more sudden bereavement this year. On the 29th of October we heard, without the least previous warning, of the death of Sahibzada Hasan Ali Khan the Heir Apparent of His Highness. It is easy to picture to ourselves the great grief of the stricken father and of his devoted subjects. Every house in Rampur has been thrown into deep mourning, and to many outside Rampur the shock will be just as great. Few, however, fully know of the intimate relation that exists between the ruler of Rampur and his people. It is not merely the bond of a passive loyalty that binds them to their chief or of devotion to duty that attaches them to their master. It is a simple but a far firmer tie of personal affection, which has hardly a parallel outside the ancient bamboo hedge of the Rohilla capital. And although the grief of this sad event is widespread, the very fact that it is shared by all his devoted subjects must make it less poignant to the ruler himself. He has lost his dearest child, but he has in his subjects several lakhs of people who look upon him as the patriarch of a united and happy household. The young Prince whose loss is being so generally mourned had hardly entered his teens yet. But he was the image of his father, and we have no doubt that he had inherited much of his father's remarkable intelligence. His sad death, so early in life, reminds us forcibly of the well-known lines

پہول تو دو دن بہارِ حُما د کھلا گئے
حسرت اور غمِ جون پہ شے جو بن کبلہ مرجھا گئے *
(The flowers have shown their revivifying spring a day or two
But (O!) the pathos of the buds that have faded away unopened.)

It would appear from the general apathy and supineness which seem to have come over the Moslem leaders that the Moslem University scheme is fast sinking into the limbo of vain regrets and balked desires—ghosts of dead, forgotten things that might have been but, thanks to a lack of sustained effort and resolution amongst the Mussalmans, could not be. It now rests with some poet of Pessimism, who was up till very recently so persistent a feature in Moslem assemblies, to come out and write its epitaph. The net gain of these ten months of patriotic outbursts of enthusiasm and day-and-night dreaming, when an astonished world witnessed with evident wonder and admiration, would seem to be that the entire community is now ready to cover itself with shame. We cannot help admiring the adaptability and business-like thoroughness of the Hindus who, taking the cue from the Mussalmans, have rapidly closed their

ranks, effected formidable reconciliations, secured subscriptions to the tune of 40 lakhs and are busy elaborating and putting into final shape their plans for a Hindu University. The Mussalmans have not yet been able to collect more than 16 lakhs, and, although it is on the financial aspect of the question that the success of the project will finally turn, the Committee entrusted with the work of collecting funds appears to have been stricken with paralysis and seems for all practical purposes to have ceased to exist. As far as we know—and we frankly confess our knowledge about the Committee's work is small, in spite of our repeated efforts to get into the secret of its activities or inactivities—no organised attempt has been made to realise the promised subscriptions, no regular information is being supplied to the Press or the public as to the actual progress made in each province, no weekly returns of collection and balance are issued to show how much work yet remains to be done. If the Moslem University scheme fails for want of funds, it would be, not because the Moslem public was unwilling to make good its golden promises, though some blame would justly attach to it for its lukewarmness and indifference, but because the so-called Moslem leaders failed to do their duty. Some of the dignified dummies whose only mission in life appears to be to study the art of "leadership" in order that they may mislead the Government and betray their community successfully whenever an occasion serves for their personal aggrandisement, have shrunk to a pathetically abject measure now when the community wants real, devoted workers and unselfish service. Is it not rather an undignified and sad spectacle to see some of the "Trustees" of the community quarrelling amongst themselves for a "life-tenure" of membership in the governing body of the University that is to be, when they ought to be touring every town and village in India to collect the funds which alone will render the creation of the University possible? A meeting of the Trustees of the Aligarh College will be held on the 9th November. We are waiting to see how many of them realise the gravity of the situation and respond to the communal call. Fair-weather friends of the community are countless like the grass-hoppers of a rainy day but it is only in a period of stress and storm that the mettle of the genuine patriot is tested.

The Honorary Secretary of the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School writes to us—"Kindly permit me, through Sakhawat Memorial the medium of your esteemed journal to Girls' School, acknowledge my thanks to the gentlemen who have been helping the School with monthly contributions for some time past. The School is, I am glad to say, making satisfactory progress due to the unremitting and unselfish labours of Mrs. R. S. Hossain. But owing to the want of an omnibus carriage and horse the growth of the institution is being retarded, the present mode of conveyance by hired carriage not being adequate to meet the requirements. Will the generous public help us to purchase the necessary equipage? I have already some money in hand and a further sum of Rs. 1,200 is wanted to complete the purchase. I hope it is not too much to ask for so important a purpose, viz. the promotion of Female Education." This appeal for funds will, we trust, meet with a prompt and adequate response at the hands of the Moslem public of Calcutta. The school, as yet a modest venture, represents a serious and thoroughly well-conceived effort to meet an urgent need of the community. The instruction imparted is of elementary character, but amidst the prevailing indifference of the community to female education, any attempt to supply the need in an organised manner, however elementary and modest, ought to be welcomed and must receive generous help and encouragement. In this age of tremendous educational activities going on in every part of the country, it is almost incredible to think that the Mussalmans in the very heart of the metropolis of India cannot maintain even an elementary school for female education in comparative efficiency. Where one would have naturally expected to find scores of well-equipped primary schools

knitted together in a thoroughly well-planned system of secondary education for Moslem girls, it is a sad disillusionment to see one school, not even teaching to full primary standard, in an indifferent condition, perpetually hovering on the verge of bankruptcy and extinction for want of adequate material resources. We trust, also, that the Government will not overlook its duty to help the private efforts of the Mussalmans. Grants for Moslem female education from public revenues should be made in the same generous spirit in which they have been applied to the help and encouragement of other private enterprises in this branch of education.

WE HAVE received a rather indignant protest from a correspondent against the Punjab Chief Court, which has refused to enrol the successful candidates of the last L.L.B. examination as pleaders, till after the University Convocation in December. The examination was held in May. It would thus appear that several young men at the threshold of legal careers have had literally to mark time for about seven months. This means a sheer, unjustifiable waste of time, which only the cumbersome, dilatory methods of some of our big, venerable institutions like the courts and the universities would seem to countenance. A little judicious care and forethought would have saved the young men from a period of enforced inactivity, when for months together they find themselves in a state of suspended animation. We can well imagine their feelings, "not far removed from those of a person under a sort of police surveillance." No fault of theirs, indeed, if their only occupation, for the present, seems to be to ventilate their grievances in the Press.

AS ABOUT everything else in the Land of the Celestials, a mist of vagueness and uncertainty hangs also about the outbreak which, assisted by a considerable portion of the army and the civil populations of some of the richest provinces, is resolutely working to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a free, parliamentary regime in China under a republican form of government. The revolutionary discontent has spread with marvellous rapidity, and provincial capitals with their military garrisons have, one after the other declared for the leader of the revolution and President designate of the Republic that is to be. The Young China, whose education has been completed in Europe or Japan, or in Chinese schools conducted on European models, is in revolt against the reactionary methods and despotism of the haughty caste of foreign princes and nobles that rule the Empire. There has been an ever growing demand for liberal institutions for some time past. An attempt to set up some sort of constitutional sham was made by the governing clique to placate the liberal enthusiasts. But the insistent and genuine desire for some real reform in the spirit and methods of government could not be buried away under a hollow sham. It grew ever more clamorous and loud, and, as every despot of history has known it to his grief, it has now broken out in a formidable war against the existing order of things and its supreme and visible symbols. Several battles have taken place between the revolutionaries and the Imperial forces, and though the Government troops seem to have inflicted some reverses and considerable loss of life on the insurgents, the revolutionary energy has not been quelled at all. The Throne, has, in fact, tried to capitulate and has promised to grant the constitution and other demands of the revolutionaries with pathetic show of humbleness and penitence. The National Assembly has accepted the promises of "the Throne" in good faith. Negotiations are proceeding for ending civil war by a policy of concession and conciliation. We trust some good will result to China out of the travails and sufferings a bloody revolution, and this ancient Empire will enter on a new era of peace, progress and reform.

AN esteemed correspondent writes to us:—"Iqbal, the deep-toned organ voice of Muhammadan India, has again burst out gloriously in song after a longish silence. The voice now charming us, now rousing us, now intoxicating us, now sending through us all an indescribable thrill is, I believe, penetrating the remotest corners of the land. But how is it, are we too fascinated for applause? When some positively nauseating speakers in Urdu at our great communal gatherings seem to command the admiration and attention of the community in proportion to their want of command of our language and the poverty of their ideas, and an indiscriminately admiring public unhorses their carriages and drags them—I am too deficient in grammar to tell you what noun "them" stands for—in the streets and its good sense in—the mud, I do not know whether the absence of this demonstration to Iqbal should not be regarded as a compliment by him. But with all this, we should, I humbly urge, testify in a public manner our appreciation of Iqbal. Let us, for example, garland him—our way of bestowing laurels—in our national assembly, the Educational Conference at Delhi. We have acclaimed *حالی* as the poet of our *ماضی* let us hail *اقبال* as the singer of our *استقبال*." We heartily join our correspondent in the wish that some public testimony should be borne to the meritorious services of Iqbal whose glorious song has touched all the fine impulses that move the heart of Moslem India to-day. The poet has felt the pathos of the fallen race but his message, how joyous, how full of faith and celestial fire! It has roused even the most weary and despondent with a voice like the clarion trumpet. Will the garlanding of the poet in the Moslem Educational Conference be an appropriate offering of a people's admiration and gratitude? These "laurels," too, have not escaped being vulgarised by unworthy use, and have gone in some cases to decorate necks that scarcely deserved a halter. However, any token of appreciation ought to be welcome. We trust our correspondent's suggestion will be enthusiastically received by the Moslem public.

REUTERS message confirming the complicity of "Russian troops and Russian gunboats" in a recent victory of the Turkomans in spite of denials from St Petersburg, will now, we hope, bring home to the English statesman that the much-flaunted Anglo-Russian Convention is nothing more than a solemn farce. The "Understanding" which Sir Edward Grey had concluded to guarantee the integrity of Persia has, in spirit, ceased to exist. It would be difficult to imagine a diplomatic hoax of a more unscrupulous character than the one which secured for Russian designs the recognition of England and gave to them the patent of legality and right. Sir Edward Grey had thought that he had secured freedom from interference in the internal affairs of Persia and removed all chances of friction with Russia in the Middle East. Subsequent events have, however, thrown a flood of lurid light on the spirit in which Russia entered into the bargain. And it would be sheer hardihood or imbecility not to confess that the British Minister was simply bartering away the independence of a nation, full of hope and promise, in return for some shadowy relief from the incubus of Russian menace to British interests in the East. If it was in the interest of the British Government to maintain a strong and independent Persia the British Foreign Minister has failed to secure that object. Russia is daily making the realisation of any such object impossible. That despicable puppet, Muhammed Ali, is her trump-card, and she is playing it now with a directness of method that leaves no doubt as to her real objective in this scandalous game of bluff. If there was at first some attempt at disguise, and barrels of ammunition were allowed, as a concession to outward form and decency, to be called mineral waters, the need for such disguises seems to have disappeared, and the "Persian Pasha" is being equipped with German quick-firers and is being pushed along by Russian troops and gunboats into Persia for another spell of adventure. After this

even Sir Edward Grey, we hope, will have the strength to admit that the pet creation of his statesmanship is now a dead letter. Will he have also the strength to free British diplomacy in Persia from Russian dominance? He justifies the despatch of Indian troops to Shiraz on the plea that the object, *viz.*, "the safety of British lives and property in Bushire and elsewhere had not in the opinion of the British Government been attained." But the latest news from Persia report decided improvement in the situation. "Mr. Shuster's reforms are making steady progress, the Mejliss reaffirming its hearty support." It is exactly the appearance of foreign troops in Persia that is the root cause of disorders, for it shakes the prestige of the Government and leads to panics and wild rumours about the dismemberment of the country. It is a queer logic which seeks to ensure order and peace by the very instruments which are the main causes of civil disturbances and administrative chaos. The apprehensions of the Persian Government that Russia too will imitate England by sending troops have been justified. Russia does not want that there should be any order or tranquillity in Persia. The presence of the fresh Russian Cossacks is bound to lead to disturbances, and then the needed pretext will be forthcoming for Russia to step in order to suppress disorder and establish general security and peace. Is earnest desire for progress and reform an international crime? In social spheres and with reference to the actual conditions of a society the impatience of the idealist may become a calamity in itself, but this is perhaps the first time in recorded history that a nation honestly struggling for order, freedom and light is being ruthlessly held back by the greatest constituted tyranny of modern times—the Moscovite Empire. Scarcely a day passes when we do not hear of Russian attempts, open or disguised, to trench on the sovereign rights of Persia, to thwart reform, to reduce administration to chaos, to create anarchy and civil war, and this campaign of organised hectoring and terrorism to exasperate and demoralise Persia goes on with inexhaustible ingenuity and resources that the country may sink into impotence and become a Russian vassalage.



Verse.

Song

I saw love walking on the heath
Wearily,
His foot was swart with clotted gore
From stinging weeds beneath.
And walking he made moan,
Ah me!
And when he clomb upon the hill
Wearily,
The wild wind smote him on the mouth,
And his sore heart was chill
He was alone, alone,
Ah me!
He stood and looked at the cold, cold sea
Wearily,
The sea will kiss the rock, he said,
But it will kiss not me
Alas! so fair, so far!
Ah me!
At nightfall when he groped about
Wearily!
The shingle bruised his hand and knee:
And in his heart was doubt,
And in the heaven no star,
Ah Me!

WASITI.

The Comrade.

Judicial Presumption.

MR. BARRY, F. S. Retired Judge of the Bombay High Court has contributed to the *East and West* for October a critical exposition of the "Judicial Training of Indian Civilians," in the course of which he says—

Most vigorous young Englishmen are naturally attracted by the prospect of outdoor life in the districts. Student routine repels them—and they dread the dreariness of recording evidence and listening to arguments that they have made up their minds.

It is not showy work—and the junior Civilian is well aware that it attracts little if any notice from the dispensers of honours. The value of decisions in criminal cases is apt to be payed by the number of convictions and the severity of sentence. The Civilian, ambitious of distinctions, will avoid the entrance to the Judicial Department which so far as honours are concerned, might well be inscribed with the warning, "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here." It is, therefore, hardly surprising that but few junior Civilians should volunteer for work on the Bench or should strenuously prepare to fit themselves for such work. In default of volunteers, compulsory recruitment is inevitable. To be selected by Government for the Judicial or as one young Civilian of promise put it, "to be thrown howling into the Judicial," is regarded as a very ill-desired compliment, if not a punishment and disgrace, implying his unsuitability for other duties. Sir Maxwell McVie, who was keen on recruitment for his branch of the service, protested not altogether unjustly that the revenue branch would only spare him men suspected of sunstroke or softening of the brain. District and Session Judges have, without any expert guidance, to grope their way, through the occasional correction of their Hunders, at the expense of the State and the litigants, the elements of a science which their subordinates and those who practise before them, have made their special study for years. The result is costly to the State. It is veritable and distressing to honest litigants—it is humiliating to the officers themselves.

One would not care to see a band of fiddlers without first knowing whether the men could play or were tone-deaf; nor would one expect them to perform in public before they knew their notes. It seems a strange anomaly that the department to which the people have to look for law and justice, the protection of life and liberty and property, should be the one department officered by men who, as a class, have not specialized at all—and though they have no doubt received a good general education, have barely begun the study of law before they make their first efforts to apply it.

We have ventured to quote at this length from Mr. Justice Barry's article, not because he has said anything very new and startling, but because his contribution acquires additional value from the fact of his having been one of the distinguished members of the Judicial department and—what is of still greater significance—a member of the Indian Civil Service itself. It is not a Barrister, or even a Barrister Judge who condemns the present system, but a Civilian Judge who knows the Civilian judiciary inside out. A week or two after the publication of this article we received a most sensational news alleging that a certain sessions Judge characterized the conduct of an eminent counsel in a case as "hardly honest." On making further enquiry we have learnt facts which seem to make this case a somewhat apt illustration of some of the remarks of Mr. Justice Barry. We have no desire to deal with the merits of the case, now *sub judice* in the Sessions Judge's Court at Muzaffarpur. Mohamed Said and twenty others are being tried on charges of rioting, murder and abetment of murder, while 29 others who are accused are absconding. Mr. Roland Chandra, Deputy Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, had committed the accused to the Sessions in August and the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who had appeared for the accused before the committing Magistrate, had been retained for the defence in the Sessions also. Under circumstances, which we shall relate in some detail, he has retired from the case on the 30th October. His junior has also followed suit and a Mukhtar was the solitary advocate left—and that too somewhat unwillingly, we hear—to plead the cause of 21 men charged with the offences punishable with death. Since then, it is stated, a Vakil has been asked by the Judge to watch the case for the accused.

On the following day the accused petitioned the Judge for postponement for a fortnight to enable the petitioners to move the Honourable High Court for transfer of the case, as they alleged that ever since the trial opened, "your petitioners have been noticing that Your Honour has assumed hostile attitude towards your petitioners, so much so that yesterday Your Honour very grossly insulted your petitioner's counsel in consequence of which he had to leave the case, and your petitioners are placed in a very dangerous and difficult position" and because, the accused state, they "have reason to believe that a fair and impartial trial cannot be had from this Court." After this, the Judge made the following remark on the Order Sheet, after noting down the contents of the application for postponement.

"For the sake of the accused I have done my best to induce Mr. Haque to return to the case, but have been unable to do so. I am very anxious that the accused should not be prejudiced in any way by the misconduct (the italics are ours—Ed., *Comrade*) of their Counsel, but there appears to me to neither (sic) any obligation nor any reason for postponing the case."

The application has been refused, and as this matter also is likely to be *sub judice* shortly in a motion to the High Court, we shall express no opinion ourselves on the Judge's decision. But the treatment meted out to the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque stands on a different footing altogether, and we cannot be justly accused of favouring "Trial by Journalism" in commenting on that subject. The question involves important general considerations and the Muzaffarpur case serves well for purposes of illustration.

The Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque was cross-examining a cultivator, Sanath Acharje, who had deposed for the prosecution in the lower court that he had seen the occurrence on which the charges were based from his field. He had seen, according to his story, some of the accused striking a man with swords, gasasas, and lathis. The man who was struck was killed. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque's instructions were that the man was not the cultivator of the field from which he said he had seen the occurrence, but that he was put up to give this evidence by the owner of the field, a zamindar, originally of the United Provinces, who was, it is alleged, at the bottom of the whole affair, and had been making efforts during the last four years to prevent a section of the inhabitants of the place from exercising some of their rights and generally paving the way for the disturbances which ensued. With a view to prove this the witness had been minutely examined about his position as a cultivator, and it may be added that he had been unable to name even the cultivators of the fields adjoining his own. He had also stated as follows:—

"I transplanted my Marua at about the end of Asarh. This was on 5 cuttaha. On the remaining 5 cuttaha Dhan was transplanted about the end of Asarh. Both Marua and Dhan were transplanted on one day. Myself, Subans, Hira, and J. Rajnath did the transplantation. The Dhan was not transplanted in my presence. Bisheswar, my son, told me that he had the Dhan transplanted. The Marua was first transplanted. The Dhan was transplanted 10 or 15 days after. The Dhan was transplanted in Sawaan."

Now, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, taking advantage of the contradictions which we have italicised—whether real or apparent it is not for us to discuss—was asking some questions with reference to them, and is said to have read out the passage which we have quoted from the deposition of the witness before the committing Magistrate. On this, it is alleged, the Judge said, "It is not an honest cross-examination." Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque had interpreted the statement of the witness, that "both Marua and Dhan were transplanted in one day," as meaning that both had been transplanted on one and the same day. The Judge, it is alleged, said, "It is not an honest interpretation." Upon this the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque is reported to have said that "if I am dishonest, I am unfit to practise in this Court," and to have left the court forthwith.

What followed is still more instructive and significant. The Judge is stated to have written the following letter to the counsel for defence:—

MUZAFFARPUR,
30-10-11.

DEAR MR. HAQUE,

I have been thinking over the episode that occurred this forenoon. Although I strongly disapprove of what you did, possibly the expression "hardly honest" was stronger than was warranted, seeing the licence which it has been frequently decided is permissible to Counsel. I should be sorry if you had to withdraw from the case as you know it thoroughly, and your absence will be a great handicap to the accused, who I am very anxious should have a fair trial. In order that you may not retire I am willing therefore to withdraw that expression and merely to express my strong disapproval of the manner in which you seized on an isolated sentence and so misled me and the assessors.

Even if you are not satisfied with this, I hope for the sake of the accused you will continue to appear for them.

If you are agreeable, the trial can proceed after the luncheon interval.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) B A COLLINS

To say the least, the procedure adopted by the Judge is unique. What does the letter signify? Of course, Mr. Collins had to haul down the flag. In this he certainly showed some good sense. But he had evidently neither the courage nor the grace to make the *amende honorable* by withdrawing his insulting expression—even if we accept his own modified version of "hardly honest"—unconditionally. He allows a bare "possibility" of too much "strength" in the use of this expression, and even in doing so has a fling at his betters who have by their "frequent decisions" permitted much "license" to Counsel. But after having lowered the flag to an ominous half mast, he sends it up again by accusing Counsel of having misled him and the assessors. To this letter, we learn, the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque replied as follows:—

MUZAFFARPUR,
30-10-11

DEAR MR. COLLINS,

I am glad that you realise now that the language used by you against me "was stronger than was warranted," but as your withdrawal of the words is not based upon any genuine regrets on your part for unjustifiably using them, but only with the object that I may simply retain and conduct the case, I am afraid I cannot agree to your proposal. You are adding insult to injury when you say that I "seized on an isolated sentence and so misled me and the assessors." It must be in your remembrance that I read out the whole passage to you and pointed out the contradiction involved in them. It was on this that my learned friend Mr. Patel gave his interpretation and you found an opportunity of using the insulting language which you now yourself admit was unwarranted. No Court has ever charged me with intentionally misleading and this is the first experience of my life which has naturally quite upset me.

I would have certainly conducted the case in spite of the insufficiency of your apology, but not being sure whether you would not insult me again, and having noticed your hostile attitude and impudence of cross-examination, I am sorry I can not come back to Court.

Let me assure you that I am extremely sorry for what has happened to-day. It is only my self respect which compels me to take the course that I am taking.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) M. HAQUE

In reply to this letter, Mr. Collins sent the following wherein he comes down a step or two, but still demands some "compensation" for the humiliation to which he is obliged by his own extraordinary behaviour and the bold and dignified stand taken by the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque to submit.

MUZAFFARPUR,
30-10-11

DEAR MR. HAQUE,

I have received your letter at 4-30 P.M. I am sorry you do not see your way to going on with the trial, as I fear the accused will be in a great difficulty.

I only reply in order that I may at once contradict your assertion that "you read out the whole passage and pointed out the contradiction involved in them" (sic). This you did not do, or I should never have taken exception to your cross-examination. I think that when you realise that you did not do this, you will see that I was quite justified in commenting strongly on the omission to do so.

I am so anxious that the case should go on smoothly and the accused who are in position of danger and difficulty should get the best defence and receive a fair trial that I am willing to go as far as possible to meet you. My relations with the Bar here have always been most pleasant and I should be sorry if any unpleasantness arose which should be avoided. This being so, if you are willing to say in Court that you had no intention whatever to mislead and are sorry that any such impression might have been given (or words to this effect), I will reply by apologising for hurting your feelings and withdraw any comment I made.

More than this I can't do, but I am ready to do it in order that this may go smoothly.

As regards the cross-examination I have said more than once that I appreciate all your points but you appear to me excessively minute.

In these matters as Counsel are well aware the Court under present conditions is entirely in their hands, and has a right to be treated with consideration by them.

Yours truly,
(Sd) B. A. COLLINS

To this letter, we learn, the Hon Mr Mazhar ul Haque replied as follows:

MUZAFFARPUR,
31.10.1911

DEAR MR COLLINS,

I have given my best consideration to your letter and am sorry to say that I do not still see my way to agree to your proposal.

I am writing this only to repeat my assertion, that I did read out the whole passage to you and in this I am borne out by several gentlemen present in Court.

The only possible explanation is that your attention was directed towards some other object.

Not being conscious of having given any offence I respectfully decline to make any apology.

Yours truly,
(Sd) S. M. HAQUE.

It will be worth while to look into the antecedents of the Judge and the Counsel. The latter has been in active practice for over 20 years and occupies in his profession an eminent position, commands a lucrative practice, both won by dint of hard and conscientious work and a well-known habit of mastering his brief. In addition to this, he has played a no inconsiderable part in the public life of the country being one of the most prominent members of the Imperial Legislative Council. As for Mr Bernard Abdy Collins, we learn that he commenced his service barely seven years ago, and the length of his actual service is a little over six years. He is neither a graduate of any University nor a Barrister-at-Law. His early career ran in the executive branches of the Civil Service. This is his first appointment in this branch of the Civil Service, and from what we have learnt we are not impressed with his patience or ability during the few months he has held it. It is stated that only recently the High Court acquitted four persons whom he had ordered to be hanged by the neck till they were dead, and in another instance, when it returned the case to him to hear evidence and not content himself by hanging the accused only because he had pleaded guilty, he found sufficient reason thereafter to alter the sentence of death himself to one of transportation. We wonder whether in these cases Mr. Collins was guided by the remark of Mr. Justice Batty that "the value of decisions in criminal cases is apt to be gauged by the number of convictions and the severity of sentences."

Be that as it may, we ask, is there not something seriously wrong with a system under which judicial tyros are sent to "grope their way, learning by occasional correction of their blunders, at the expense of the State and the litigants, the elements of a science which their subordinates and those who practise before them, have made their study for years?" In the case of Judge Collins, we will not say that it is Law that His Honour needs learning in this way at the cost of the State and the litigants, and we trust he is a Daniel in disguise. But one need not be a great lawyer to be able to say that he sorely needs the cultivation of a judicious temper and a closer acquaintance with the code of judicial manners. It is bad enough to see novices presiding at Sessions, judging between the arguments of advocates who entered their profession before the Judges entered the world, and dealing

with cases of life and death. But it is worse still to note the "Judicial presumption" to which such a system evidently gives rise. As Mr. Justice Batty says, "it is vexatious and disastrous to honest litigants," but we trust in this instance it will also prove "humiliating to the officers themselves," and that the lesson would not be lost on Mr Collins. We have referred to his case at this length only because the question presses itself on our attention that if a judge of such merit and standing can be so rude to a Counsel of such eminence, what must be the position of junior barristers practising before senior judges? We cannot avoid a disapproval of the conduct of the individual in the case which has furnished us with so clear an illustration. But we feel with Mr Justice Batty that "it is irrational to complain that oaks cannot be grown from seed that has been selected without any care to include acorns," and that reproach really attaches not so much to individuals as to the system "which places them in a position for which they were not originally selected or subsequently prepared." We await with great expectations Mr Batty's promised suggestions of reform, but would like to recommend that no Civilian should be appointed a Sessions or District Judge even temporarily unless he has actually served, say, for a period of 15 years.

The Drama.

MR ALLAN WILKIE'S excellent company, which we are happy to see so much appreciated as to draw fairly full houses night after night, has carried out, since we last wrote about it, a splendid and varied programme. We do not know what his own predilections are, but it is at all like the general run of actor-managers, *Hamlet* must have been the piece on which he must have set his heart, and the Prince of Denmark's must be the *role* by which he would like to be judged.

Of all Shakespeare's dramas *Hamlet* has attracted far the most attention whether of playgoers or playgoers, of commentators or readers. This is not only due to the fact that so many of the dilemmas of *Hamlet* are the universal dilemmas of humanity, and every one of us has a dash of *Hamlet* in his own personality, but also because for several centuries the character of the Dane has been treated as a riddle, and even in the second decade of the twentieth century it provides some excuse for the old discussion, "Was *Hamlet* really mad, or was he only shamming?"—greater excuse, at any rate, than is apparent for the revival of the Baconian theory of the authorship of all Shakespeare's plays which has led to the dredging of a river and the excavations of the river-bed according to sensational directions in a most ingenious cypher.

For our part, we confess we have neither the time and energy to discuss old theories nor, we may claim, the presumptuousness to offer a theory of our own about *Hamlet's* madness. We are content to believe that *Hamlet* is by nature inclined to insanity and that though it is true that he intentionally puts "an antic disposition" on, the disclosures made by his father's ghost have in reality also unhinged his mind so that his "noble and true sovereign reason" is "like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh." Nor do we think did Mr Allan Wilkie interpret his character differently. So far he too was content to follow in the steps of the latest *Hamlets* on the stage. At times he was clearly "mad but north-north-west" and told many home-truths that cut like a razor. But, as Coleridge interprets the character, at other times his wildness was but half false. He plays that subtle trick of pretending to act only when he is very near being what he acts. But we do not think there is any justification in the play as Shakespeare wrote it for Mr. Wilkie's showing *Hamlet* so much excited at the end of the play scene as to catch hold of the King by the hand and almost struggle with him. The excitement is there right enough. But it works itself off in the frenzied imitation of the actors after king has gone when *Hamlet* "rants" out the lines,

Why let the stricken deer go weep,
The hart ungalled play,
For some must watch, while some must sleep
Thus runs the world away

Mr Wilkie's action was far too much like that of a man who could revenge himself on the king, but that, as we know, is not Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

He interpreted the passion of love in *Hamlet* for Ophelia well enough and specially in the burial scene; but there was an overdose of excitement in the earlier part of Act III. sc. i. The famous soliloquy,

To be, or not to be, that is the question,
shows *Hamlet* to be more perplexed than excited, and when he sees Ophelia enter the room he is more of a refined and even subdued

lover than the excited person who seeks revenge for his father's murder.

Soft you now !
The fair Ophelia ! Nymph, in thy orisons
Be all my sins remembered.

It is true that Mr. Wilkie interprets—and, we believe, correctly—the later outburst to have been caused by his discovery of some one behind the arras who had used Ophelia as a decoy. Polonius left no room for doubt and, we are inclined to think, opened the curtain far too much. A much slighter suggestion—the shaking of the curtain—would have been a subtler bit of “business ;” but even then we feel there was more sorrow than anger in Hamlet's seemingly cruel remarks. “Get thee to a nunnery” was a lover's entreaty rather than the denunciation of an accuser. And although after the question, “Where's your father?” suggested by the “business” for which Polonius was responsible, there is a good deal of anger, too, that even she should have joined the ranks of his enemies and become the ready tool of her father and the king, the frequent repetition of the words, “Get thee to a nunnery,” clearly used earlier as an entreaty, shows that he still felt for her, although he was also sorry for himself. Mr. Wilkie showed an unnecessary amount of excitement and, we are sorry to say, thus lost much of the beauty of a unique love-scene in which the earlier passion of love stands at bay in the struggle with the later passion of revenge, and the result is the *altruism* of his advice, “Get thee to a nunnery,” which is characteristic neither of love nor of hate, but of a curious mixture of both.

We are sorry to appear so critical of the performance of a most difficult part ; but we cannot help expressing that in spite of an evident grasp of the important fact that Hamlet thinks audibly rather than declaims his soliloquies, Mr. Wilkie failed to some extent in the execution of his conception. It was not that he had any “set airs,” and we believe some Indians in the audience, who had evidently come to hear him declaim the familiar lines of *Hamlet* in a way to out-orator the orators of Beadon Square, went away somewhat disappointed. We may also add that we certainly do not wish Hamlet to be inaudible in his thinking, and have much sympathy for those playgoers who have recently complained that they have never in their life heard the line,

Angels and ministers of grace defend us !

when spoken on the stage, though we must say our own experience has not been so unfortunate. To do Mr. Wilkie justice, it must also be confessed that the electric fans are an evil, though in this climate a very necessary evil indeed, and that playgoers who come to see a play—and *Hamlet* at that—an hour and a quarter after the time of the London audiences—have no right to complain if an actor rushes through his lines. But the fact still remains that we were not impressed as we should have been with the fact that a self-introspecting moralist, with an analytic bent of mind, was “scanning” situations in which some time or other everyone of us has been placed, and vainly endeavouring to solve the eternal riddles of all humanity ; and that a magician, called Shakespeare, had by his subtle surgery lifted, as it were, the brain-cap and let us stoop over and see the hitherto unseen innermost working of such a mind. To some extent Mr. Wilkie, in fact, makes us wonder which is the oak-tree and which the costly vase of Goethe's apt simile he is such an active and robust Hamlet.

Though we would not like to be unjust to the many other players of Mr. Wilkie's Company, it is a fact that in *Hamlet* the lime-light is meant to be monopolised by the unheroic hero of the play, and one never thinks much of what the others do. But Miss Hunter Watts' Ophelia, though inclined to be a little too rebellious for the docile and pliant daughter of Polonius in the earlier scenes, was as perfect as we can imagine in her madness and we think she materialized for us the conception of Shakespeare, which he puts into the mouth of Laertes,

Thought and affection, passion, hell itself
She turns to favour and to pretence.

Miss Clanchy was very queenly, but her subsequent performance of other rôles leaves us in doubt whether she was acting, or only sailing on the stage, as she sails through life, with a habitual queenliness of deportment, and ask ourselves, Was the statuesque pose art or nature? Whatever it be, it was excellent. Mr. Pittar must certainly have a grievance against his Manager for depriving him of the one excellent speech which falls to the lot of the King in Act III, sc. iii.

O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven ;
It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,
A brother's murder,

which proves that conscience is still admitted to audience occasionally, and demarcates a single crime from a habit of guilt. But Mr. Wilkie can easily shift the blame to the playgoers who come at 9-30 and demand inordinately long intervals even then. All the same, it was a pity to lop off this scene, for not only is the King's

character saved a little in this, but Hamlet's own reluctance and procrastination, due to too much self-analysis, is thereby best illustrated.

Now might I do it pat, now he is praying ;
And now I'll do't : and so he goes to heaven :
And so am I revenged : That would be scan'd :
A villain kills my father ; and for that,
I, his sole son, do this same villain send
To heaven.
O, this is hire and salary, not revenge.

Mr. Mansfield was a good Laertes, but Mr. Weir did not impress us as Horatio, the only friend of Hamlet and one who relieves to some extent his terrible moral isolation in the corrupt and rotten State of Denmark. Mr. Gordon, however, was an excellent First Grave-digger and could well challenge comparison with Mr. G. V. Weir's father, who used to play the part in Mr. Benson's Shakespearean Company.

We do not, however, think we are singular in believing that it is not *Hamlet* that is the best of Shakespeare's plays, but *Othello*, and that, in spite of the focussing of interest on the Prince of Denmark, the nobler character is that of the Moor of Venice. Thanks to Coleridge, we have a far juster conception of Othello's real character than was perhaps entertained during the 300 years that intervened between Shakespeare and his most subtle and suggestive commentator. Ruskin, following the lead of Coleridge, has remarked that most people regard Shakespeare's heroines, his Desdemonas and Ophelias, in fact all save Lady Macbeth as less skillfully drawn and interesting and far more alike than his heroes, and he seems to agree with Coleridge in thinking that it is in this that Shakespeare is perhaps truest to nature. “Most women have no character at all,” said Pope, and meant it for a satire. Coleridge says that Shakespeare, who knew men and women much better, saw that, in fact, it was the perfection of women to be characterless. An American lady, Mrs. Gilman, has explained the reason for this characterlessness in a most remarkable book, “Women and Economics.” She says that in a “Handbook of Proverbs of All Nations” it is to be observed that the proverbs concerning women are an insignificant minority, and even these almost invariably apply to them in general to the sex. Occasionally a distinction is made, but in common thought it is simply “a woman” always.

The boast of the profligate that he knows “the sex,” so recently expressed, by a new poet

“The things you will learn from the Yellow and Brown
“They'll 'elp you an' cap with the White ;”

the consensus of public opinion of all time goes to show that the characteristics common to the sex have predominated over the characteristics distinctive of the individual,—a marked excess in sex-distinction. From the time our children are born, we use every means known to accentuate sex-distinction in both boy and girl ; and the reason that the boy is not so hopelessly marked by it is that he has the whole field of human expression open to him besides. In our steady insistence on proclaiming sex-distinction we have grown to consider most human attributes as masculine attributes, for the simple reason that they were allowed to men and forbidden to women. The whole field of human progress has been considered a masculine prerogative.

Now, both Coleridge and Ruskin think that this “masculine prerogative” which gives individuality to the mere men has resulted in the failure of man, for the heroes of Shakespeare's tragedies bring upon themselves most of their affliction on account of defects of character. Lear's imperiousness, Macbeth's overvaulting ambition, Hamlet's vacillation from too much sensibility and procrastination from excessive thought call Nemesis after them and exemplify Shakespeare's habitual mode of creating the characters of his heroes by giving them some intellectual or moral faculty in morbid excess and then place them, thus mutilated or diseased, under given circumstances. Both Coleridge and Ruskin think that Othello is the only exception to this, that in his case it is not his own defect of character, not even a slight moral blemish, but that the unmitigated and almost superhuman villainy of Iago alone brings about the tragic end. “The forces of evil in this case are something like the indiscriminating and inexorable destiny of the ancients, against which Othello struggles to the last, blindly, incoherently and vainly, “a Laocoon amid the serpent's coils.” He alone among all the heroes of Shakespearean tragedy is absolutely noble, while in Iago's case alone is Shakespeare's own great dictum,

There is a soul of goodness in things evil,
belied.

The obvious reply to this kind of comment is that Othello is too manifestly of a jealous disposition, and that it is this grave defect of character that brings about the final crash. To this Coleridge has given an effective reply. He says in his “Table Talk”—

Jealousy does not strike me as the point in his passion ; I take it to be rather an agony that the creature whom he had believed angelic, with whom he had garnered up his heart, and whom he could not help still loving, should be proved impure and worthless. It was the struggle not to love her. It was a moral indignation and regret that virtue should so fall :—
“But yet the pity of it, Iago !—O Iago ! the pity of it, Iago !”

Jealousy is based on suspicion, and how unsuspecting Othello was is proved by the tiresome repetition of the epithet, "Honest, honest Iago," and the two estimates of his character, one by a friend, the other by an enemy, one by an equally unsuspecting person, the other by the most suspicious, namely, by Desdemona and Iago. And Othello himself confirms these estimates by speaking of himself as

One not easily jealous, but, being wrought,
Perplex'd in the extreme.

Those that may still doubt should compare Othello with Leontes, a really jealous man, in *Winter's Tale*, with Leonatus, an otherwise good man, in *Cymbeline*, even to Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and last, but not least, to Iago himself. The fact is that just as it is easy to be a prophet after the event, just so it is easy for the playgoer to call Othello, who is not behind the scenes, jealous, after seeing Iago, so to speak, make up in his dressing-room. It is only too clearly to prevent the audience from making such a mistake that Shakespeare makes Othello and even Cassio call Iago honest so frequently.

If there is any chink or cranny in this castle of nobility and goodness, it is as he himself confesses in the end. He "loved not wisely, but too well." We are not disposed to attach much importance to the fact that he broke the social laws by carrying Desdemona away secretly and against her father's wishes, and still less importance to the fact that in telling them the story of his life he talked of "men whose heads beneath their shoulders grow—" people that, he must have known, "existed nowhere save in his own imagination." It is the best proof of Othello's great nobility of character that a critic confessedly committed to discover in him a defect of character can find nothing worse than this. But even this is nothing, for whatever Othello may or may not have known, we do not know whether Shakespeare himself, who created the character, and in whose days kings used to write treatises on witchcraft, and innocent women were burnt for witches, knew any better. All the same there is little doubt that his choice of Cassio as his lieutenant, instead of the more efficient Iago—we must not forget that his villainy is wholly unsuspected—was due to the fact that during his long wooing of Desdemona, Cassio "went between them very oft." Slight as this injustice, even though not injustice in reality,—was, it became the first and the main motive of Iago's intrigue, and the weakness of Cassio—even though more physical than moral, supplied Iago with a weapon which none knew better to wield.

Now, the impersonation of Othello's has one great disadvantage. Unlike Hamlet's, his character is not entirely formed from within himself, nor is he the sole interest of the drama. In fact, no Othello, however excellent himself, can succeed on the stage unless there is an equally excellent Iago to bring out the gradual development of the character. The serpent as well as the Laocoon are necessary for the masterpiece. Mr. Pittar's was by no means a bad Iago, but for a character of such perfect fiendishness there is a world of difference between "ideal" and "not bad." He was unrelenting enough and never for a moment loosened his coils round the writhing form of Othello. But he was not sufficiently subtle and deliberate. His points were many, but he did not bring out their full force. He rushed forward too breathlessly to convince the audience fully. But this was partly due to Mr. Wilkie's own precipitation and the praise or blame must be equally shared.

Our own conception of the Moor is that of a great volcano with tremendous passions dormant beneath many a thick stratum of self-control, or of a mighty river harnessed by the master mind of an engineer who knows the laws of torres and motion and has provided with his skill and art a dam even more powerful than the strength of the element for all foreseen contingencies. But Iago's villainy, being almost superhuman, is an unforeseen contingency. There is at first an occasional rumbling below that is in marked contrast with the idyllic scenery of the hill-top. The water at flood time breaks through the dam here and there which is instantly repaired. But at last the "self-government" of the Moor fails in its sustained struggle against the fiendish perfidy of the Venetian. The crater bursts and a lava stream of passion, an avalanche of hot-blooded rage rushes down. The dam bursts and the surging flood sweeps everything before it. The force of the onward rush is all the greater for having been checked so long. The castle that had defied the cannonade so long begins to crumble at last, and the very strength of its adamantine walls increases the loudness of the report when they fall and leave it a majestic and even a beautiful ruin.

Mr. Wilkie was magnificent in the rage of Othello. He was splendidly passionate in showing that he loved too well. But we must confess that the picture lacked definiteness. The light and shade were not brought out as clearly as they should have been. The outlines were not sufficiently distinct. Although there was no monotony, the whole gamut was not played. The expression of feeling was superb, but the repression was not fully brought out. What the Moor did we all saw. But what he had resisted we did not see equally clearly. Again, in the last Act, Othello has regained

his composure. He fully realizes that the doom of Desdemona would be irrevocable and yet seals her fate deliberately and almost without regret. He who has loved only too well can yet kiss her and keep his senses under perfect control. He does not murder. He only pronounces the sentence and then executes it. He is the vindicator of heaven's law of beauty which, according to another great poet is that "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty." He is the saviour of mankind whom "she'll betray" if she does not die forthwith. It is the sword of justice that he wields. And, whatever may be the facile or the complex code of Venice or Florence, this is the rigid and yet simple law under which the Moor has been nurtured. He is no Hamlet, and conscience, instead of making a coward, of him, leads him on to the execution of heaven's decree against the fair that was so fatal. As he had said, "to be once in doubt is once to be resolved." Resolution, although it did not come so soon as all that, came to him at last and restored the habitual balance of his mind. He had finally capitulated to Iago's villany, and he is not the one to hesitate in abiding by the terms of the capitulation. When the whole fraud is discovered, he pronounces judgment on himself also in his last speech equally calmly, and although the circumstances are changed, equally correctly and executes it just as unflinchingly, and with no more regret for himself than he had shown for Desdemona. An ideal Othello must bring all this out and though Mr. Wilkie is not the ideal Othello, and emphasised the lover who is much moved rather than the judge who cannot be moved, his performance was very creditable. He was cheered tremendously and he deserved the applause, for passion at this pitch taxes the powers of the most experienced actor.

Miss Hunter Watts was an excellent Desdemona and well displayed her unsuspecting nature with all its free and innocent and, in fact, unselfish and noble impulses. She was the Desdemona that

Is fair, feeds well, loves company,
Is free of speech, sings, plays and dances well.

But in showing this gaily Desdemona has to prove that

Where virtue is, these are more virtuous.

This is brought out by Shakespeare in the delicacy of Desdemona which was remarkable alike for his and her age. Emilia tells Iago how the Moor had abused her and she asks,

Am I that name, Iago?
Iago. What name, fair lady?
Des.—Such as she says my lord did say I was.

But with remarkable subtlety, Shakespeare brings it out to the fullest when Emilia, a virtuous woman as we know her, acts as a foil to Desdemona's still greater virtue in the scene when she is undressing for the fateful night and is forced to exclaim after Emilia's frank confession,

Hebrew me, if I would do such a wrong
For the whole world

But this, perhaps the most artistic scene in the whole play, with its haunting song,

Sing willow, willow, willow

was left out altogether. This too may have been due to the lateness of the hour. But whatever the cause, the effect was distinctly bad.

Romeo and Juliet was also acted. Mr. Wilkie's Mercutio's was entirely worthy of him and Mr. Mansfield was a good enough Romeo, better perhaps in the scene with the Friar than in the famous Balcony Scene, where his love-making almost surfeited the audience. We wonder whether anyone from the North, howsoever "dark and true and tender" it may be, can put into this scene all the ardour and fire of the warm South that Shakespeare himself caught so miraculously. Miss Watts' Juliet in the scene when she drinks the potion of the Friar was thrilling and we congratulate her warmly.

The Bells was also acted, and if we are to believe the Right Hon'ble Mr. Birrell that even Irving flung aside Hamlet's tunic or Shylock's gaberdine to revel in the melodramatic glories of *The Bells*, we may suspect that Mr. Wilkie welcomed the change no less. According to the Secretary for Ireland, genius in the author of the play is a terrible obstacle in the way of the actor, for behind the Hamlet of the best actor, there looms a greater Hamlet than them all—Shakespeare's Hamlet, the real Hamlet. But, as he says, Mathias is quite another kettle of fish, all of the actor's catching. "Who ever" he wrote, "on leaving the Lyceum, after seeing *The Bells*, was heard to exclaim, 'It is all mighty fine; but that is not my idea of Mathias.'" We agree with him in this, and think that *The Bells* is almost outside the critic's jurisdiction. All the same it was "mighty fine" as Mr. Wilkie acted it, whether it was anybody's idea of Mathias or not. We hope Mr. Wilkie would still draw the large house that he has lately been drawing and that when he returns to England—thorough we trust not soon—he would not have to say to Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree and Messrs. Forbes Robertson and H. B. Irving, whom we should like to see in India some day, that he had espied the nakedness of the land.

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

THE statement of the Austrian Premier on the 25th October in which he declared that the Porte had utterly failed to appreciate the timely advice of Austria in favour of agreement with Italy, has caused an unfavourable impression in Constantinople. The papers emphasise that they do not blame the Hakkı Pasha Cabinet for not accepting such advice but for neglecting the defences. The papers assure Austria that she will not be troubled with the mediation question.

Reuter wired from Tripoli - A force of Turks and Arabs attacked the Italian lines at Maury, Burchiana, on the morning of the 26th October and advanced to within a score of yards. Heavy fire from the Italian troops forced them to retire with great loss. Reuter wired from Milan - General Caneva has completed his plans for an advance into the interior of Tripoli. They include the elaboration of the South African blockhouse system. A chain of forts will be constructed from Tripoli to Gharghan. Reuter wired from Malta - The passengers arrived here from Tripoli state that the fight of the 23rd October was of the severest description. The Turks, it appears, feigned their retreat towards the desert, then tried to envelope the Italians. Three companies of the Bersaglieri were annihilated and several of their officers, who were taken prisoners, hanged and mutilated. Reuter wired from Tripoli - An aeroplane on the 24th October found six thousand Arabs encamping a portion of the Italian front. Simultaneously the Italians found again that there were numbers of armed Arabs on their rear. Thereupon the warships shelled the oasis in order to clear the latter out. Three hundred of the enemy's dead were found outside the Italian left, having apparently been killed in a previous affair. The Italians continue to seize rifles in Tripoli, where they are hidden in cellars and wells. They have also secured over a million cartridges. The crack Italian regiment of Grenadiers is going to Tripoli to fill the gaps caused by the casualties. Casualties of the 23rd October at Tripoli are still concealed, but in letters from correspondents they are variously estimated at from eighty killed to four hundred killed and wounded. While fighting outside the town was in progress there was desperate fighting lasting an hour and a half in the streets of the town. Ten Italians were shot from the roofs or stabbed, while the Italians fired revolvers and rifles wildly in all directions. The Italians got the upper hand and entered the houses, killing everybody found with arms on the spot and arresting many others. Details received show that the attack of the 26th October on Tripoli was well planned and vigorously and gallantly executed. The Turks were only repulsed after prolonged and severe fighting. The reconnaissances made in aeroplanes greatly assisted the Italians, the aviators being enabled to reveal the whereabouts of the enemy and cause the artillery and warships to intervene effectually. The losses have not yet been estimated. Reuter wired from Malta. It is estimated that the Turks and Arabs behind Tripoli now number sixty thousand. They are well armed and provisioned. The main body occupies a strongly fortified position. It is reported that the Turks are being constantly reinforced from the interior of Tripoli. It is further stated that the Italians have abandoned their advanced trenches, the reason assigned for this move being that the stench from the dead bodies threatened to contaminate the water supply.

The Outlook learns from Egypt that Enver Bey has crossed Egypt in disguise and met the Sherifs of the Senussi and has succeeded in uniting the Hinterland in a holy war against the Italians.

Reuter wired from Rome - Fully a thousand Arabs and Turks were killed during the fighting of the 26th October and a proportionate number wounded. Some of the Italian losses were again due to treacherous shots from the rear. Consequently, all villages and ruins near the oasis are being burned and the inhabitants removed to the town. One hundred were deported to the Tremiti Islands - rocky islets in the Adriatic. The Turkish Embassy in London states that the Italian casualties in the fighting on the 22nd instant were 300 killed and 700 wounded. Reuter wired from Malta - It is now stated that no Italian advance will be made until the further 15,000 troops arrive. The Italian losses in the street fighting and the suppression of the outbreak in the town are stated to be 180 killed and wounded. The house to house search for arms continues and between forty and fifty Arabs are being shot daily.

With reference to the statement that Enver Bey had crossed Egypt in disguise and stirred up a holy war it is authoritatively declared in Cairo that Enver Bey never passed through Egypt.

Reuter wired from Rome - The Turks made two attacks on the 28th October on Burchiana wells but were repulsed.

Reuter wired from Rome - King Victor Emmanuel has issued a message expressing his satisfaction with and great admiration of

the courage of the Army and the Navy in Tripoli and says that they will henceforth be united more closely and for ever in most sacred ties.

In Italian official despatches the losses of the enemy during the recent fighting are estimated at 2,000 killed and nearly 4,000 wounded.

Reuter wired from Rome - Except for some skirmishes near the oasis all was quiet in Tripoli on the 29th October. In an attack on Homs, the Turks were repulsed with heavy loss. Deported Arabs to the number of 920 have arrived at the Island of Ustica and a further 395 at the Island of Tremiti. A message from Naples states that the Duchess of Aosta has sailed for Tripoli on board a hospital ship.

Reuter wired from Tripoli - After the fight of the 23rd October when the Arabs were within the town and oasis region and attacked the Italians from the rear no mercy has been shown to the Arabs. Every house has been searched for three days. Suspected persons have been shot indiscriminately, both guilty and innocent, both old and young, and, furthermore, many women have been put to death.

Irritation in the Italian Press at the continued suppression of news is growing daily. Newspapers which aided the Government in forming public opinion in favour of the seizure of Tripoli are especially indignant and maintain that the suppression of facts which are learned in Italy through the foreign press is causing anxiety and a lack of confidence. Meanwhile elaborate and detailed accounts of great Turkish victories are being published in Constantinople and are producing the utmost enthusiasm.

It is officially stated at Rome that Italian losses at Tripoli, from the 23rd instant to the 26th instant, were 13 officers and 368 men killed and 16 officers and 142 men wounded. It is estimated that four thousand Arabs were killed in the fighting which took place between the 23rd and the 27th instant.

The London correspondent of the *Englishman* wired on the 31st October - Despite the ugliness of the censorship it is certain that the Italian losses in Tripoli are much greater than admitted and that the task is harder than was expected. The severity of their reprisals is universally condemned.

Reuter wired from Rome - Reports of Italian detentions are officially denied. Eight hundred more Arabs have been deported to Tremiti. King Victor Emmanuel has given £8,000 for the Red Cross Society and for the relief of the families of Italians killed and wounded.

Reuter's message from Tripoli of 30th October regarding the shooting of suspected persons by the Italians has since been confirmed by other correspondents and has created a sensation in the papers, most of which comment upon it, deploring what they describe as 'a butchery for which there are few parallels, tarnishing the arms of a civilised nation.'

Some papers urge Great Britain to intervene with an offer of mediation. Various letters appear in the *Times* regarding the Turko-Italian war. One from Mr. Ameer Ali appeals to Christian England to raise her voice against the reversion to barbarism displayed by Italy. Professor L. T. Hobhouse asks: "To what is Europe committed, if the action of Italians passes without a protest? Is the distinction between combatant and non-combatant to be set aside at the pleasure of invaders?" Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan warns the Italians and asks: "What will be the effect on English opinion of persistence in this cruel repression?"

Reuter wired from Rome - Admiral Aubrey has suddenly and secretly arrived in Rome and has had a long interview with the Cabinet. A scheme has been arranged for action of the Italian fleet against the Turkish Archipelago to force Turkey to submit or to lose more heavily. The scheme will probably be carried out as soon as the interested Powers have been informed. Italy will continue to spare the Albanian coasts and avoid causing complications in the Adriatic and the Balkans.

Despite the pro-Italian statement of the Austrian Premier on the 25th October the independent Austrian Press is carrying on a violent anti-Italian campaign and is sedulously circulating the official Turkish versions of Italian reverses, causing resentment in Italy. Representatives of the Italian journals in Vienna have sent a strong protest to the Austrian Journalistic Association against the dishonesty and mendacity of the Austrian Press.

Admiral Aubrey considers that the fleet is sufficient to occupy several islands of the Turkish Archipelago, and to blockade the Dardanelles, and to make a naval demonstration off Salonika or Smyrna.

Mr. Harcourt, at question time in the House of Commons, expressed regret at the sufferings of the British and Maltese

Humours of the War.

The Dogs of Peace.

BY JAMES DOUGLAS

THE cynic must be enjoying himself as he puffs his cigarette smoke over the map of Europe. "What a crew," he may murmur, as he surveys the contortions of statesmen and diplomats. There is only one thing that is absolutely certain, all these gentry are liars. There is always a good deal of lying in Europe, but during the past three months the output of lies has broken all records. There was a blizzard of lies during the Morocco conversations. Paris and Berlin surpassed themselves. They lied steadily day after day until their lies bored all Europe. At last every sensible reader got used to the diet of lies. We gave up all hope of ever enjoying the luxury of a fact on this earth. We cultivated a nice taste in lies. We became connoisseurs. We recognised at a glance every possible variety of lie. The thing became a pleasant game.

Nobody imagined that the art of lying could be carried any farther. Morocco, we felt sure, was the limit. We were wrong. Italy soon proved that lying is in its infancy. She showed that France and Germany are clumsy neophytes. She dazzled all Europe by the graceful ease of her lies. She hatched the Tripoli plot with the most artistic skill. She threw dust in the eyes of the cleverest liars in Christendom. She taught the smartest thieves in Europe napping. Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London and Constantinople are not exactly babes. Yet Rome outdid them all.

Tripoli used to be the haunt of pirates, but the old pirates were evidently bunglers. They could not have held a candle to Italy. How many lies were told about the bombardment of Tripoli? It would be easier to say how many grains of sand lie on the beach of Tripoli. Tripoli may or may not have been bombarded with shells, but Europe was bombarded with lies about the bombardment. For my part I steadfastly refuse to believe any statement that has been printed or that will be printed about Tripoli. Nothing will convince me that it has been bombarded, or that it has not been bombarded. Indeed, I doubt the existence of Tripoli. I have seen hundreds of Tripoli photographs in the papers—all true and all different. I refuse to believe in any of them. A photograph of Tripoli in ruins would leave me frigidly incredulous. The Indo-Turkish war is a war of lies whose only ammunition is lies. It simplifies life to treat all the lies with equal disdain.

One grief hurts me. The Turks have not lived up to their reputation. I have always revered the Turk as the most beautiful liar in Europe. The Italians have destroyed my faith in that legend. They have utterly outclassed the Turks in mendacity. I am sorry that the Turks did not make an effort, like Mrs. Dombey. They ought to have done something to show that our confidence in them was not misplaced. They ought to have put their heads together and produced at least one good watertight lie a day. But the proficiency of the Italians seems to have paralysed them. They were stunned by the avalanche of lies that overwhelmed their old-fashioned Oriental guile. In their despair they weakly fell back on the truth. I can never forgive the Turks.

The Turks failed, for instance, to create a hero like the Duke of the Abruzzi, the Italian Nelson whose orders rained like hail night and day over the Adriatic. I salute the Duke of the Abruzzi. Nobly has he atoned for the humiliations inflicted upon him by the Elkins family. The Duke's ubiquity astonished his sailors. He was everywhere. I have no doubt that he dictated all the rumours that have made the cables blush. In England we are accustomed to Dukes.

We know their little ways. But we have no duke like this fire-eater who has been painting the Mediterranean red.

The sooner the Turks import a live duke the better. We could lend them one. But perhaps the Turks do not want any dashing little dukes. During the South African war a telegraphic error converted the message, "No more horses wanted," into "No more heroes wanted." I fancy the Turks want no heroes. They are waging war on a new system. They are lying low and saying nothing. They are letting Italy wade deep into the mess. Sooner or later they know the Powers will fall out, and then the honest Turk may come by his own. Already the Triple Alliance is becoming a Triple Misalliance.

The truth is that nobody trusts anybody in Europe. Italy was afraid that her good friend, Germany, would grab Tripoli. Hence her sudden pounce, which has upset the Fentonic apple-cart. There is no doubt that France and England connived at the Italian coup. Before Italy struck she took care to assure herself of their benevolent neutrality. There will be a pretty comedy when the House of Commons meets and Sir Edward Grey fences with his questioners. It is certain that the truth will not be allowed to leak out. The truth is that the House of Commons has no influence over our Foreign policy. The Foreign Office will not reveal its secrets. It will deny that it knew anything about the Italian raid just as the Colonial Office denied that it knew anything about the Janssen raid. But there is no doubt that it knew.

The Hague Convention is now a dead letter. The Pacifists are impotent. Their paper barriers against war are really worse than useless. The powers use them as screens to hide their intrigues. We may expect new surprises in all directions. Agade and Tripoli are only the overture. In other words, we may look out for what a cynic has called Disarmageddon.

London Opinion



THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT.
Dama Europa of the Hague Academy for Young Gentlemen. I thoroughly disapprove of this, and I soon I ever it's over I will interfere to put a stop to it.

Punch

"Old Nick."

ANY simple minded person who wishes to understand why Italy thinks it right at a moment's notice to declare war against Turkey in order to seize Tripoli, should spend one shilling on an ancient book, entitled "The Prince," which was written by an Italian, Niccolò Machiavelli about four hundred years ago.

I am quoting in what follows from Mr. Marriott's translation in Everyman's Library, and I may perhaps remind my readers that the phrase "Old Nick," as applied to a certain gentleman from the nether regions is derived from our friend Machiavelli's reputation as a political philosopher. The adjective "Machiavellian" has the same origin, and in view of Italy's contemptuous refusal to observe the peace of Europe it may be salutary to quote the theories asenun ciated by her greatest prose writer, theories on which her statesmen are nurtured.

Chapter eighteen is particularly instructive. It concerns "the way in which princes should keep faith." "Everyone," says Machiavelli, in pious tones, "admits how praiseworthy it is in a prince to keep faith, and to live with integrity and not with craft. Just so, but note the next sentence.

"Nevertheless, our experience has been that those princes who have done great things have held good faith of little account, and have known how to circumvent the intellect of men by craft, and in the end have overcome those who have relied on their word."

Against this truly Christian doctrine, what chance has a mere Turk who is so stupid as to "rely" on a Christian's word? No wonder that he should be "circumvented."

Our philosopher, "Nick," as Shakespeare calls him, leaves us in no doubt as to his meaning. "A wise lord," says he, "cannot, nor ought he to, keep faith when such observance may be turned against him, and when the reasons that caused him to pledge it exist no longer." Well, no one will accuse Italy of sinning against this noble precept, and the present situation could scarcely be better summed up than in the following delightful sentence:

"Of thousands of modern examples could be given, showing how many treaties and engagements have been made void and of no effect through the faithlessness of princes, and he who has known best how to employ the fox, has succeeded best."

Italy has, of course, sent forth some beautifully worded dispatches, honey itself is less sweet. This, again, is quite in accordance with the precepts of Machiavelli. "A prince," says he, "ought to take care that he never lets anything slip from his lips that is not replete with the above-named five qualities, that he may appear to him who sees and hears him altogether merciful, faithful, humane, upright, and religious." One can hardly refuse a smile at Machiavelli's cynical belief in politicians assuming religion. Says he:

"There is nothing more necessary to appear to have than this last quality, inasmuch as men judge generally more by the eye than by the hand, because it belongs to everybody to see you, to few to come into touch with you."

"The prince ought thus to be 'a great pretender and dissimbler,' since 'men are so simple and so subject to present necessities, that he who seeks to deceive will always find someone who will allow himself to be deceived.'" Bismarck could not have put it more gently and firmly.

In view of recent occurrences, it is not uninteresting to find that "Old Nick" discusses at length the very question whether or not it is easy to conquer "the state of the Turk." It is, he thinks, a task of "great difficulty," since "he who attacks the Turk must bear in mind that he will find him united and he will have to rely more

methods may gain empire, but not glory."
So much for "Old Nick."—M.A.F.

Up-to-date War Songs.

After Lord Macaulay

Attend, all ye who list to hear the bold Abruzzi's praise,
I sing of the thrice famous deed he wrought in modern days;
When the young Turk unspeakable opposed his warships great
With one or two old pinnaces entirely out of date
It was about the lovely close of a mild autumn day,
There came a gallant coasting ship with fearsome news to say
Her crew had seen, near Prevesa, and hadn't failed to note,
The Turkish fleet, consisting of one whole torpedo boat
His signal brave Abruzzi hoists, aloft that signal flag
"We'll steal upon the foe this night. We'll take 'em by surprise.
So clear the decks, put out all lights, ere we their fleet pursue;
And make each lighthouse on the seas put out its lantern too.
We needs must this precaution take, lest they our coming mark.
I cannot and I will not lose the advantage of the dark."
Night sank upon the dusky beach and on the purple sea,
Such night Egyptian ne'er has been and ne'er again shall be,
From Norway to New Zealand, from Hong-Kong to Hudson's Bay
No single lighthouse on the seas gave forth a single ray
So the bold Duke his squadron led, four noble battleships,
Eight armoured cruisers, all let loose like greyhounds from the slips;
And through the gloom, full speed ahead, they boldly made their way
To where at anchor, close in shore, the Turkish fleet it lay
Meanwhile the streets of Rome were all agog with hurrying feet,
And news was passed from mouth to mouth, "He's seen the
Turkish fleet."



"REALISM!"

"Because the good old rule,
Sufficeth them, the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who would worth."

on his own strength than on the revolt of others." Indeed, when he treats of conquest, Machiavelli employs some very plain language. "Although," says he, "one may be very strong in armed forces, yet in entering a province one has always need of the good will of the natives." It was just this lack of native good will that wrecked Italy's adventures some years ago in Ethiopia. I see no reason to suppose that the Arab tribes up country will receive Italy's not very contented troops with open arms. "You have enemies," writes Machiavelli severely, "in all those whom you have injured in seizing that principality." In fact, "he who would attack that state from the outside must have the utmost caution." You, my prince, must be careful lest "the country is not pillaged by your officials."

Tripoli has been bombarded. Well, that also is what "Old Nick" would have advised. "He who becomes master of a city accustomed to freedom and does not destroy it," so runs his advice as to "the way to govern cities"—"must expect to be destroyed by it." For Freedom and Islam and the parallel is perfect. "The safest way is to destroy them," i.e., these cities with their own ideas—"or to reside there"—an alternative hardly contemplated by the King of Italy. Let Tripoli have a taste of shot and shell.

There is in "The Prince" an eighth chapter, "concerning those who have obtained a principality by wickedness." I commend it to the Italian Government, and especially the sentence

"It cannot be called talent to play fellow-citizens, to deceive friends, to be without faith, without mercy, without religion; such



A SHORT OF A WAR
A Fable in Picture

The Character
The Shark—Italy, whose very effective Navy is attacking Tripoli in Africa.
The Tiger—Turkey, whose most efficient Army is in Turkey in Europe and Asia.

And greater still became the crowds and louder still the din,
As last from all the country round the rustic folk flocked in
Some anxious were, some full of hope, and some were in the
Blues,
And every man his neighbour asked, "Say will he win or lose?"

Next day all doubts were set at rest, and every face was glad
All Italy with pride and joy went absolutely mad
For a message from Abruzzi came, and this the news it bore
"I have engaged the Turkish fleet and driven her ashore."

— Truth.

Spurious Symposiums.

DO YOU AGREE WITH ITALY'S ACTION?

SYNOPSIS OF REPLIES OF PROMINENT PEOPLE.

HAVING addressed to the undermentioned individuals the burning question, "Do you agree with Italy's action towards Turkey, if not, why not, and if so, why?" "John Bull" has received the following profoundly interesting replies—

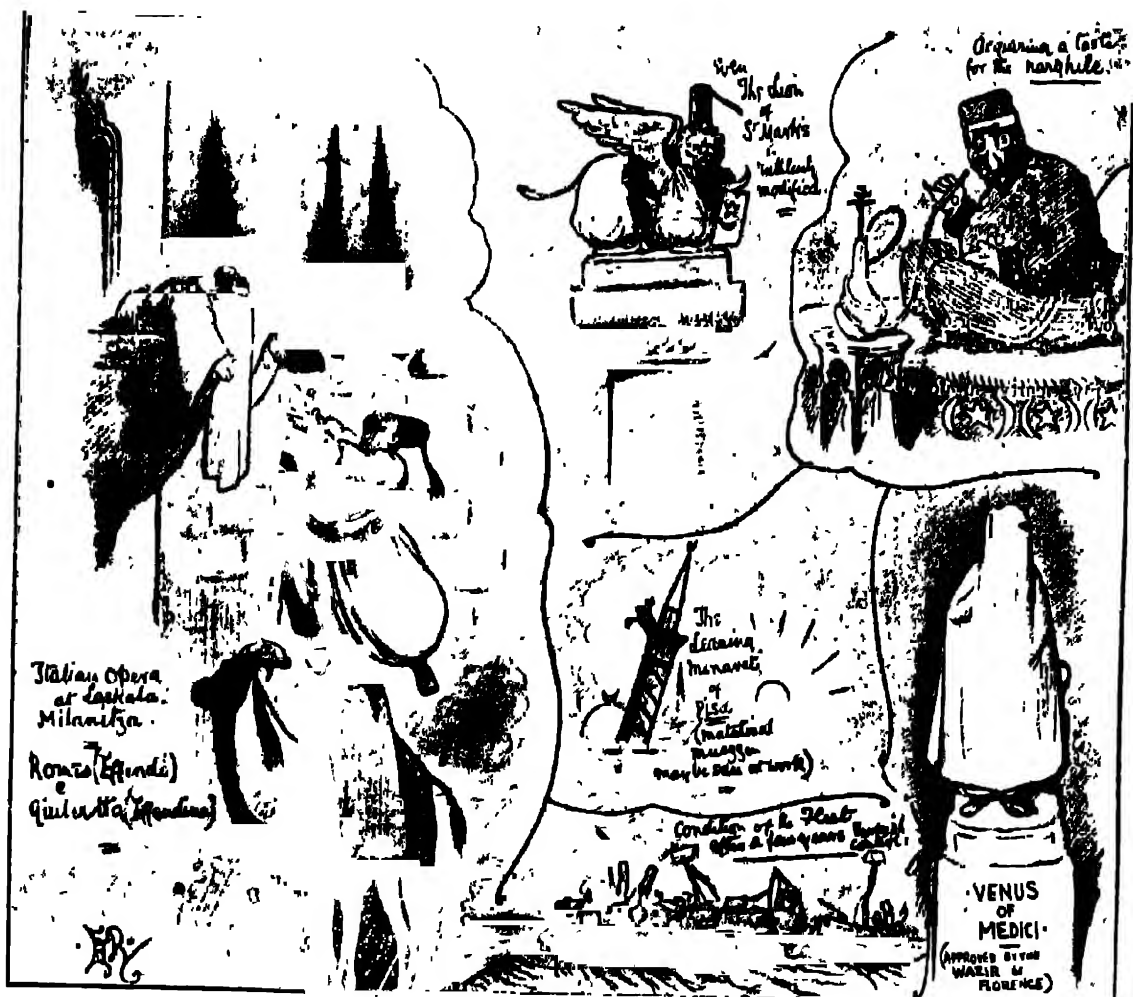
FROM MISS MARIE CORRELLI:—

Most emphatically no! Not only is the idea of war abhorrent to my supersensitive temperament (the penalty of genius) but in the present case there is added a poignant element of grief which cuts



IF TURKEY BECAME ITALIAN!

[Punch]



IF ITALY BECAME TURKISH!

[Punch]

me to the quick. The Duke of the Abruzzi's life is endangered. Were he to fall the delicious love romance that exists between him, the son of a kingly house, and Miss Elkin, the beautiful daughter of an American plutocrat, would be brought to a pitiful, a heartrending close. This in my opinion is an all-sufficient reason for the prompt intervention of the Powers. Spot the war! — Yours, in tears. MARIE CORELLI.

FROM THE REV F. B. MEYER. —

Need you ask? I succeeded in stopping the Johnson-Wells fight, and have publicly prayed for the conversion of the intended combatants. I therefore have a right to call myself a peacemaker, and accordingly feel myself blessed. It is a nice feeling and I am anxious to feel some more of it. To which end I am preparing a petition to each of the Powers involved, and am organising a special service, to be followed by a prayer meeting (all are welcome) for next Sunday. If this fails to bring the combatants to their senses, I shall take out summonses against the Italian and Turkish Ambassadors, requiring them to show cause why, etc., etc., — Yours enthusiastically F. B. MEYER.



Parquino Turn
ITALY (after the invasion) "If only I had boots to go home in!"



Westminster Gazette

NURSE EUROPE'S TROUBLESOME BOYS

Nurse Europa: "Drat those boys! I've no sooner got Master William and Master Jacques settled down quietly than off goes Master Victor Emmanuel on 'the rampage, and right across the grass too!"

FROM MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Italy has my hearty support merits of the case, but welcome

I know next to nothing about the anything — war, pestilence, or any other horrors you like, so long as the emancipation of the women of Turkey from the base thralldom of the harem is likely to result. There is only one burning question in the world to-day — the freeing of woman from the tyranny of man. The crushing of Turkey means the opening of the harem door. Go it, Italy. Yours militantly, CHRISSY.

FROM MR. GEORGE CADBURY. —

Whilst my peaceful sentiments are shocked and outraged by Italy's precipitate and unprovoked attack upon Turkey, as a business man I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that a stoppage in the supply of Turkish coffee may result in an increase in the sale of Cadbury's Cocoa, which I may remind you is a soluble essence and a most suitable beverage for the autumn and winter seasons.

I am pleased to say the circulation of the *Daily News* has increased considerably since hostilities broke out. Yours, with mixed feelings.

GEORGE CADBURY.



Parquino

Turn

Public opinion (led by Gioletti) is pushing Italy into the Tripolitan abyss

FROM MR. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW. —

Yes and No — Yes, because Italy's action confirms my opinion — originally put forward tentatively by Carlyle — that the bulk of mankind are fools, and all philosophers welcome concrete illustrations of their theories. No, because Italy's illustration has the defect of being a caricature, proving mankind to be even greater fools than I had imagined. Extreme illustrations damage the soundest theories. Not being a smoker the Turkish side of the question does not concern me — Yours, paradoxically.

G. BERNARD SHAW.

FROM MR. HALL CAINE. —

I am sorry to say I cannot accede to your request. I am at the moment writing a three column article on the question for the *Daily Telegraph*, and dare not dissipate my energies — Yours, booming. HALL CAINE.

FROM LORD MILNER.

Let 'em fight it out and damn the consequences. MILNER.

Up-to-date War Songs.

After Thomas Hood.

"We're not importunate,"
Italy saith,
"We'd no unfortunate
Turk do to death.
Wake 'em up tenderly,
Pot 'em with care,
Armoured so slenderly.
Shoot in the air!"
"Look at their forts there,
Old-fashioned sorts there,
While their guns harmlessly
Damp shells are spitting
Wake 'em up gingerly—
Missing, not hitting.
"Handle 'em lovingly,
Treat 'em kid-glovingly.
Fates now desert the poor things.
Spare all whom spare you can,
Aim wide as e'er you can,
Lest you should hurt the poor things.
"Low shall we lay 'em all?
Their vital thread sever?
Ruthlessly slay 'em all?
Never! Oh, never!
From life's glad history
To death's dark mystery
Shall they be buried?
Say, shall we damage 'em?
Not for the world.
"Wake 'em up tenderly,
Pot 'em with care,
Armoured so slenderly;
Shoot in the air!"



THE SHOCKER SHOCKED.
Germany (Panic at Italy's behaviour). "What manners! I can't think where my young friend picked 'em up!"

refugees from Tripoli, and said he was glad to learn that the friends were being assisted by the Government of Malta. It had been suggested, added Mr. Harcourt, that Britain should send a ship to protect British subjects, but this he did not think advisable.

An aviator succeeded in dropping four bombs into the enemy's encampment at Tripoli. The Turks on October 31st and November 1st fired a few shells into the town, but did no damage. The shell exploded in the Italian trenches and seven soldiers were wounded.

The Italian Premier has issued an emphatic denial to the reported wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of Arabs. He says that the Oasis had to be purged when the Arabs were attacking the Italians in the rear, but 2,200 were deported to the Italian islands. He charges the Turks with killing the wounded, and gives as an instance that the Bersaglieri lost 300 killed, but only fourteen wounded.

The bomb which was dropped from an aeroplane in Tripoli created indescribable confusion in the Turkish Camp. Soldiers fled in all directions and animals stampeded. The aviators will repeat the experiment.

Italy has stocked a month's supply of coal for the whole fleet at Tobruk, which can now be used as a base for any naval operations against Macedonia, Syria or the Turkish Archipelago, avoiding the necessity for ships returning to Italy to renew supplies.

The Aga Khan has contributed £400 to the Red Crescent Fund opened jointly by the Moslem League and Islamic Society. The Moslem League has passed a resolution expressing horror at the atrocities committed by Italians and sympathy with the surviving inhabitants of Tripoli. The resolution further appeals to the British Government to use its influence to prevent a recurrence of such barbarities.

Replying to Mr. Sykes, Sir Edward Grey said that Turkey had not yet seen her way to restore the lights in the Red Sea without an understanding as regards the neutralisation of the Red Sea. He was, however, still communicating with the Porte on the subject.

Reuter wires from Malta: Practically all the Italian warships have left Tripoli, bound for Turkish waters.

Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons, referring to the alleged massacre of Arabs in Tripoli, said Great Britain cannot interfere with the military operations of Italy. Such action would be inconsistent with the neutrality of Great Britain. The Foreign Minister strongly deprecated questions which were offensive to other countries. Mr. Mason asked Mr. Asquith what action the Government proposed to take to express the horror and detestation of the House at the massacre of Arabs. Mr. Asquith replied that he most strongly deprecated such questions. (Cheers).

Moslem Feeling in India.

In an emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—The Council of the All-India Moslem League strongly protests against the intolerable revival of medieval barbarism by Italy in Tripoli, and the brutal murder of innocent women and children, and appeals on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to their humane Government, to use its good offices to put a speedy end to this atrocious and savage war.

A public meeting of the Mussalmans of Madras will be held on Monday the 6th instant under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, to protest against the Italian atrocities in Tripoli, and to open a relief fund in aid of the wounded and widows and orphans. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mohamed will preside.

As a well attended public meeting of the Muhammadans of Poronni Santie, Malabar, held under the presidency of Syed Abdel Rahman Bin Mahomed, the local head of the committee, on Sunday last to sympathise with Turkey in its present crisis, and to protest against the unjust action of Italy, on declaring war against Turkey, it was resolved to conduct prayers on the mardani on every Friday evening, and at all mosques at all times after the usual prayers of the day, and to distribute rice to the poor. A committee was also appointed to collect funds for the relief of the sufferers and to carry out the objects of the resolution.

A meeting of the leading Moslems of Karachi was held at the Islam Club on the 22nd October at 6.30 P.M., to open a relief fund for the Turkish wounded, orphans and widows in the Italo-Turkish War. It was largely attended by the gentlemen of the different communities; Mir Ayub Khan, Bar-at-Law, being in the Chair. The President expressed that there was no objection on the part of the Government to raise the fund, and all the Moslems should feel grateful to the British Government for the privilege. After speeches were made by various gentlemen the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—That an appeal should be made to the Muhammadans of the Province by means of printed circulars to raise the humanitarian object. That copies of the resolutions

be sent to the leading Moslem Journals. Also copies be furnished to the members of the committee who should be requested to indent for the tickets and receipt books. A list of persons appointed to the collection business was carefully drawn out. A sum of Rs. 3,000 was promised on the spot. With prayers to God for success of the Ottomans and a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting terminated under deep feeling of sympathy for their brethren in trouble.

A meeting of 5,000 Mussalmans of Scrajanj was held on the 29th of October at 2 P.M., to protest against Italian aggression and to express sympathy with the Turks:—It was resolved that they should pray to God that Turkey's rights in Tripoli may be preserved. That this meeting expresses its regret at Italy's action in Tripoli and condemns Italy for having entered into an unjust bloody war against Turkey.

That the entire Moslem world should boycott Italian goods. A correspondent writes from Bareilly:—There is much excitement here amongst the Muhammadans owing to the unjust invasion of Tripoli by the Italians.

A strong wave of sympathy with the Sultan and the Turks which is going over the Muhammadan world has also affected the public here. A red Crescent Society has been started and people will gladly subscribe for the relief of the Turkish wounded and the sufferers.

A public meeting of the Muhammadans of Aligarh to protest against the Italo-Turkish War was held in the Juma Masjid on Friday afternoon, the 27th of October 1911. The following resolutions among others were unanimously passed:—(1) That the Muhammadans of Aligarh assembled in a meeting strongly condemn the aggressive attitude of Italy, sincerely and earnestly sympathise with the Turks and pray for the success of their co-religionists and annihilation of their enemies, (2) that Muhammadans of Aligarh pledge themselves to boycott Italian goods to mark their deep abhorrence of the barbarous action of Italy; (3), that the Muhammadans of Aligarh pray their most humanitarian Government to put an end to an unconscionable, unprovoked and unjust war, as the traditional ally of Turkey and the greatest Islamic power, (4) that the Muhammadans of Aligarh consider it their religious duty to raise funds for the help of the wounded Turks, and for the support of the family of the martyrs.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Tripoli, October 8.

MORE or less trustworthy information has come in from the interior showing that the Turkish troops are in an unenviable plight. Munir Pasha, who is in command, appears to be a dear old gentleman, incapable of independent action when denied instructions from Stambul. The bulk of his force, which some place as high as 10,000, but which is probably nearer 5,000, appears to have been marched backwards and forwards in the desert, Munir Pasha having a desire to return and attack the Italian Naval Brigade, but not having the backbone to carry through his splendid intentions. This indecision has caused the troops to be halted about a day's march outside the town, while the baggage and camels have been sent without escort further into the interior. The camelmen, realizing that the Turkish regime was at an end and that they themselves were unlikely to get pay or safety with the Turks, walked off with the camels and loads. Nearly the whole of the local conscripts and all the locally armed Arabs have deserted, and I understand that Munir Pasha in despair has opened up communications with the commander of the Italian Naval Brigade. As the Turks have left both their artillery and their wives in Tripoli, there can never have been any intention of serious resistance. The story is one which should whiten Sherket Pasha's hair with grief.

For their part the Italians have entered joyously upon the occupation. Last night the Fleet band played on the piazza below the Konak, where the new Governor has taken up his residence. Everything has been done to reassure the town Arabs, who are totally unnerved by the shell fire. A free distribution of meal and flour has been organized for the indigent, who, owing to the failure of the crops for three years, are very numerous.

The Turkish Governor and many Turkish officials were peremptorily deported yesterday.

Tripoli, October 30.

I have received definite information that when the Turkish force under Munir Pasha retreated into the interior it consisted of about 1,000 Turkish Nizams and 3,000 Tripolitan Arab Redifs recently called up. They took with them 30 pieces of cannon, including 10 modern quick-firing Krupp field guns and six similar mountain guns. Before leaving the Turks distributed 30,000 stands of modern Musers to the Arabs locally, of which the Italians have already collected 5,000. The main Turkish force is 12 hours' march inland,

where Munir Pasha is trying to negotiate with four powerful Berber tribes to defend the Gharian line of hills against a possible Italian advance.

This is Italian information, my own private information is to the effect that Munir Pasha and his officers, after a council of war, have determined that resistance is futile. The question is whether they will surrender here or try to reach the French frontier.

The Italian Naval Brigade holding the town is 1,800 strong, and the southern outposts among the palm trees are each night worried by sniping, which is sometimes reported as Turkish, and at other times as that of Beduins. It is probably the latter, as the wholesale distribution of modern rifles by the Turks has destroyed all order beyond the limits of Italian outposts. There have been several explosions in the town due to the looting of dynamite and powder after the withdrawal of the Turks. Some of these, which were quite severe, were due to foolish experiments by the thieves.

Tripoli, October 11, Midday.

The van of the Italian expeditionary force arrived to-day in two ocean liners from Naples. I strongly suspect that the arrival was due to an urgent appeal from the Navy for troops. As Turkish officers dressed as Arabs had been seen in the town, it is possible that the Turks realized that an opportunity was open to them to drive the weak Italian naval outposts back on the town and the ships. In any case, there was considerable anxiety on all sides last night lest the desert should vomit forth the entire Turkish force, which might sweep through the palm trees over the outposts. Commander Cagni drew further reinforcements from the three ships of the reserve squadron which are here and turned naval field guns into the outpost line. The Turks, however, made no movement.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, October 9.

The Press to-day publishes a telegram from the Ottoman Commandant at Tripoli, apparently received *via* Tunis, reporting that considerable damage had been done to several of the forts, that 12 persons had been killed and 23 wounded during the first day's bombardment and claiming that several unspecified Italian vessels had been damaged.

The Agence Ottomane publishes what purports to be a telegram from the same source announcing great loss of life in the town owing to the "inexperience or ferocity" of the Italian gunners. It remains to be seen whether there is any more truth in this statement than in the reports of the Italian landing at Preveza and the Greek, Montenegrin and Russian mobilizations published by the agency in question, which is now the organ of the Salonika extremists.

Rome, October 10.

The *Tribuna* to-night published from its correspondent at Tripoli a full account of the installation yesterday of the new Governor, Admiral Borea d'Ostia, which took place in the old Castle, the former Governor's residence, with all the ceremonial state that could be improvised for the occasion. The ceremony was attended by Hassuna Pasha, Kaid of Tripoli, and all the Consuls of the other nations. After the Consuls had offered their congratulations and withdrawn, Hassuna Pasha presented the Arab chiefs, who assured the new Governor that the Arabs would be happy under the new rule, provided that their religion and families were respected. The Governor fully reassured them as to the good and friendly intentions of the Italians and shook hands with them all.

The last to leave was the Kaid, who showed a particularly friendly disposition to his Italian hosts. On his departure the Italian troops presented arms in recognition of his rank as the supreme religious head.

The character given to the Italian troops by the Turks is an unfounded calumny; they are doing their utmost to make themselves welcome. The Italian officers have shown admirable tact in their treatment not only of Arabs, but also of the large number of Turks who have remained in the city.

Malta, October 12.

Here in Malta it seems as though we are assisting at a great drama. Until yesterday morning the island was crowded with Arabs and Jews, but now the scene is changed. In the streets, cafés and shops well-behaved and orderly Turks, some of them officers, whose faces and bright uniforms give a touch of colour to the place, are seen. They are waiting for an opportunity to go to Constantinople. Very often Turks and Italians sit side by side at the cafés, but absolutely no incident has taken place.

I feel it my duty to contradict the statement telegraphed on 6th October that indigent Ottoman subjects were being supported by the Italian Consul. The report was untrue, but originated from the fact that a Tripoli Arab formerly employed at an Italian school was twice given a subsidy by the Italian Consul.

Constantinople, October 11.

Yesterday Haki Bey and Carasso Effendi visited the Grand Vizier, to whom it is believed they made a communication on behalf of the Central Committee urging the Government to lose no time in

expelling the Italian residents and in adopting other retaliatory measures. Said Pasha has not yet taken a decision on this subject, which will be discussed at the Council of Ministers to-night.

The situation for the Government is indeed difficult. On the one hand its German and Austrian mentors have been urging it not to make reprisals and to accept the situation with as good a grace as possible on prudential grounds, and, it is believed, that they have laid especial stress on the danger of the Balkan complications to which Turkey is exposed by prolonging a hopeless conflict.

On the other hand, a great body of Turkish opinion, whether within the ranks of the Committee or the Opposition, is strongly averse to the humiliation of surrender. The most articulate supporters of the war policy express the conviction that both Austria and Russia, not to mention other Great Powers, can and will prevent aggressive action on the part of any of the Balkan States, while the fact that the present war has not involved the slightest diminution of the Ottoman forces in Europe and Anatolia can but facilitate their pacific endeavours. A combination of a vigorous economic offensive with a guerrilla warfare in Tripoli and a policy of military passivity elsewhere will, they believe, force the Italian Government either to attack its opponents elsewhere than in Africa, and thus risk Turkish counter-strokes or European complications, or to offer terms to which Turkish *amour propre* can reconcile itself without excessive difficulty. Even should the policy fail it would, at least, have made Italy pay dearly for her prize.

Of course, it is impossible to say how far all the supporters of these tactics are determined to carry them out to the bitter end, but it may be noted that the fears recently expressed here that the state of affairs in Yemen would imperil their success are now waning. The concessions granted to the Imam Yahya have apparently satisfied him and his Zaidi followers, while the Sherref of Mecca continues to exert his influence on the Government's behalf. Further, the sum promised to the Mahsori for rebuilding has been actually despatched to Skutari, and its distribution will, it is hoped, contribute to the maintenance of tranquillity among the Albanians. Such are the views of the war party. Only the future can show whether its estimate of the situation is correct.

London, October 10.

All that we know of the Turkish fleet is that the squadron from Beirut reached the Golden Horn and proceeded to coal and take ammunition on board. Whether offensive action is contemplated no one knows, but obviously, if such action is contemplated at all, it should take place during the movement of the Italian transports in the course of the next few days. The virtual destruction of the Turkish Navy would be the probable result of such action, and the question will doubtless be weighed whether the damage that might, with luck and good management, be done to Italy would compensate for this loss, and whether better results might not be expected from the strategy of patience.

London.

At a private meeting on 6th October at which Sir Francis Vane, Mr. Oscar Browning, Sir W. P. Byles, M.P., Mr. W. T. Stead, Sir Thomas Barclay and other friends of the arbitration movement were present, it was decided to send delegates to Rome and Constantinople to appeal to the two Governments to submit their dispute to arbitration. Mr. W. T. Stead was chosen to go to Constantinople and left London yesterday. It has not yet been decided who shall go to Rome.

At a meeting of Orientals resident in London, held on 7th October at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, resolutions were unanimously carried condemning the action of Italy in declaring war against Turkey; appealing to the Sultan and Khalif to uphold the prestige of Islam and the dignity of the East, and wishing success to the Turkish arms; and calling upon all Orientals to carry out a rigorous boycott of Italian goods until the dispute is settled in a way honourable to, and maintaining the integrity of, the Sultan's Empire. The chair was taken by Muhammad Farid Bey, leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 11.

European diplomacy is cudgelling its brains to find an answer to the question how a circle may best be squared. Tripoli has already passed into the possession but is not yet the recognised property of Italy. At least half the expeditionary force is understood to be landed or on the point of being landed and the other half will speedily follow. When the occupation of the Tripolitan littoral is complete the world must be prepared for an enunciation of Italian sovereignty, for there seems every reason to believe that Italy will make a clean sweep of the vestige of Ottoman authority, and will not contemplate the retention by Turkey of any title, no matter how fictitious, to future interference in Tripolitan affairs.

Turkey on the other hand is not expected to acquiesce directly or indirectly in these high-handed but, from the Italian standpoint, necessary proceedings, nor to recognize with any alacrity the logic of an accomplished fact. The consequences of spontaneous recognition would indeed probably be fatal to any Turkish Administration that should attempt it. A prolonged state of war seems, therefore, inevitable—with all its attendant possibilities of turmoil in Turkey.

and of Balkan complications—unless diplomacy can discover some means of solving the knotty problem.

Hair-splitting diplomats are reluctant to admit the hopelessness of the search for a saving fiction. Others, not ignorant of Oriental affairs but positively minded, declare frankness and firmness to be the only safe course. Turkey, they argue, has to swallow a bitter pill. The pill can neither be cut in halves nor coated with sugar, nor for the present gilded. Since there will be danger in delay the only solution is for the five Great Powers to approach Turkey quietly, decidedly, and to say "Swallow!" In this case Turkey will protest, will denounce the Great Powers as the abettors of robbery, but will eventually obey. The very strength of the moral pressure applied might afford a luckless Ottoman Government some justification in the eyes of Ottoman subjects and tend to prevent armed exasperation. Otherwise, urge these diplomatists, the delay incidental to an attitude of finicking and insincere impartiality on the part of Europe will give time to the Turkish partisans of a militant diversion to gather strength and to bring on the conflagration which Turkey herself, no less than Europe, has cause to fear.

Whatever the merits of this suggested course of action, its adoption would presuppose the existence of comparative harmony among the five Great Powers. A nearer approach to apparent unanimity of view among them has indeed been noticeable during the last week than at any time since Austria-Hungary threw over the Macedonian judicial reform in return for the Novi Bazar railway concession. In view of the desirability of harmony it is impossible not to deplore the tone and the wilfully inaccurate assertions of a highly official article published to-day in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* upon the diplomatic history of the Italian initiative in Tripoli.

The *Tagblatt*, or rather its inspirers, argue that throughout the preparation of her action Italy has stood on the side of the Triple Entente and has utilized the Triple Alliance only as a protection against resistance and animosity on the part of her unsuspecting and uninformed allies. As at Algiers so in this question Italy has stood "on the shore opposite to the Triple Alliance." This is not necessarily a reproach to Italy, adds the *Tagblatt*, but merely an explanation of the difficult position in which Austria-Hungary and Germany are placed. Italy was obliged to be faithless in order to cultivate the favour of England and France, without whose consent Tripoli could never have been obtained.

A Sample of Italian War News.

Milan, October 4

A WIRELESS message from Tripoli states that during the whole night Beduin cavalry scoured the outskirts of the town, evidently trying either to see if a surprise by Turks was possible or to attract the Italians towards the place at which the Turkish garrison was camped and fortified. The searchlights of the warships *Sardegna*, *Umberto*, *Societa*, and *Benedetto Brin* showed their whereabouts, while the fire of the Italian artillery obliged them several times to retire.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, October 4

AN official communication issued here to-day states that at a quarter to 2 in the early morning of Tuesday the Italian outpost at the wells of Bomellane was attacked by Turks. After half an hour's firing the attacking party retired, leaving a number of dead and wounded and firearms behind them. A wounded Turkish prisoner stated that the attacking force was composed of two companies of Infantry and one of Cavalry, about 300 men altogether. The wells were also subjected to fire from the guns of the *Sardegna* and the *Carlo Alberto*, those ships acting on a preconcerted signal.

The Italian sailors displayed much courage and *Sing-ford* Captains Cagni and Bonelli were in command. A reconnaissance made by daylight showed that the ground was clear along the whole length of the Italian front.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, October 10

CARE must be taken not to exaggerate the importance of the present military operations in Tripoli. We have here two battalions of the naval brigade holding the fringe of the oasis facing the desert to oppose any attack from the Turkish troops or desert tribes of the *Hinterland*. Sailors doing duty as soldiers are always excitable, and a desert is always full of mirages. Consequently the outpost affair last night will be reported in Europe as a desperate Turkish endeavour to retake Tripoli. The heavy naval fire which was expended for hours on the moonlit desert will distort the proportion of the whole affair. With the scepticism bred of long acquaintance with desert warfare I made my way this morning beyond the outpost line, and examined the path of attack. It required no Sherlock Holmes to read the evidence of the sand. Each phase of the skirmish was clearly legible. A score of men, no more, armed with Martini crept up to within 300 paces of the Italian outpost stationed at the town pumping station. Here the fire from the sailors checked them. Little piles of burned cartridge cases showed where each rifleman had

lain. That they were Kurds from the locality was proved by two corpses, which had been left behind. That the whole party was similar was shown by the ammunition and boot tracks upon the sand. This affair is being exaggerated by excitable Italian correspondents into a desperate attack.

The truth of the matter is that the Turkish rearguard, which is holding the oasis a few miles outside the town, during the night boldly despatched a reconnoitring party of about 20 men, who, if they had not been stopped by Commander Cagni's admirable outpost line, would doubtless have cut the Tripoli water-supply. It is possible that the reconnaissance will be followed by a more determined attempt to-night or to-morrow. But proportion, gentlemen please, proportion, and the sooner the Italian cavalry are landed in order to clear up these untidy oases the better.

The Balkans and the War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sinai, October 3.

THE sudden rupture between Italy and Turkey has so far produced less excitement in the Balkans than might have been expected, and nothing has yet occurred to disturb the prevailing calm. This is all the more remarkable in view of the deep-rooted animosity with which the subject races in European Turkey, encouraged by the sympathy of the kindred population beyond the frontiers regard their Asiatic masters—a sentiment which the Young Turk regime has done nothing to allay. The main factor in the situation is the Turkish Army, to the strengthening of which the Young Turks have devoted all their energies and almost all their financial resources. The improved condition of the army, which is the only visible monument of the so-called regeneration of Turkey indicates how fully the Young Turks, no less than their forefathers, realize that they hold their possessions by the sword alone. As the Army can find no vent for its energies in the conflict with Italy and can, consequently, be employed in its entirety against any prospective foe, the situation in the Balkans remains, for the present at least, unaffected by recent events. The Christian States have not yet learned the lesson that joint effort alone will enable them to effect the liberation of their kindred populations from the Ottoman yoke, have neglected all opportunities for combination, and the advent of the crisis finds them disunited and, in some cases, incapable of action.

Therefore it is not to be expected that the outbreak of hostilities with Italy would expose Turkey to any immediate danger in the Balkan Peninsula. The formal declaration of the Marquis di San Giuliano that Italy maintains her former policy regarding the *status quo* in the Balkans and will not countenance any movement against Turkey in those regions has, no doubt, contributed to the maintenance of tranquillity. For the present the danger of disturbance in the Balkans lies rather in the internal situation of Turkey than in the attitude of her Balkan neighbours. The prestige of the ruling coterie has vanished, and should serious internal confusion or civil war be the consequence, a general conflagration will almost inevitably follow. In such a case it is highly improbable that the Young Turks would again enjoy the immunity from foreign attack which enabled them to carry out the movements of 1908 and 1909 unmolested from abroad. They will not again find allies in Bulgarian *komitaji*, Greek *antartar*, and Albanian treacheries, and promises of liberty, equality, and fraternity will be lavished in vain. For the present, however, the Young Turks may be accorded a certain respite in the Balkans, and the circumstances that the season for campaigning is nearly over is not without importance in this connexion. That they will be granted a similar period of grace at home is very problematical, and interest for the moment, therefore, is concentrated on the internal situation. It has been suggested that the governing caucus in order to escape a catastrophe at home will endeavour to restore its prestige by an unprovoked attack upon Greece and a cheap victory in Thessaly. The false reports of the landing of Italian troops at Preveza issued in Constantinople may be designed to prepare the public mind for the concentration of the Turkish forces in the Vlayet of Yarina on the Greek frontier, and it seems doubtful whether the assurances already offered to the Greek Government can be relied on. The excitement prevailing in Southern as well as Northern Albania may possibly warrant these military measures, but it is certain that Italy, in accordance with her previous understanding with Austria, will refrain from lending open support to another Albanian revolt. That Italy have received the previous sanction of both her allies for her present adventure is beyond doubt, and, according to information received from the most trustworthy source, the intervention of Germany at the proper moment has already been arranged. As the friend of Turkey and the ally of Italy, Germany will propose a settlement calculated in some degree to save the face of Turkey which that Power will ultimately accept with gratitude.

Whether the Young Turks will spoil this arrangement by a sudden attack on Greece remains to be seen. Greece, under the

sober guidance of M. Venezelos, will carefully refrain from any provocative step. The danger at this point lies in the attitude of the leaders of the combined opposition in Athens, who seem disposed to exploit the susceptibilities of a peculiarly excitable people. The demonstration in Crete, largely engineered by M. Venezelos's enemies, were inevitable, but may safely be left out of account. The bellicose vapourings of irresponsible politicians in Athens find their counterpart in Belgrade and Sofia. The Belgrade journal *Politika* demands the immediate occupation of Novi Bazar. In Sofia Dr. Radoslavoff and M. Malinoff strenuously advocate a forward policy. It is unlikely, however, that M. Milovanovitch, a statesman of great experience, or M. Gueshoff, whose Government has just obtained a large majority at the elections, will be compelled to yield to ultra patriotic clamour.

The attitude of Bulgaria, of course, is of supreme importance at the present moment. The recent check to the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Turkey has produced a certain irritation not calculated to assuage the deep-seated indignation caused by the oppression of the Bulgarian element in Macedonia. But King Ferdinand is nothing if not circumspect, and he will scarcely risk war so long as the Turks present a united front. He must also take into account the attitude of Rumania, which may prove the determining factor in the situation. That Rumania has largely modified her Turcophil policy is beyond doubt. The verbal assurances of a former Government with regard to a mobilization in certain circumstances on behalf of Turkey is no longer regarded as binding. I have the best authority for stating that Rumania will, for the present, employ all her influence for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* and the preservation of peace. Should the crisis become acute she will play for her own hand exclusively, and in the case of the aggrandisement of neighbouring States, she will naturally claim compensation. Such a policy by no means necessitates an attitude of hostility towards Bulgaria or excludes the possibility of an amicable arrangement with that country. The remarkable development of the Rumanian military power cannot be overlooked in any forecast of the situation, and is strikingly exemplified in the extensive military manoeuvres now taking place in Moldavia and the Dobrudja. Rumania maintains an expectant attitude and is prepared for all emergencies. The belief, however, is entertained in responsible quarters that the present crisis will pass over without any serious disturbance in the Balkans.

Interview with Fethi Bey.

As to the prospects of the Italian operations in Tripoli, Fethi Bey who had till last week been Turkish Military Attaché in Paris, but is now on his way to Tripoli *via* Gabes in order to take command of the Turkish General Staff, has given his views to a correspondent of the *Temps* who travelled with him on board the same steamer. Fethi Bey began by saying that it would be folly for the Turks to await the Italians within the old walls of Tripoli or even to give them battle in the open country. The Turks, he believed, would exhibit all their traditional patience and tenacity. In spite of statements to the contrary, he believed that the vast majority of the Arabs in the interior would resist all temptation of immediate gain and would stand fast by the Turks in defence of their religion and country. But the important thing would be to transmute these Arabs from mere adherents into serviceable auxiliaries. This could be rapidly effected, and, indeed, some of the Arab tribes had already formed themselves into cavalry troops like the Algerian "goums" in the service of France. There were many Arab officers who had passed through the Turkish military schools who were fitted by their special knowledge to take command of these Tripolitan "goums." The steamer *Derma*, which had so cleverly run the blockade, had landed plenty of ammunition and 30,000 rifles, and, indeed, the Arabs were mostly armed already with Gras, Martini, or Mauser rifles, and knew very well how to use them.

The Turkish plan would therefore be to retreat to the mountains of Nefusa and to concentrate upon Kazar-Yefren Zintan and Dajda. There was plenty of water for an army in these districts, and such provisions as has been collected during the last few weeks on the coast were doubtless already on their way to the interior. There also would be concentrated the troops which had hitherto been on the Tunisian frontier or in garrison at Chabes and Fezzan. In their mountain camps they might hope to have collected in a few weeks some 12,000 regulars and two or three times as many Arabs, well armed, and already to some slight extent disciplined. Then and only then would the serious struggle begin. The Italians talked of remaining near the coast, but their officers would soon find that leaders could not always choose their ground, and that the enemy might force their hand. The Turks would never give the Italians any rest and would keep them on the move. If the Italians stuck to the city of Tripoli they would certainly not have conquered the country, and the Turks would return and lay siege to the capital. Even if the Italian superiority in numbers eventually proved decisive, the Turks would still have been able to save the honour of their country by dying.

Fethi Bey and his friends hoped to reach Ben Gardane and the Tripolitan frontier in a motor-car by way of Medenine and Zarat, which, barring unforeseen accidents, would have taken them two days.

Interview with Haladjian Effendi.

A REPRESENTATIVE of the *Near East* was yesterday granted a lengthy interview by Haladjian Effendi, late Turkish Minister of Public Works in Hakkı Pasha's Cabinet, who arrived in London from Constantinople on Monday and left for Paris last evening.

The conversation naturally turned on Anglo-Turkish relations, and the ex-Minister deplored Great Britain's silence and apathy in the Tripolitan incident.

"Great Britain has lost a splendid opportunity," he said, "to redeem that supremacy in the Near East which was hers before recent happenings."

"The truth of the matter is that she lost that opportunity owing to insufficient information—at times even perverted—regarding Turkish affairs. We in Turkey have a sincere admiration for Great Britain, which has helped us on many difficult occasions, we, young in our constitutional struggle, look up to her as our senior, from whom to gain wise counsel, and it would be ungrateful on our part not to recognise the benefits we have derived from her in the past."

"On the other hand, we do not wish to be misunderstood. We make mistakes, but Great Britain's policy ought not to be the reflex of those mistakes, and certainly we ought not to be misrepresented. Take, for instance, the information which is published in Great Britain concerning the Salonika Conference. It is stated that the Committee has been trying to incite religious animosity between the Crescent and the Cross. I defy anybody to prove to me the accuracy of this statement. The fact is a party must be judged by its enemies. Who are the enemies of the Committee? The reactionaries, the followers of the Hamidian rule, those Levantines who seek above all things the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Does England desire that disintegration? No, then why this campaign of calumny against the Committee? By destroying it you destroy the *régime*, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Mind you, I am not a member of the Committee. I am a Liberal, but I fully realise that, despite its faults, the Committee has regenerated Turkey to the greatest possible extent during the past few years. We must not be blinded to the great benefits of the *régime*, by errors which may have been committed. Under Abdul Hamid 300 Armenians were killed in a day, now not 30 are killed in a year, while Armenians are Ministers at Constantinople, and in Anatolia Armenians can have all the schools they need. Here, then, is a fact which I give in flat contradiction to rumours and mis-statements. Englishmen can judge if the Committee is as base and as black as it is painted."

"Having thus exposed the state of affairs in Turkey, properly speaking, and having shown that the Committee of Union and Progress is the sole backbone, in spite of its minor faults, of the present *régime*, and that by killing it or bringing it into disrepute a blow is aimed at constitutionalism and a service rendered to the Hamidian reactionaries, let us pass on to our foreign policy."

"It is absolutely inexact to state that we are, or that the Committee is, pro German and Anglophobe. I can prove to you, black or white, that Germany has not obtained so many concessions in Turkey under the new *régime* as France. It is true that she has been granted a concession to run rails from Alexandretta to join the main Baghdad line, but that is all."

"France, on the other hand, has been granted the preliminary study of 3,000 kilometres of lines in Anatolia and Rumelin. She has the concession for 10,000 kilometres of roads in the Empire, and 300 kilometres of railway lines in various parts of Asia Minor and to her have been ceded important preliminary studies in irrigation works in Scutari, Maritza, Wardar and Boyana."

"It is our great regret that Great Britain has not shared to a greater extent in economic development of Turkey, but that is largely due to the circumstance that high financial circles in London do not 'push' enterprises in Constantinople. We have no ill-feeling against Great Britain, there are no two men to be found in Constantinople who are more generally esteemed and admired than Sir Adam Block, President of the Ottoman Debt Commission, and Sir H. Babington-Smith, Governor of the National Bank, and the latter is able to procure concessions from the Government where others fail. But, I repeat it, more would be granted to England if she were more pushing, more enterprising."

"I cannot understand," said the ex-Minister, in conclusion, "why Great Britain should have wished to lose in the last few weeks the most glorious opportunity for regaining that supremacy in Constantinople which was hers previously. Never has a more brilliant opportunity presented itself for her to insure her position at the Golden Horn. I, as an Ottoman patriot, regret it, for together, Great Britain and Turkey, we could have upheld peace and security in the Near East. Mind you, we are not angry with you, but we

regret, most profoundly, your attitude within the past few days. It has been a disappointment—and, permit me, I think your interests are common with ours. It is not sufficient, however, that they should be common; it is necessary that it should be universally known in England that they are mutual."

Mining the Dardanelles.

(THE "TIMES.")

WE ARE informed that a report was received yesterday in the City from what appeared to be a trustworthy source that the Turks have been laying mines in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that the first statement is of far-reaching importance to shipowners, and until further news is received it must be accepted with caution. Even if the mines are of the kind controlled from the shore there is the danger of accidents occurring to neutral shipping. The report, too, is obviously of great moment to underwriters, who have been freely writing war risks on steamers to and from the Black Sea and Turkish ports.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—The "disquieting report" from your Berlin Correspondent which you print to-day may be ignored so far as the word "disquieting" is concerned.

The Dardanelles, that important thoroughfare for all shipping to and from the Black Sea and similar to the Suez Canal in many respects, is also the front door of Turkey itself.

The Turks, therefore, have a right to defend it, and this is conceded by international custom and law, or the forts on this important sea passage would have been a source of international protest.

As forts are permitted, mines also are permitted, such mines being so arranged, constructed and controlled as to form no involuntary danger to neutral or other shipping passing over them. This can be done by the use of electrically-controlled "observation mines," and by electric lights for night work when there is no moonlight.

The mines, although buoyant, i.e., moored above the bottom (as the Dardanelles passage is deep,) would be submerged below the draught of the largest ships, if only because such mines have so small a radius of action when moored close to the surface.

"Electro-contact" mines, for which the aid of electric lights is not essential although desirable, would be somewhat dangerous, and especially at night in unilluminated waters. If, however, merchant shipping attempted no passage except in clear daylight, these mines can be rendered harmless by touching a button on shore, and the only danger would be the fouling of propellers by the mooring ropes.

Broadly, therefore, electrically-controlled mines, whether deep and fired by observation, or shallow and fired by contact, must be regarded as sanctioned in any channel defended by the owning nation with international consent.

On the other hand, uncontrolled mines like those used in the Russo-Japanese War, some of which were even unmoored and floated about the sea haphazard, would block the passage to all, including the Turkish Fleet.

Such action would damage the Turks far more than any one else and may therefore be regarded as highly improbable, unless Turkey were in extremis, a state of affairs which does not exist at present.

One more thing is worthy of comment. Although the Turks have the right to defend this almost international passage, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that the Italians have no right to mine its *embouchure*.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. T. BUCKNILL.

(THE "TIMES.")

The report respecting Turkish mines to which we yesterday referred was derived from an unimpeachable source in Constantinople. During the evening of 4th October five well-lighted ships of the largest size belonging to the Turkish Fleet were seen from the coast above Nagara, near Ayianli Burnu, in the middle of the Dardanelles; they appeared to be stationary, but it was thought possible that they were mining the Straits. The same informant states that a craft supposed to be a dredger was recently brought to the Dardanelles which could not be used for dredging there. Should the ships have been sowing mines, as suggested, the kinds used would no doubt have been either those controlled by electrical current from the shore or those which are only brought near to the surface when they are intended to take effect. Otherwise, as at Vladivostok during the Russo-Japanese War, pilotage for neutral vessels would be necessary.

Christians in the Turkish Army.

WRITING on the subject of the enrolment of Christians in the Turkish Army, the *Daily Telegraph's* Constantinople correspondent says:—

The Government, however, courageously took the decision early in the present year to abandon all hesitation, and to call to the colours all the non-Mussalmans, both Christian and Jews. And the new idea has been carried out, an important event thus being added to Turkish history. At one time Christian children were seized and incorporated in the ranks of the Janissaries, but they were also converted at the same time to Islamism. To-day the Christians are incorporated in the army, but they preserve their religion. There are no longer any "rayas" in Turkey; all are Ottoman subjects, sons of the fatherland, and called upon to defend it. The Christian communities are no longer insignificant minorities, weakly defended by their patriarchs, but vital parts of the organism.

In a happy speech to the new recruits who joined the colours in the spring the Minister of War, Mahmoud Shekret Pasha, gave expression to words that were truly affectionate and generous; sections of the party of Union and Progress offered the recruits of their own districts suitable presents, and the officers received the men in the most friendly manner. A very good beginning was, in fact, made, and for some time at least this association of Mussalman and non-Mussalman soldiers will develop without incident, and it is certain that the brotherliness of the Ottoman peoples will have taken a great step forward.

The Position of Egypt.

SIR JOHN MACDONELL occupied the chair last night at the opening of a series of lectures on "The Laws of War in Relation to the Private Citizen," by Dr Higgins, at the London School of Economics, and spoke of the appropriateness of the subject of the lectures.

In very many ways the question discussed by the lecturer would become practical. Three observations he desired to make. The first was that the war which is going on must bring into prominence questions of international importance. One of these would be the exact position, from a legal point of view, of the great province of Egypt. According to English municipal law, it had been declared in our highest Courts that this province forms no part of the British Empire but that it still is a constituent part of the Ottoman Empire. That doctrine was declared so recently as 1888 by the Judicial Committee. But the position of Egypt from an international point of view was so anomalous, so many things had transpired since 1840, when the Treaty of London was concluded; so many *Firman* had been granted, so many treaties had been entered into, to some of which the Ottoman Empire was a party, that the position, clear as it was as regards municipal law, was by no means clear as regards International Law. And from all these circumstances a question would in all probability arise, whether or not the Ottoman Porte was to be free to pass any portion of its troops throughout that province. This very question might now be under consideration. At all events there was some probability of that point being raised. He thought that the present vague position would become more difficult as events in the course of the war proceeded. Writing as an international lawyer some years ago on the position of Egypt, he suggested, in an article contributed to one of the reviews, that its anomalous position could not last, that sooner or later one of two alternatives must be adopted—the creation of a Protectorate or the neutralization of Egypt. Events were now travelling towards one or other of these solutions.

Egyptian Feeling and the New Pharaoh.

(FROM THE "PIONEER'S" CAIRO CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Tripoli controversy has aroused considerable excitement over here, as was naturally to be expected. Subscriptions have been opened all over Egypt in aid of the Ottoman army and navy and a veritable anti-Italian crusade has been carried on. Thus, the Banco di Roma, which for some reason or other holds the deposits of the chief Egyptian personages and establishments—that is to say, the Moslem ones—had a run made on it four days ago and all these accounts were at once withdrawn. In addition Italians employed by the Moslem public bodies, such as the *Daira Khassa*, have all been summarily dismissed. The presence of a Turkish transport at Port Said and one at Suez, both laden with troops, caused quite a little excitement, and one could foresee from this the state of affairs which would have reigned if the Porte had obtained permission to pass its troops through Egyptian territory. The Port Said transport has been ordered to leave at once, as the Convention of 1888 lays down that no vessel, belonging to a belligerent power and carrying troops or arms, may remain in Port Said or Suez longer than twenty-four hours. The other transport has cholera on board and by special arrangement it is to be per-

mitted to disembark its troops at Tor, but as Italian warships are watching both outlets of the canal, it is a moot point as to whether either vessel will reach its destination.

Evidently the Sultan has quite foreseen what steps Great Britain would take if he insisted on his so-called rights in Egypt, and in order not to lose the large annual tribute he receives from his vassal State he has been pleased to intimate his satisfaction at Egypt's maintaining her neutrality. For once in a way the Ottoman Government has shown sound commonsense, for it stood to lose a lot and to gain nothing by adopting and adhering to the unreasonable attitude it at first took up.

It may be, of course, merely a coincidence or it may have been an intelligent anticipation of coming events on the part of the Foreign Office, that Lord Kitchener is at the present juncture at Kasr el-Doubara, safely installed as British Agent. Whatever it is, there is no gainsaying the fact that his presence has counted for much during the past week. In the first place his appointment, I am informed on first-rate authority, created consternation on the Bosphorus and brought about a complete *volle face* in the intentions of the Porte and the Young Turk party towards Egypt. Undoubtedly this was the reason why, after sounding the authorities, Vildia Kiosk decided to renounce its original project. The amusing part in the whole affair is the part which the Ottoman High Commissioner plays, or attempts to play, in these questions. The Sultan, in this instance, deputed Reouf Pasha to express to the Khedive and Lord Kitchener his entire satisfaction at Egypt's attitude. As a matter of fact the maintenance of an Ottoman High Commissioner in Egypt is a fiction and is purely an attempt by the Porte to keep up the appearances of Turkish suzerainty. The office dates back to 1885, when Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Ghazi Ahmed Muktar Pasha were appointed British and Ottoman High Commissioners, respectively, by the Convention of 24th October of that year to help in the reorganisation of the Egyptian Army and in the reforms of the civil administration. Within a year their task was completed and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff left the country, but Muktar Pasha remained on without any official status. He was not an Ambassador, since Egypt formed part of the Ottoman Dominion, nor could he be considered as an official representative of the Sultan, as the Khedive was that in virtue of his investiture firmans. To quote a celebrated historian, he hung like Muhammed's coffin between heaven and earth. The British Agency declined to recognise the Ottoman High Commissioner as an emissary of the Sultan and we have Lord Cromer's authority for it that he was never treated as anything but a distinguished Turkish gentleman.

Yet the Porte continued, and still continues, to use the Ottoman High Commissioner as one of the channels for communications with Egypt. Muktar Pasha has been a factor of intrigue in Egyptian politics—hence the reason for his maintenance in Cairo. When on the institution of the new *régime* at Stamboul he was recalled to take part in the government, it was expected that the post would be suppressed. But recently the Sultan appointed Reouf Pasha, and so the fiction is still upheld, much to everyone's amusement and the Commissioner's discomfiture, for whenever he communicates his master's messages he knows that, although he is received with polite respect due to his rank, not the slightest notice is paid to his communication unless it is confirmed through another and more correct channel.

There is no doubt that if Lord Kitchener had not been in Cairo the populace would have given full vent to their anti-Italian feelings and the agitators would have profited by the public state of mind to foment trouble. But the fear of the dire consequence which would fall to their lot from the hand of the stern dictator at Kasr el-Doubara, caused everyone to check his feelings. In official circles this is the reason that is openly assigned to the extraordinary subsidence of the first outbursts. It became known that strict instructions had been issued to the police officers to repress in the most drastic manner the slightest signs of demonstrations, etc. In addition, the chief newspaper proprietors were enjoined to refrain from any comments on the Tripoli affair calculated to excite the public. The prompt punishment—suppression—meted out to a transgressor—the *Alim-el-Fatat*, which published an inflammatory article on the subject—damped the ardour of the most audacious of the agitators. They recognise that at last there is a master in Egypt.

In ministerial circles, too, great activity reigns. Daily the Ministers wait on K. of K. in order to report to and confer with him—an unheard of proceeding under the *Ghorst régime*. The new Agent intends to have a finger in every pie—and quite rightly too, for there has been too much independent action amongst the Ministers. The following incident is highly instructive of the influence this change has had. As the condition of public security has of late been very bad, Lord Kitchener soon after he arrived requested Said Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, who is also Prime Minister, to furnish him with a daily report. Said Pasha in true Egyptian style felt hurt at what he considered was a want of confidence in his

administration. He intimated as much to K. of K., adding that he would resign. But to his surprise he found that his threat had no effect. The new Agent wanted his order obeyed; that was the main point. He really did not care who was Minister of the Interior or Premier. He wanted his daily report, and a correct one if you please. Needless to say, Said Pasha has not resigned and K. of K. gets his report!

In conclusion may I relate the following anecdote, which, having the merit of being true, is indicative of the new Agent's manner of having the smallest details promptly carried out. Soon after his installation in the Agency Lord Kitchener inspected the gardens and, calling up the gardener, directed him to make certain alterations. The gardener—a typical fellah "geneiné"—meekly enquired whether "El Lord" wished the alterations done by the end of the month or "would sometime in November do?" "If they are not completed in five days I'll find another gardener," was the laconic but crushing reply. Need I add that the work was carried out in less than the allotted time, so panic-stricken was the poor "geneiné," who had up to then always been accustomed to dillydally over his work in the true Egyptian fashion!

Letter to the Press.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION."

SIR,—The advocates of international peace—if we may judge from the newspapers—do not seem to realise the bearing of the Tripoli outrage on their propaganda. For years they have been advocating the reduction of armaments, on the ground that peace can be secured by Treaties, "ententes," and arbitration. Now we have, first, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria, in defiance of the Treaty of Berlin, secondly, the virtual abolition of Moroccan independence in defiance of the Algeiras Convention; and, finally, the seizure of Tripoli, in defiance, not only of the Treaty of Berlin, but of rights so fundamental that no one ever thought of protecting them by treaty. Italy offers excuses, but the excuses would justify equally as well a seizure of Liverpool, where the disorder of August was doubtless a danger to the ice-cream vendors and organ-grinders of that city—"interests," apparently, quite as important as the Italian interests in Tripoli. No wonder a Turkish paper writes: "It is evident that the word justice is a lie in Europe, that protest of amity from the Powers have no meaning, and that treaties are merely instruments of deception, which may be destroyed when any advantage is to be gained thereby."

Treaties and Arbitration Courts have their uses. They bring the disputants in a quarrel together and interpose delay. They are exactly like the Conciliation Committees, which do so much to preserve industrial peace. But they are no substitute for armaments, any more than conciliation machinery is a substitute for adequate strike-funds. The Labour leaders who refused compulsory arbitration before the Railway Commission on the ground that an outsider is not likely to be able to settle a dispute when the disputants have met and failed to find a settlement, indicate the limits of International Arbitration.

What, then, can the advocates of peace do? They might at least do something to make public opinion a little more sensitive to breaches of peace, to make peoples a little more careful of their national word of honour. So far the only utterance of a Peace Society which has obtained any considerable publicity is the following:—

"The Italian section of the International Peace Society has passed a resolution expressing the hope that the occupation of Tripoli by Italy may, in addition to proving a benefit to the inhabitants of the province, contribute to the maintenance of peace by restoring equilibrium in the Mediterranean."

There is such a thing as a "European public opinion," and it is possible to "organise" public opinion. The Press has done its best to make Italians understand how their action appears to other people, but the Press, unfortunately, has no longer the authority it once possessed as an organ of public opinion. The Churches—the natural organisation of a Peace Movement—compare very badly with the Press. They can sink their sectarian differences, and move earth, whatever their influence on Heaven, to prevent the Wells-Johnson fight. They can organise a sectarian agitation to secure, or prevent, a particular kind of religious teaching in public elementary schools. Their protests against the Italian attack on Tripoli have so far not been very audible outside their own buildings.

It may be replied that all these matters are national, and it is possible to influence the national Government; while war is an international matter and there is no international Government. But does not our national Government want influencing in this matter? Sir Edward Grey is not a Gladstone, to act in this

matter of his own motion. And it is just because war is international and because there is no international tribunal, that the influence of the Christian Church, an ecumenical society, and of international peace societies on the national governments is our only hope of securing peace.

I apologise for taking up your space, but the occasion is not unimportant—Yours, etc.,

HENRY CLAY.

LEEDS, October 12th, 1911.

The English Press on Italy's Action.

THE Italian newspapers are seriously aggrieved at the language used by the British Press in commenting on Italy's foreign policy. They point out that Italy has always followed British colonial expansion with sympathy, express the view that Italy has merited better treatment than she is receiving, and lay stress upon the "loyal attitude" of the German Press. This is, surely, slightly unreasonable? With the attitude of the German Press we are not concerned, how far it is truly "loyal," how far self-interested, time alone can show. But as regards this country things are different. Great Britain's friendship for Italy is not a thing of mushroom growth, it is deep-rooted in the love for freedom and fair-play, and a careful study of the comments of the British Press upon the events of the past few days shows how genuine is the desire to view Italy's conduct in the most favourable light possible. But the very feelings that formerly made Englishmen take such pleasure in Italy's gallant struggle for freedom now make them deplore her astounding action in regard to Tripoli, and the plain fact is that Englishmen find themselves unable, however much they may desire it, to give their sympathies to Italy in the present instance, or to withhold them from Turkey.

As long as it was possible to do so we hoped for the best. The difficulties of Italy's position were fully recognized and there was even a good deal of sympathy with her long-cherished ambitions. But it was hoped that she would consider the peace of Europe, and of the world, at least to the extent of acting with discretion. And those who thought most highly of her trusted also that, remembering her own difficulties in the past, she would show regard for the feelings of the Turks, and not render impossible the position of the men who, it was felt, were trying honestly to do their best for the regeneration of their country. As one writer put it, "The Sultan's Ministry would practically commit suicide if it sold Tripoli to the Italians, and the transaction is not one that the conscience of Europe could be expected to applaud." Italy, it was hoped, would appreciate these facts, and the tone of the English Press was certainly friendly—the more so for being frank. On Wednesday evening the *Globe* remarked—

"The discovery of a formula which will at once release Italy from restrictions which she feels to be intolerable and save the face of the Turkish Government ought to be the aim of Italian statesmanship. Any fool can set the house on fire, but it takes a wise man to say where the conflagration will end. . . . We trust that Italian statesmen will remember upon what firm foundations the peace of Europe rests, and will refrain from an act which must imperil the whole carefully balanced structure. Upon them will lie a fearful responsibility to humanity if they force the Turk into war."

On Thursday the London dailies showed themselves determined to put trust in Italy's wisdom and good faith. The *Morning Post*, for example, said:—

"The Government of Turkey will hardly let itself drift or be driven into war except for some sufficient cause. The defence of territory attacked without reason would no doubt be a good cause. But the assumption that Italy is about to take warlike action for no reason at all or simply for the sake of acquiring a piece of Turkish territory must not be gratuitously made. If Italy's demands are reasonable, the statesmen of Turkey will be ready to discuss and consider them. If they are unreasonable, based on no recognized principle of right, Italian action to press them will not commend itself as right to the public sense of Europe."

An extract from an article in the *Westminster Gazette* of the same day may be given here, as bearing on Italy's claim to favourable consideration from England because of the sympathy she has shown for our own colonial expansion:—

"We are well aware of the case which Italy will make against the other Powers who venture to remonstrate. She will say to France, 'You have got Morocco,' and to us, 'You have got Egypt; why, then, should I not take Tripoli?' The cases would be parallel, if either France or ourselves had sent an expedition to seize territory without consulting any of its neighbours. Right or wrong, our position in Egypt and that of France in Morocco is the result of long negotiations in which all the Powers have been consulted. In the early days of our occupation of Egypt we gave the Turks a clear opportunity of resuming control if they desired it, and we have deferred to the Powers in every step of our policy. If we are there, it is as guardians of a civilization which we have ourselves built up and of interests which have accumulated under our protection.

Conceivably, Italy might by gradual steps have built up a similar position in Tripoli if the country had been capable of it, if the other Powers had consented, and Turkey had not objected, but there is no parallel between this process and the seizure of a slice of Turkish territory by a *coup de main*.

On Friday hope of a peaceful settlement was perforce abandoned. In announcing the news the *Times* said:—

"Disappointment and regret will be the predominant feelings. Even in this country, where Italy counts so many true friends and where the staunch friendship of the Italian nation is so warmly appreciated, public opinion will be unanimous in its disapproval."—and such has proved the case. Indeed, the unanimity of public opinion on the subject is almost surprising, and papers of all political shades and in all parts of the country, are at one in condemning Italy's haste and harshness, and in expressing obviously sincere sympathy for Turkey in the painful and humiliating position into which she has been so ruthlessly forced. The *Standard* says—

"It was hoped by the friends of Italy in this country that some sufficient vindication of this violent action would be issued before the blow is struck. But we look in vain at the amazing document hurled at the Porte for anything of the kind. Italy does not stoop to justify herself or even to invent plausible excuses for her sudden attack upon alien territory. Her grievances against Turkey are summarised in the vaguest generalities. The Italian Government announces that it has decided to proceed to the military occupation of the African province at once, and it calmly intimates that it 'expects' the Ottoman authorities to assist this remarkable proceeding. The unfortunate Turks are not only to submit to the robbery of their property in open day, but they are required to welcome the trespasser, and even to facilitate the execution of their larcenous project."

No less indignant, the *Daily News* wonders "what Italians would think if France occupied South Italy because it was neglected and retrograde, what Englishmen would think if Japan seized the northern territory of Australia because it was empty, what Russians would think if the Chinese for the same reason occupied the waste places of Siberia. The doctrine which Italy puts forward exposes half the nations of the world, including herself, to dismemberment by any State which professes to be more civilized and is certain that it is stronger. And does not all the world know that the very reason why Italy has struck at this moment is her fear that if she delays Turkey herself might at no distant date be ready and able to do all the civilizing work that Tripoli needs? Italy has asked for Tripoli because she thinks that she has the power to take it there is no other reason."

Saturday's *Daily Graphic* contained an excellent article, "The Magic Word," by Lucien Wolf, who thinks that "one word from Sir Edward Grey" might have prevented "this intolerable crime, with its incalculable consequences." He points out that "Turkey has a special claim on the generous sympathies of England, inasmuch as after a long period of misgovernment she is honestly trying to set her house in order on the British model." And he blames Italy for attacking Turkey "without any excuse but brute force and at a point of its racial and religious homogeneity where it is least open to criticism." In a leader in the same issue we read:—

"But if there is nothing in the Declaration of War inherently inconsistent with the general attitude of Italy on the Tripolitan question, it will, at any rate, serve to throw into lurid relief the gratuitous brutality of that attitude. It is, after all, only the consistency of the highwayman who, having demanded an inoffensive traveller's purse under a threat of murder, promptly knocks his victim on the head at his first sign of resistance. The whole episode is so shameful and shocking that we can scarcely believe, even at this eleventh hour, that the conscience of Europe will not revolt against it. Nor is it merely a question of abstract morals. If this cynical raid is tolerated no State will henceforth be safe. The satisfaction of unlawful ambitions will only be a question of opportunity. It means a relapse into pure barbarism."

The *Manchester Daily Guardian* says that Italy is committing a crime in making unprovoked war on a friendly Power and concludes its article thus:—

"On every side considerations arise which aggravate the offence of the Italian Government, but it is saddest of all, perhaps, to see it dragging a people of generous instincts and high ideals, one that won its liberty at a great price, and has been and, we believe, still is a friend to liberty, into an unjust and oppressive war."

The *Yorkshire Post* condemns the Pecksniffian generalities and Pharisaic protestations of the ultimatum and thinks that—

"If we cannot restrain the Italian adventure, we should most certainly make it clear to all the world that we look upon it with emphatic disapproval."

The *Morning Leader* considers that "of all the bad cases which have been made for occupying the territory of a weaker Power by a stronger, that contained in this nauseating document is incomparably the worst."



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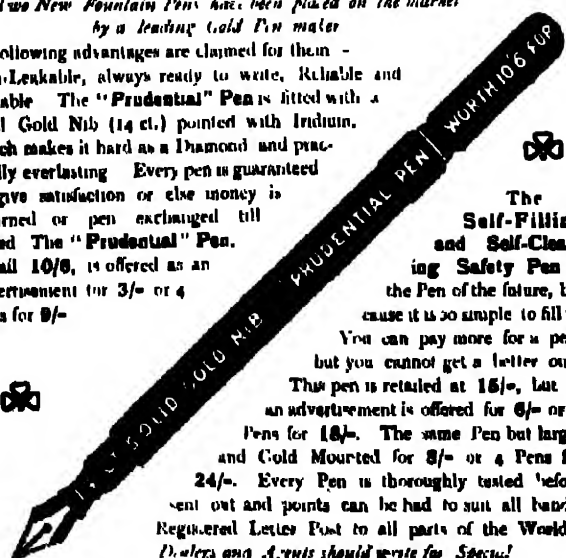
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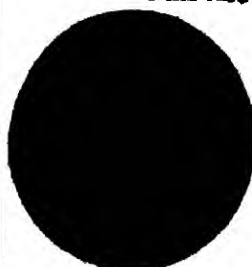
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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is so little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of November at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

India in Parliament.

IN THE House of Lords on and November Lord Curzon said that the proposals for the abolition of the post of Director-General of Archaeology and reduction in the Army were believed to be dictated by the desire of the Government of India to practise economies in view of the financial situation. He said that reductions in expenditure were not necessary. Considerable additional revenue could be obtained by increasing certain import duties, which increases

would be popular and lucrative. Moreover, there were some sources of revenue which were expanding. Some of the proposed abolitions of posts, continued Lord Curzon, would be relatively harmless, but others would be fraught with the most serious difficulty. His Lordship was of opinion that all classes in India, including officials and newspapers, approved of the Department of Archaeology. He referred to what he had heard to-day, that if the Department were abolished, it was proposed to establish an Oriental Institute in Calcutta, with a Professor of Archaeology. He asked, "Why should the institute be placed in Calcutta?" He further dwelt on the difficulty of getting a good class of men, if the officials were suddenly dismissed. With regard to the proposal for a reduction in the army Lord Curzon said, it was not merely a local but an Imperial affair. It ought not to be decided by financial considerations alone. Lord Curzon admitted that the pressure on the frontier had relaxed owing to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and he hoped that the situation would continue, but that was nothing to render a serious alteration in the strength of the Army desirable. Lord Curzon dwelt on the remarkable extent to which Afghanistan and the whole of the North-Western Frontier was now armed with modern weapons and the possibility of the wild highlanders using an occasion of internal commotion to try and retake what they regarded as the legitimate spoil of serious trouble inside India in the event of a war on the frontier, or still more of a disaster to British arms outside. Therefore, he urged circumspection. He also pointed out that the Native Army particularly disliked change. Lord Curzon then suggested that economies should be made by simplifying administrative control. He said, that if he were going out to India as Lord Crewe's Aide-de-Camp he would show His Lordship, in Calcutta and Simla, superfluous over-lapping posts where ten men were doing the work of five, from the reduction of which, Lord Crewe might obtain economies without diminishing the native forces. Lord Curzon said he rejoiced that he was going out to India where he would have an opportunity of consulting the Government of India on the spot, especially, as the Viceroy was an old friend of forty years' standing. He reiterated that there was never an atom of foundation for the report of the reduction of the British Army in India. He agreed with Lord Curzon that they should not talk of the financial future of India in terms of anything approaching despair. Owing to the loss on opium the Government of India had entered on a general investigation in various departments with a view to effecting economies including naturally the Army. It was an absolute axiom that in pursuit of economy in matters of defence, no sacrifice of safety against external attack or internal disorder could possibly be faced. This applied not only to the numerical strength but also to the efficiency of our forces.

That does not imply however that the cost of defence on sea or land is to be a matter of no account. Lord Crewe admitted that especially in the case of a country like India, it was a great mistake to make perpetual small and fussy alterations. Since 1904 changes in external policy, to which Lord Curzon had referred, had occurred. Lord Curzon had rightly deprecated attaching too much importance to those changes, and, of course, there was also the possibility of other but less favourable external changes. There was nothing in the temper of the people of India as a whole or any section of them, which caused anxiety to the Government of India. Accordingly, he thought it permissible to make further enquiry into the whole military position. The Government of India, said Lord Crewe, regarded that position as an Imperial matter and did not desire to take such steps or make such suggestions as would be within their competence without reference here, all the more because questions had been raised of the possibility of a reduction of the superfluous elements to which Lord Curzon had alluded. Accordingly the Government of India and the Military Department of India had asked the assistance of a Committee to make this enquiry. They had also asked a most distinguished officer, General Sir William Nicholson, to preside. Sir William Nicholson had agreed to proceed to India to preside over the Committee early in the spring. He would be assisted by one or two distinguished officers and some experts in Indian Military Finance. "These steps are being taken so far as the whole military position is concerned, but I do not say that the Government of India will not make some proposals in the forthcoming Budget which may affect the Indian Army to some extent. All I can say regarding the Army is that we must await the Committee's report." "With regard to the proposed reduction in posts," said Lord Crewe, "even if the whole operation occurred the sum involved would not constitute a very splendid economy." "The Government of India," continued His Lordship, "did not admit that their proposals involved a deliberate sacrifice of efficiency but objected to these posts as not tending to efficiency. The abolition was proposed with a view to a proper division of labour in the Provincial and Central Governments. The Government of India thought the system of Provincial Conferences could attain to advantages which the Inspector-General could finish." Lord Crewe intimated that he agreed with the Government of India with regard to the Inspectors-General of Cantonments and Agriculture and the Civil Veterinary Department. Adverting to posts with reference to which he did not agree with the Government of India, Lord Crewe mentioned first that of the Director of Archaeology which, he said, it was impossible to regard as a Provincial subject. Lord Crewe said that he had decided to retain the Central Department for advice and collecting of information but he was not prepared to pledge himself to the permanent maintenance of this department in its present form. He did not doubt that the Government of India would agree. He deprecated the charging of the Government of India with vandalism. Lord Crewe said it was desirable to retain the Sanitary Commissioner but asked the Government of India to reconsider the question in view of the coming decision regarding exactly what his relations to the Inspector-General of the Indian Medical Department ought to be. As regards Inspector of Forests, Lord Crewe said, he was not prepared to come to a hasty judgment as to the management of this vast property. Therefore, he had asked the Government of India to reconsider the question in the light of further information. This was one of the points he hoped to discuss with the Indian authorities. As regards Inspector of Excise, he had asked the Government of India to reconsider this question also. As the matter was not urgent the subject had been dropped after a little further discussion.

Morocco.

Ravenna wired from Berlin:—The whole Franco-German Agreement was signed on the 4th instant. It is officially stated that Herr Von Lindequist has resigned the Secretaryship of the Colonies, his reasons being that he disagrees with the German

compensations to France. The German Emperor refused to accept the resignation while negotiations were in progress. Herr Von Lindequist renewed his resignation to-day, when Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg, Imperial Chancellor, had an interview with His Majesty. France and Germany have agreed to refer to The Hague Court of Arbitration any difficulties which may arise out of the Congo Convention. The Franco-German Agreement on the subject of Morocco recognises a complete French Protectorate. France guarantees complete economic equality and freedom of commerce. According to a German Version of the Congo compensations Germany obtains important and valuable districts along the whole frontier of the Cameroons, and two stretches of country reaching to the banks of the Congo and Ubanghi rivers. It is said that if the latter are of little value, they at least give access to the banks of both rivers where Germany obtains strips of land of between six to twelve kilometres, enabling her to make installations for the purpose of navigation. Germany cedes a small triangle between the Logone and Shari rivers to their confluence south of Lake Chad. The Treaty stipulates for reciprocal free trade and transit rights on the railways. An extension of the Treaty provides for a mutual understanding in the event of a modification of the status of the international Congo Basin. A semi-official statement, issued in Berlin, declares that both parties have reason to be satisfied with the Morocco Treaty which will exercise a tranquillising effect on Franco-German relations, and also on the European situation. The statement declares that Great Britain did not interfere with the negotiations between France and Germany. The German press is to-day chiefly occupied with the resignation of Herr Von Lindequist and his chief subordinate, Dr. Baron Danckelman, who is an expert on the subject of the Congo. The Government organs are deploring the attempt of the Colonial Office to impede the policy of the Chancellor as absolutely incompatible with the orderly conduct of Imperial affairs. Other papers anticipate a dramatic disclosure of Ministerial differences which, they say, will embarrass the Government in the forthcoming elections. They further contend that though Germany apparently receives 300,000 square kilometres in exchange for 16,000, it is merely a good bargain on paper while Germany's prestige is damaged. The British papers this morning express relief at the settlement, and think that both countries have made good bargains. Dr. Solf, Governor of Samoa, has been appointed provisional chief of the Colonial Department. French newspapers express satisfaction at the initiation of the Franco-German Congo Convention. They are generally pleased with the result that Morocco is now a portion of France's Colonial Empire and consider that it was bought at a fair price. With reference to the Congo, France has secured infinitely better terms than were at first to be expected. She retains the Congo and Ubanghi rivers, Germany only having access to them through two small wedge-like strips. France also obtains the eastern portion of the Northern Cameroons, so ensuring control of the important trade route to the Congo and Lake Chad.

Persia.

REPLYING in the House of Commons to several questions on the subject of Persia, Sir Edward Grey said that the distribution of troops from Bombay between Bushire, Shiraz and Isfahan would be decided by His Majesty's representative at Teheran, in consultation with the local Consular authorities. The despatch of troops, said Sir Edward, was due to reports of really serious danger to Europeans, especially in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, against the recurrence of which there was no adequate guarantee. The functions of the troops would be limited to their acting as escorts to the Consuls, and they would be withdrawn when the Persian Gendarmerie scheme came into effective operation. Sir Edward said he did not believe the report that Russian troops were assisting the ex-Shah.

Reuter's message from Teheran states that Russia has demanded an apology for the insult to her Consular Officers during

the seizure of Shua-es-Sultaneh's property and also the removal of the Treasury Gendarmes and substitution of Persian Cossacks. According to a *Times* message from Teheran, however, Russia disclaims protection for Shua-es-Sultaneh and recognises Persia's right to make the seizure of the property. Meanwhile, Mr. Shuster has determined to enforce the law regardless of his opponents. His Gendarmes have seized Prince Firman Firma's grain in default of the Prince's payment of his arrear taxes. A message to the *Times* from Teheran states that a Russian Consulate-General is being established at Khos with a very large guard. Five Revenue gendarmes who were sent to collect taxes from Ali-Ed-Dowleh, Governor-General Designate of Fars, were beaten and disarmed in the presence of Ali-Ed-Dowleh. The Russian Minister has returned without an answer to the protest of the Persian Government against the action of the two Russian Consulate officers who as reported, on the 11th ultimo, threatened to fire on the five Gendarmes sent by Mr. Shuster to take possession of the property of Shua-es-Sultaneh which the Mejliss had confiscated. The Russian Minister further insists on an apology for the insult which he declares was offered to the Russian Consular officers on the same occasion and says that in default of this apology Russia will occupy the provinces of Ghilan and Mazandaran. Persia has decided not to comply either with this demand or Russia's other demand, namely, for the removal of treasury gendarmes from Shua-es-Sultaneh's property China.

REUTER wired from Peking:—The National Assembly after holding a secret session announced that they had agreed to accept eleven out of twelve of the demands presented by the troops at Lanchow, which include the perpetuation of the present dynasty and the granting of a general amnesty and a free parliamentary institution. The Assembly rejected the demand that the summoning of Parliament for all important decisions should be dependent on the approval of the Army. The Throne has accepted the nineteen conditions submitted by the National Council providing for the framing of the Constitution by it upon the British model. The Imperial troops on 1st instant shelled the native city at Hankow half of which was soon in flames. Attempts of foreigners to rescue the wounded in the Mission Hospital were frustrated by the Revolutionaries, who fired from Wuchang city. The scene is described as an absolute inferno. Reuter wired from Shanghai.—Fighting took place at the Kiangnan arsenal. Six were killed and ten wounded. The casualties were mostly due to explosions of dynamite with which the rebels were endeavouring to blow up the gates. The Loyalists defended the entrance to the arsenal in order to cover the escape of the Director. Many foreigners are making excursions to the various points of interest here, the situation more resembling a bank holiday than a revolution. Foreigners are everywhere saluted and are received with smiles. The native city and the arsenal of Shanghai capitulated to the rebels after some slight shooting. The Taoist fled, and soldiers and police fraternised in the streets with the rebels. The populace are wearing rebel badges. Foreign volunteers have been called out and are strictly guarding the foreign settlement. Foreign marines have been landed. Reuter wired from Peking:—Yuan-Shi-Kai has telegraphed to the Government refusing the Premiership. It is thought that this action is possibly merely due to Yuan's customary modesty. A number of edicts have been issued. One recapitulates the recent concession made to the rebels and further says:—"Hereafter, anything the people may suggest we will adopt. The eyes and ears of the people are the eyes and ears of Heaven. In the present revolution the revolutionaries are different to the wicked rebels in times of former dynasties who sought to destroy the throne." The edict concludes with an appeal for concord between the Manchus and Chinese. Another edict declines to accept Yuan-Shi-Kai's resignation. Meanwhile the Government is negotiating for a loan with an international group. The question of security, however, is causing difficulty. Three Imperialist gunboats and a portion of Admiral Sah-Chen-Fing's fleet which

arrived at Shanghai for provisions and ammunition have joined the rebels. As the rebel flag was hoisted those on the newly arrived warships could be seen dancing and shaking hands. The situation in China may resolve itself into a struggle between the conservative north and democratic south, as was the case in the Taiping rebellion. Everything hinges on the attitude of those troops in the north who still remain loyal. The whole of the surroundings of Shanghai are now in the hands of the rebels. The Throne has directed the Assembly to draw up election laws and to hold general elections. The Throne also agrees to the recognition of the rebels as a political party. According to a rumour emanating from a Chinese source Peking has fallen and the Emperor has fled. The news caused a sensation in Shanghai, but a telegram from Peking of to-day's date does not record any such occurrence. A telegram, however, mentions that Tsahsun, brother of the Regent, has disappeared. It is suspected that he has levanted. Telegrams from Shanghai, Washington and Berlin state that Amoy, Chifu, Kaumi, Kinchau, Chinkiang, Changchow, Kashing, Shachsing and Quinsan have gone over to the revolutionaries. The German cruiser *Gneisenau* has been ordered to Shanghai. Four companies of the Yorkshire Regiment, a Company of Royal Engineers, a Company of the Royal Garrison Artillery and the Rajput and Baluchi Regiments with field guns stationed in Hongkong are being held in readiness to proceed to Tien-Tsin. According to a *Times* message from Tien-Tsin two hundred Russian troops will arrive there. The German troops at Tung-Tau have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness.

Verse.

Solitude.

LET us rise, O my heart, let us go where the twilight is falling
Far away from the sound of the lonely and menacing crowd,
To the glens, to the glades, where the magical darkness is falling
In rivers of gold from the breast of a luminous cloud.

Come away, come away, from the throng and its tumult of
sorrow,

There is rest, there is peace from the pang of its manifold strife,
Where the halcyon night holds in trust the dear songs of the
morrow,

And th' silence is but a rich pause in the music of life.

Let us climb where the eagles keep guard on the rocky gray
ledges,

Let us lie 'neath the palms, where perchance we may listen and
reach

A delicate dream from the lips of the slumbering sedge,
That catch from the stars some high tone of their mystical
speech.

Or perchance we may gain a far glimpse of the Infinite Bosom
In whose glorious shadow all life is unfolded or furled,
Tho' the radiant hours, till the lotus of dawn shall re-blossom
In petals of splendour to worship the Law of the Ward.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

SAROJINI NAIDU

GHALIB'S GRAVE FUND

M. M. Jala Uddin Esq., Darjeeling	..	2	0	0
M. A. Salam Rafiqi Esq., Rangoon	...	10	0	0
M. Hamid Hosain Kadiri Esq., Mhow	...	1	0	0
Aga Mohamed Safdar Esq., Sialkote	...	5	0	0
K. P. Jayaswal Esq., Local	..	3	0	0
Amount received during the fortnight	Rs.	21	0	0
Amount previously acknowledged	"	520	0	0
TOTAL RS.	..	541	0	0

TETE À TETE



WE HAD noticed with regret in our last how the work of collecting funds for the Moslem University has been practically at a standstill for upwards of a month. **The Moslem University Fund.** No better justification could be found for our remark than the shrewd silence, which the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* has, in spite of our protests so far stolidly maintained on the subject. We have persistently asked for the publication of weekly returns showing by actual figures the progress which the work of collection has made in individual provinces. But the only response to our repeated requests has been the insertion of a page every now and then detailing the work done in a few districts of the United Provinces. This attitude may save some appearances, but it is hardly fair to the Moslem public or to the cause for which it has been working with so much zeal and devotion. It is not only right, it is imperatively necessary at this stage, that those interested in the Moslem University scheme should know which part of the country has been lagging behind in the work of collection, and more especially, which of the so-called Moslem leaders require to be led into the path of duty. At this supreme juncture in communal affairs no false sense of deference to big names and "appearances" should be allowed to hide the real worth of those who have been trading on the confidence or goodwill of the community. False idols have got to be dethroned from their pedestals. Honest, devoted, sustained service in the cause of the Moslem University is the real test of leadership. Those alone who have satisfied this test should be allowed to carry weight in the inner counsels of the community. The man who has successfully advertised himself into fame, the man of big words and honeyed phrases, whose capacity for absorbing honour is as great as that of the proverbial sponge for absorbing liquid, may well console himself with the poet's soliloquy —

طواف کعبه رفتیم بحرم رحم الهامد
 تو برون درچه کردی که درون خاله امی *

WE ARE afraid it would be an altogether futile effort to seriously set about to argue with those who are responsible for the extraordinary document which is to be submitted to the King-Emperor, praying His Majesty to "be graciously pleased to order that on and from the historic date on which Your Majesty will be pleased to hold a Coronation Durbar at Delhi, the slaughter of cows and she-buffaloes be stopped for the British Army within Your Majesty's territories in India . . ." From the perusal of this "Memorial" it is evident that it is mainly on economic and humanitarian grounds that the plea for the desired prohibition is based. The "sentiments" of the Hindus, which were thought to have invested the cow with a strong religious sanctity, are shown

to "rest in their origin on economic considerations." We do not know whether the pious Hindu, who considers his faith and spirituality to rest on divine inspiration, will thank the "Memorialists" for reducing a vital part of his creed to the level of a mere utilitarian expediency. In view of this interpretation of a universal "Hindu sentiment," the matter sinks to a mere economic heresy, without even the sanction of a deep-seated religious prejudice behind it. Shorn of unnecessary verbiage and stated in plain terms, the attitude of the "Memorialists" would seem to be that the Hindus would waive all objections to the slaughter of cows, if the plentiful supplies of the animal for the economic needs of the country were assured. Like everything else, which satisfies some definite human want, it would be best then to leave the question to adjust itself in accordance with the Law of Supply and Demand. There may exist some specious reasons to invoke protection where the natural play of economic forces fails, but it is exactly in this respect that the "Memorialists" betray the utter weakness and irrelevancy of their "cause." Vague references to the general rise of prices and the dearth of agricultural live-stock, tempered with humanitarianism of a fugitive and sentimental type, can hardly be expected to convince any reasonable man that the protection of cows has become a grave economic necessity. We do not know why these gentlemen, so furiously anxious for the economic welfare of the country, should have selected the cow as their only term of reference while explaining the causes of the growing agricultural impoverishment of the land. There are several other animals of even greater economic importance and equally liable to slaughter and destruction. The root-cause of the economic change, however, lies in a set of vaster and deeper conditions, which the growth of new factors of incalculable magnitude in the trade and other relations of the world have suddenly brought into existence in this country. But the gentlemen, who have engineered the Anti-cowkilling propaganda, have sought refuge under a crude "economic" device to hide the deeper springs of their action and to draw a sort of red herring across their trail. Those who wish to have a glimpse of the real "sentiments" behind this agitation should try to get a copy of a picture prepared in Bombay, which is now, we believe, being distributed broadcast in every part of the country. It is a representation of the cow meekly standing with its head turned aside, while a huge inhuman monster, a *Malechh*, sword in hand, is rushing forth to kill the animal. A Brahman with a look of mingled wrath and horror is standing with upraised arms in front of the cow to ward off the blow of the monster. There are several other representations of gods and goddesses and common men drawn in symbolical configuration across the body of the cow, with appropriate writings and texts to explain their significance. Among them is a text from the *Koran* written in *Devnagri* characters and placed underneath the hinder feet of the cow. A mere glance at this picture unmasks the real spirit in which the Anti-cowkilling agitation has been conceived. The monster, representing the beef-eating population of the country, is the measure of the spirit in which the sufferance of this class of the people is sought to suppress the slaughter of cows. The use of the text from the *Koran* in the manner in which it has been done will be resented by the Muslims, who would feel it an outrage on their religious instincts to see the Word of God placed underneath the foot of a beast. We have no quarrel with the Hindus, to whom the cow is sacred, if they want to stop the slaughter of it. But their methods of gaining this object are decidedly offensive and unfortunate. If these methods are persisted in, we have every reason to fear that the cows will be slaughtered in greater number than usual, and the religious and racial bitterness will unhappily grow rather than diminish. We are sure no sensible Hindu can for a moment expect that the State will interfere and prohibit the slaughter of cows. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that doubtful tactics should be entirely given up. A more honest and straight forward appeal to the neighbourly instincts of the other communities would smooth matters a good deal and produce a genuine desire

to respect "Hindu sentiment," whereas, as things are, the activities of the "Memorialists" and other "cow-protection" bodies succeed only in causing unnecessary offence, bitterness and even ridicule.

THE Russian threat to occupy the two northern Persian provinces of Gelan and Mazandran, if the Persian Government fails to apologise for the "insult" offered to the Consulate officials, has not come as a surprise to those who have been watching the course of Russian diplomacy ever since the parliamentary regime came into existence in Persia. We have written more than once as to how Russia was thwarting the efforts of the Persian Government to reform the administration and establish order and peace in the country. Mr Shuster, the Treasurer-General, was obliged, owing to constant interference even in the work of his department, to protest against the Russian actions which indicated a clear repudiation of Persia's sovereign rights. His determination to enforce the law regardless of consequences can scarcely be desired by the Russian Consulate, which is ever ready to give shelter to law-breakers and rebels. The "insult" for which apology has been demanded relates to the incident in which Mr Shuster's gendarmes had to forcibly take possession of the estate of Shua-es-Sultaneh which had been confiscated by the Mejliss but which the Russian Consulate officials had interfered with on the plea that it was mortgaged to the Russian Bank. Persia has declined to apologise. She cannot humiliate herself any longer or submit to being constantly bullied without protest. She is weak and torn and bleeding, thanks to the unscrupulous Power which is fast settling like a deadweight athwart her very life. She stands to lose either way,—her self-respect or a part of her dominion. Is she, too, like Morocco, to fall a victim to the aggressor, who finds the present hour of general scramble for "compensations" the most favourable to annex, at any rate, a part of Northern Persia? Is this a logical development of the Anglo-Russian Convention, which had for its express object the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Persia? Sir Edward Grey will be able, perhaps, to explain the situation away, as he has already explained away many failures of his disastrous policy. But even he would have some day the decency to admit that if the destruction of Persia was the end of the Anglo-Russian Convention, the methods employed to achieve this great consummation could have been less Muscovite in their clamour and much more straightforward and honest. To interfere with the work of an independent Government in the enforcement of its laws and then call upon that Government to apologise because it had not allowed any interference of the kind is a thoroughly Russian conception, but surely one, quite abhorrent to the British sense of fairplay. Was an "Understanding" with Russia arrived at simply that she may play the chartered libertine without being inconveniently called to account by England? It has failed to ensure the integrity of Persia, but it has certainly insured Russian designs against British remonstrance. By surrendering Northern Persia into the hands of Russia, Great Britain has also surrendered her moral independence into the bargain. "Surely the land of Gyrus has fallen upon evil times," truly says Mr. Shuster, "but, even the ragged misery of the beggar does not justify one's giving him a gratuitous kick."

THE Congo Convention was signed between France and Germany on 4th November, and with it was practically signed the death warrant of Morocco as an independent country. The fate of this unfortunate kingdom was in a sense decided long ago, when England and France had developed their *entente cordiale*, defined their relations, and come to terms regarding their respective spheres of interest in North Africa. Its ultimate absorption in the French African Empire was only a question of time. The diplomatic game, which in its final upshot has sealed the fate of the Sheressian Empire, has been rich in dramatic incident. French ambitions in

Morocco had been recognised by England in return for a free hand in Egypt, and thus blessed with British smiles, the "liberty-loving" Republic of Europe had set about to throttle the independence of an inoffensive, but weak, neighbour by a policy of "peaceful penetration." The birth of this exquisite phrase in diplomatic phraseology marks the advent of Spain and Germany on the scene. The historic cruise of Kaiser Wilhelm in the Mediterranean brought about a crisis in the French Cabinet and ultimately led to the Act of Algeiras, which, while recognising the special interests of France, guaranteed the integrity and independence of Morocco. For some time it was felt as if the Moorish dominions had been saved by the timely and almost chivalrous intervention of the German Emperor. The Teuton was, however, playing a deeper and more elaborate game. After a decent interval of comparative quiet, disturbances in Morocco were at last got made to order, a few Europeans were allowed to be reported as "killed," a well timed series of shocks was communicated to the "conscience" of Europe by the creative energy of an imaginative press about tales of bloody chaos, and France, as champion of civilisation, was forced against her will to intervene and push an army of deliverance on Fez. It would remain one of the most astounding miracles of the twentieth century that several European victims of "bloody chaos" came to life again to give a faithful account to the French generals, of how they had been "murdered" by the fanatics of Fez—or, perhaps, by the "blood and thunder" correspondents of the Parisian Press. French military intervention was faithfully copied by Spain; and Germany sent her *Panther* to Agadir to remind the signatories of the Act of Algeiras that she would not allow that instrument to be discredited without getting "compensation." For months together since then, the entire resources of European diplomacy have been exhausted in finding out a peaceful solution of the problem. The "Congo Convention" is the result of these tremendous labours. It allows France to take which is not hers by transferring to German dominion in Africa a part of the Congo which is hardly her own. Morocco has virtually become a French "protectorate," and the steps with which France will henceforth begin to consolidate and fasten her hold on the country will hardly differ from those which the "expansion" of European power and influence in Africa, Asia and elsewhere has rendered classical. Germany and France and their respective sympathisers may be congratulating themselves on the neat thoroughness of the deal. Diplomats may have scored singular triumphs in the exercise of their peculiar art and skill and may be waiting for formal decorations and popular applause. Syndicates of financiers, prospectors, company-promoters and shareholders may be dreaming visions of gold and glory by the prospects of exploiting new fields of wealth and virgin soil. But the rest of the world, which still foolishly holds to righteousness and equity as a desirable thing in international relations, has learnt yet another lesson of how might is right and Mammon the most powerful and inspiring Muse of contemporary history. Weakness is not only a crime, it is something far worse—it is "fanaticism and savagery." There may be a certain pathos in the destruction of freedom and gradual reduction to bondage of the descendants of a once virile race. But they could not develop the country, *i.e.*, they were standing in the way of a few railroad magnates and mining syndicates of Paris that desired to add a few hundred millions more to their huge piles of gold. Is it Nemesis? Is it reaction in the ethical progress of the world? or is it simply the unfolding of the world-process, the inevitable triumph of a better method of life and purpose for the ultimate unification of the race? Whatever else it may be, there is certainly no trace in this European earth-hunger of the noble ideal which swam into a poetic ken as the ultimate destiny of man.

One God, one Law, one Element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

SIR THOMAS GIBSON CARMICHAEL entered on his duties as the Governor of the Presidency of Fort St. George on 3rd. November. As usual, addresses of welcome were presented to him the next day by some of the representative public bodies of the city, and in replying to these addresses the new Governor made a speech which breathes the spirit of refreshing candour and sympathy. We hope the spirit of his utterance will find practical expression in the work of day-to-day administration, and when the time comes for him to lay down the reins of office, he may be in a position to survey his Indian career with the satisfaction of one who has trod firmly the straight though thorny path of duty.

THE retirement of Mr. Balfour from the leadership of the Unionist Party is an event of outstanding, almost startling importance in British politics.

Mr. Balfour.

Discontent against Mr. Balfour, especially amongst the younger and more pushful members of the Party, had been brewing for some time past, and it had broken out into open mutiny during the critical stage of the passage of the Parliament Bill through the House of Lords. The uncompromising attitude of the "die-hard" section of the Unionists wanted a more vigorous and militant lead. This Mr. Balfour was both intellectually and temperamentally unfitted to give. The impatient and more ambitious spirits of the Tory rank and file rose in revolt against him and began a press campaign of malignant fury and abuse which has at last forced him to make way for some more popular chief. The virulence of the campaign may be gauged from the howling epithets like "champion scuttler," with which a number of fire-eating Tory journals began to pelt their leader. Their work was continued by "B. M. G."—Balfour Must Go—clubs and other organisations of the kind. Balfour has gone; in fact, a shrieking and more persistent minority of his followers has driven him out. It is, however, difficult to think of any other Unionist leader who may be said to possess, even in a half measure, the gifts, versatility and intellectual calibre of Mr. Balfour. As a Parliamentarian he is unapproachable: even his adversaries have enjoyed the rapier-play of his dialectical subtlety, the keen "cut and thrust" of his argument and his intellectual finesse. Nature has endowed him with a nice, fastidious, philosophical temperament and an intellect, fine, polished and tempered like steel. Gifts like these adorn a student, a philosopher, a man of letters, but they scarcely fit one to be a popular leader of men. They create the literary spirit, the artistic temperament, the balanced and discriminating view of things, the sense of æsthetic proportion, the gentle philosophic doubt, but none can distil out of them the temper of the fanatic—a lusty enthusiasm for big militant causes, for decisive action, for the dust and fray of politics. The author of "The Foundations of Belief" and "The Basis of Philosophic Doubt" is more at home among the poets and academicians of the Schools, philosophers, sceptics and "sect epicurean or the stoic severe" than among the hustlers of the market place or the emphatic champions of the Tory Democracy. Mr. Balfour's career as a statesman has not, however, been without distinction. But the economic heresies of the Birmingham politician, Mr. J. Chamberlain, took him rather by surprise, and he has been ever since performing a series of dialectical feats—an intellectual rope-dancing—which has extorted the wonder and admiration of the world. His retirement from the front rank of British politics creates a gap which it will be difficult to fill. His personal charm, his character, his high intellectual gifts had made him the favourite of the House of Commons, which will not feel his exit without a pang. Mr. Balfour has hitherto been engaged in making history. He is eminently fitted if he now employs his leisure to writing it.

The Comrade.

More Aspects of the War.

THE feelings of those who sympathise with the misfortunes of Turkey were not spared by the messages of Reuter, clipped and possibly inspired and even edited by the Italian censor at Tripoli and the other ports of the Tripolitaine. They learnt with grief, not unmixed with humiliation, that this "sort of a war" had gone on with all the regularity of an execution, lacking nothing of judicial procedure save justice itself. Worse than that, they were told that an Arab had boarded the cruiser *Asa* and had tendered his submission, promising to do his utmost to induce other chiefs also to recognise Italy. The inhabitants were said to be returning to town. The Italian Commander-in-Chief had announced to them that he had come to them as a saviour to restore their rights, make them their own masters and punish the Turkish "usurpers." Close on the heels of this Great Charter of their liberties and their Bill of Rights, came the dismal news that the Turkish troops behind Tripoli were in desperate straits for want of food, that the Italians had succeeded in stopping a hundred camel loads of provisions proceeding towards the famishing Ottomans and that the wild attempts of the Turks to seize barley and cattle had caused the Shaikhs of the inland tribes to cut off supplies and to attack them in small bodies whenever opportunity offered. Thus the hope that Enver Bey would succeed in organising a Guerilla war turned out only ironically true. The sympathisers of Turkey were in this way invited to abandon all hope. The Turkish Navy had just escaped by the skin of its teeth and was bottled up in the Dardanelles. Turkish troops, numbering hardly 5,000 and even at that badly equipped, were the sole barrier between Ottoman Tripoli and an avalanche of transports bringing the well-trained army of Italy, the efficiency of which a second Victor Emmanuel was determined to display to the astonished gaze of Europe half a century after the crowning of the first as the King of United Italy. Signior Giolitti had declared at Turin before an enthusiastic audience of 1,100 guests at a political banquet that "no nation had so speedily accomplished such a complete transformation, political, moral and economic as Italy, who now claimed her share of the work of civilizing the African Continent." Europe cared no more than Gallio about the moral transformation from individual brigandage to national piracy. The North that was economically changed had political predilections towards peace and rioting had occurred at Milan where hundreds were arrested, while at some stations crowds lay on rails to prevent trains conveying the reservists, the cavalry having had to clear the line. The South which acclaimed the Second Cavour was economically backward, yet, according to a militant Press the cause of civilisation was at stake. That sole goddess of the moderns, which filled their Pantheon with her own reproductions in various shapes and forms and was worshipped in all manner of ways, was not satisfied with libations of the liquor marked "The True Peaceful Penetration," but wanted a redder stream of thicker fluid to flow from her altars. The Liberal—we must never omit the self-affixed label—Bishop of Cremona had in a pastoral letter preached the latest version of the doctrine of the Prince of Peace, that the war was "a hard necessity for the triumph of civilization." Europe was deaf to all appeals for mediation, and the *Times*, that sturdy champion of *Realpolitik*, declared arbitration to be, like the Charge of the Light Brigade, "magnificent but not war." England, that had sundered the chains of African slaves almost all the world over, that had mourned the Partition of Poland as a national disaster, that had actively sympathised nascent constitutionalism in every kingdom and had soaked the Red Shirts of her own Legion with redder blood in helping Garibaldi to unite Italy and free her from the Austrian tyrant, the feelings of whose citizens were stirred to their very depths at the thought of

injustice to a Jewish soldier in France—this same England, owning a hundred million Moslem subjects distracted at the thought of the greatest brigandage during more than a century, and fully conscious of the value of this "great asset of loyalty"—as the *Times* put it—a Minister of this very England advised the King of a hundred million Mussalmans to refuse to mediate, and another Minister, in despair of discovering a fit topic for haranguing the good people of Aberdeen, declared that "we should be sympathetic with nations like Germany and Italy who had not had our opportunities of territorial acquisition," and out of all the brilliant achievements of a most brilliant Cabinet singled out Sir Edward Grey for praise for having "maintained peace for nearly six years" and finally promised to "labour strenuously to preserve this record."

There was nothing to break the gloom of the situation for Turkey's sympathisers, and her appeals to Europe appeared the frantic efforts of the drowning man that catches at straws. It not only looked as if the Turk had no chance of living with honour, but as if he had forgotten the ancient tradition of dying with dignity. Like Macbeth faced by Macduff, the Turk seemed to say, "I'll not fight with thee," and Italy said with Macduff.

"Then yield thee, coward,
And live to be the show and gaze of the time;
We'll have thee, as our racer monsters are,
Pained upon a pole and underwrit,
'Here may you see the tyrant.'"

But we had reckoned without the greatest foe of Turkey, the Censor-General of the Press, whose blockade of correct news was even more effective than that of Admirals Aubry and Faravelli. The blockade runners have, however, proved sharper than was expected and news has somehow trickled through Malta and Tunis. The only place where the blockade is still complete is Italy herself, for Signor Giolitti knows full well that like a plunger he has staked his all on the result of the war. Disasters mean less to the troops in Tripoli than to the Government in Italy. The North cannot be won over by defeats, and the "little valiant" South, "ever strong upon the stronger side, the Fortune's Champion that does never fight, but when humorous ladyship is by to teach it safety," will howl down the Minister that led the Italian army to disaster. We must not forget that, like so many other wars, this has been due not only to the defencelessness of Tripoli but also to the clamour of discontent at home which the Government would have liked to stifle or at least drown in the triumphant applause of victory abroad. If there is any virtue in political precedents and history ever repeats itself, Signor Giolitti stands on the brink of a precipice as steep as that whence, according to a Turin cartoon which we reproduced in our last, he hurled his country into the abyss of Tripoli. The shock of another defeat will perhaps be enough and he would go down howling into the depth of Southern feeling, and even Rome may revive her ancient tradition and give us another exhibition at the Coliseum, this time of a Minister sent "To the Lions!" amidst the mad plaudits of the excited populace.

As for the result of the operations in the field, we had heard of General Canova's elaborate preparations, of the use of aeroplanes dropping dynamite from eerie heights and of motors designed for the sands of Sahara. A month's provisions had been accumulated and Egypt, still unannexed in spite of the prayers and protests of the *Pioneer's* Cairo Correspondent, was stated to be succouring the Suez Canal Power or at least maintaining strict neutrality by selling camels in the Soudan for Italian Transport Corps. Fifteen thousand of the Royal Government's troops were in Tripoli against a handful of Ottoman troops marching backwards and forwards in rags and tatters under a decrepit general, not to mention the valuable support of Arab Chiefs who recognised their saviours in the army and the armada of Italy and of complacent Caids received with religious if not royal salutes from soldiers. The piracy had been carefully rehearsed, and yet somehow some unrehearsed effects are exciting the ridicule of the world, and King Victor Emmanuel looks anything but a victor.

The stain of Adowa is still unwiped and it looks as if fifteen years later, or possibly at the occasion of the centenary of Italian unity, His Royal Majesty's successor may have two stains instead of one to wipe. He had thought perhaps like the hitherto inimitable Bob Acres that "Odds life! people often fight without any mischief done!" We were asked, like Jack Beverley to believe that every Italian was "a devil of a fellow," "a determined dog," who "generally killed a man a week"—barring of course digs in the ribs in dark alleys from behind—and was known to all Europe as "Fighting Bob," although he did not want to take anybody's life to clear his honour. Odds sparks and flames, Signor Giolitti had roused his valour and he was very careful of his honour, the loss of which he could never risk. He could never disgrace his ancestors. But it seems that the Davids of the North, who had the saving grace of commonsense, were right after all. Honour has certainly proved hitherto less careful of Italy than Italy was of her honour. It has risked the loss of many a valiant Bersagliere. It has proved a marvellous false friend, for it has sent many a roaring soldier to the worms and has evidently whipped over to the enemy. Possibly it has not even followed them to the grave, though their ghosts must now be thinking that a grave is just the place where they could shift to do without it. The surest way of not disgracing them was, according to David, "to keep as long as you can out of their company." Garibaldi and Cavour, possibly also Charlemagne and Caesar, the ancestors of modern Italians, were a good kind of folks, but the last people whom King Victor Emmanuel should have chosen for his army's vesting acquaintance. We hope the Liberal—most Liberal—Bishop of Cremona is drafting another apostolic letter, as an apostle of peace and apostate from war, and considers a pacific termination an equally "hard necessity for the triumph of civilization." Signor Giolitti has had his share of the civilizing mission and perhaps Mr. Haldane, the terror of Territorial fame, the Napoleon of Toby and the Terners, is sympathising with Italy for having had some opportunity at last of his own favourite pastime, territorial expansion.

But we must ask the Indian Mussalmans to abstain from playing the braggart with their tongue after having shown signs of a disposition to play the woman with their eyes. The war is not yet over and the odds against Turkey are terrible, although this is not its first experience of a martial "plunge." The Turk is no doubt spoiling for the fight against the brigand in Europe and Asia and praying,

Gentle heavens, cut short all intermission; front to front
Bring thou th' Italian bandit and myself;
Within my sword's length set him; if he 'scape,
Heaven, forgive him too!

That opportunity it seems Italy is not disposed to give to the Turks. She "demands the consequences" in the raid on Tripoli and the consequences have in return come to plague her like Nemesis, with death, disaster and damnation. But her fleet is as nimble as her soldiers are fleet of foot, and she seemed in a moment of wild despair to have forgotten all the "self-denying ordinances," inspired by the fear of Austria to localise the war, for which the Rome correspondent of the temporising *Times* was demanding Turkish gratitude. Like tyro at the billiard table, whose favorite stroke is the fluke, Italy, baulked in Tripoli, wished to hit hard and trust to luck. If this is Italy's wish, then, so let it be. The talk of mediation, which the world is beginning to hear from Italy herself, is as absurd as it is abject.

War! war! no peace! peace is to me a war.

The Press of Europe showered sympathy on Turkey, while her Chancelleries were offering silent support. Europe was anxious for peace and would not mediate. Arbitration was not only dead but also damned. Now Europe may have its fill of peace and the arbitration of the sword may decide the fate of kingdoms. If the Armageddon comes, Turkey may well say,

Is it peace or war? better, war! or loud war by land and by sea,
War with a thousand battles and shaking a hundred thrones.

We have recently heard far more than we had cared to hear about atrocities. First came the news that Italian officers had been hanged and then mutilated. We are somewhat doubtful about the details of the punishment meted out to highway robbers in Tripoli. Possibly they still hang, draw and quarter gentlemen of the roads, and if so, the fate of the Italian banditti who fell into the hands of the Arabs can be understood. An esteemed contemporary saved the face of sober journalism by reading a lecture to Turkey on the savagery, and we thought that the demands of civilisation were satisfied. Later followed the news of a butchery of Arabs, innocent and guilty, men and women, old and young. Our esteemed contemporary after its excitement of an unusual pitch and tone had evidently sunk into exhaustion. "The rest was silence." Some of course condemned the barbarism of the foremost files of civilisation and one, always original to the verge of rebelliousness, wrote as follows:—

It is not pleasant to read of the indiscriminate slaughter of old and young, guilty and innocent, women as well as men; but war unhappily is war in which those who wish to be regarded as non-combatants interfere at their peril. The Italians were quite ready to leave the Arabs in peace, but they have suffered much provocation latterly at the hands of those who had apparently submitted, and they have taken their revenge upon a treacherous population in a fashion calculated to inspire terror. The Germans did not hesitate to deal summarily in the Franco-Prussian War with "peaceful" peasants who fired on German troops, nor did an American Commander see anything strange in "making Samar into a howling wilderness." But our humanitarian Radicals are apt to forget these things when Britain is at war, and it is as well for them that they should occasionally learn what "methods of barbarism" really are.

Need we add that our original contemporary, which alone has acquired the unique distinction of giving to such savagery the high sanction of its sympathy and support, is none other than the Allahabad Anglo-Indian Daily, the pioneer of humanity towards non-combatants. The Moslem League and Mr Justice Amir Ali are vainly struggling against odds, for the *Pioneer* can now claim a return of its traditional "intelligent anticipation" of authority to declarations, inasmuch as both Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey deprecate such questions as humanitarian M.P.'s have ventured to ask. We do not know how the members of the party which roused heaven and earth against Bulgarian and Armenian "atrocities" are going to take this tremendous snub. Possibly, they will tamely submit to the latest tyranny of the Cabinet. But we have still much faith in the humanity of the British Nation, and although the lion may be asleep for the moment, it is bound to wake up some day. We, however, hope that the awakening may come before Sir Edward Grey has beaten his already splendid records of preserving peace in Europe during six years and estranging the feelings of the Moslems in three continents.

As regards the attitude of Mussalmans in India, we have already dealt almost exhaustively with the subject. But insidious attempts have been made in different quarters to create suspicion of Moslem loyalty. "In Cognito," evidently hurt in the pocket by Rangoon's boycott of Italian goods, writes to the *Rangoon Gazette*, characterising meetings and representations as uncalled-for threats and well-disguised treason. A local contemporary, that vulgarly discriminates between two Muhammadan leaders and shows its reverence for the late Sir Syed Ahmad by calling him "the better horse as far as Islam is concerned," objects to Mr. Amir Ali's drawing his salary "to talk politics" and virtuously writes that "the Italians are a friendly nation and to have a number of one's subjects screaming about interference with a friendly nation is undesirable." Now, we do not think that this contemporary was at all averse to Sir K. G. Gupta's drawing a still larger salary "to talk politics," which concerned the Government still more nearly, and its ethics seems to vary with the talk and the talker. As for high treason, the boycott of Italian goods is far less treasonable than Sir Edward Carson's public announcement of leading a rebellion of Orangemen in Ulster if the King in Parliament gave Home Rule to Ireland. We

hope Indians, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, are more loyal than this, and the *Express* suggestion that His Majesty should not come to hold a Durbar at Delhi is as mischievous as it is ignorant and cowardly. It would be far more treasonable if Indian Mussalmans allowed Sir Edward Grey to create unparalleled bitterness among them without giving the least warning about the mischievous consequences likely in certain contingencies to follow. But we are amazed at the inconsistency of those organs in India which desire that her Government should be broad-based on the people's will, and yet object to the desire of the Mussalmans that the foreign policy of the Imperial Government should not be unpopular with a hundred millions of its subjects without either justice or profit. We trust that their Hindu friends would at least understand now, if they never did before, that the Mussalmans, while anxious to share with them the common benefits of the Empire and deplore with them common disabilities, can so long as they do not become renegades from their religion, abandon not a jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies. Nor, if we are to regard the Under Secretary of State for India to be the mouthpiece of the Government in the House of Commons, need they do so at all. They will continue "to laugh at distance and maternal neighbourhood in breathing and praying mutual sympathy." In this hour of Turkey's trial they would be untrue to themselves if they did not show her their active sympathy in every legitimate manner, and they have too much confidence in their Government to suspect even for a moment that it means one thing and says another. Their Government too, no doubt, has every confidence in them, and His Majesty must be sure of a most loyal welcome from Indian Mussalmans when he sets foot on Indian soil. As the poet "Wasiti" wrote, they can well say—

And we have shared thy travail and thy toil,
And followed thee to feast and fray, and done
Thy bidding, and our stalwart sons have gone
Death-ward for thee in many an evil broil,
And with their blood have moistened many a soil,
Rearing thy dauntless banner in the van,
And flank to flank with thee much glory won,
To thy bright crown a not unworthy foil

Behar Provincial Conference.

UNLIKE other conferences, "provincial" or "national," through which the public life of the Hindus finds its organised expression, the Behar Provincial Conference has the rare distinction of trying to live up to its professions. Ever since its birth and organisation it has sought to achieve practical unanimity on all public questions by earnest efforts to create representative provincial opinion, irrespective of communal or religious distinctions. It may no doubt be readily conceded that the deliberations of the Conference are, to a very large extent, permeated by the Hindu standpoints and outlook on affairs, yet it cannot at present be otherwise owing to certain inseparable accidents of Indian life and politics. Even as it is, the participation of the Mussalmans in the councils of Behar is not altogether on sufferance. They are not simply there to furnish the necessary background to the evolutions of platform orators who sweep, in majestic abandon, through new heavens of bliss on pinions of "provincial" unity—of course, with their tongues in their cheeks. The Mussalman community may not agree with Mr. Hasan Imam or the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, but no one can doubt the honesty of the political faith that is in them. Their association with Hindu gentlemen in the political activities of the province can be, we may take it, on a basis no other than that of mutual comprehension and tolerance. Although we may deplore certain of their results we cannot but admire the existence of such happy relations: a thing surely very different from the golden age of the pre-Partition Bengal, so beloved of the *Farid*, when there was no bitterness of feeling between the two

communities, for the simple reason that the Mussalmans had no political existence and did not count. "That a Muhammadan gentleman should have been invited to preside over the *Provincial Conference* is an index of the good feeling that exists between Hindus and Muhammadans in Behar," says the *Bengalee*. The words we have italicised furnish the "index" to the attitude in which some of the publicists and politicians of the Congress School seek to promote "good feeling" for the evolution of Indian unity. In their deep inner consciousness a "Provincial Conference" is an organisation designed to promote exclusive Hindu interests, while the participation of Mussalmans in the work of those bodies is to be welcomed on the score of political expediency. The very spontaneity and unconscious deliverance of such expressions adds to the unrelenting thoroughness of their meaning.

From considerations such as these one is naturally led to inquire if it would be at all possible, in the interests of the ultimate unity of direction in Indian opinion, to devise some common basis where diverse interests may be fused together, not by suppression but by comprehension and reconciliation, in a spirit of mutual knowledge, sympathy and tolerance. Absolute surrender of one's political hopes and aspirations in obedience to a dominant or aggressive political faith does not imply political uniformity but death. Do the "nationalist" dreamers of a United India, moving on steadily and by the light of her inner faith to an unknown range of power and freedom, seriously imagine any such consummation possible? Will they be able to kill views and opinions, different from theirs, by the almost childish and ridiculous policy of ignoring them or by tacitly declaring all political non-conformity to be a heresy? It may be a pure accident, but the fact is not without its significance that Mr. Hasan Imam and the Hon. Mr. Haque are able to work harmoniously with Hindu leaders of Behar because they have, in a very large measure, identified themselves with the Hindu politician's programme. Would such co-operation be still possible if these gentlemen rose one fine morning to find their views on, say, "separate electorates" suddenly transformed into those of their co-religionists? If not, then it may be frankly confessed that the Mussalmans are invited to join the Congress or other political organisations of the "nationalist," not for purposes of co-operation, but for the definite renunciation of their political aims and ideals. This sort of "compromise" in the interests of Indian unity, which means in practice a thoroughgoing exclusiveness on the one hand and utter political conversion on the other, is just the sort of fond illusion with which the soul of latter-day "nationalist" loves to dally and consort.

While, therefore, political thinking in the country has not yet risen above the stage of tactical makeshifts, while aims and ideals are shut up, as it were, in water-tight compartments, or shouting within close corridors of racial prejudice and partisan exclusiveness, which resound to a general din and clamour of effort and lead to no unity of purpose and harmony of utterance, "Provincial Conferences presided over even by Muhammadan gentlemen" can furnish no clue to the solution of the tremendous problem. Judging by the telegraphic summary of the Presidential address delivered by the Hon Mr Haque, we can very well believe that it must have been a fine performance. Unfortunately, however, there is much in the views of Mr. Haque with which it is impossible for us to agree. Speaking about special electorates, he said, it was unsound in principle. Referring to the question of extending communal representation to District and Municipal Boards, Mr. Haque said he had been opposed to it all along and would continue to do so. "It was suicidal, he said, for the best interests of the Muhammadans themselves and trusted they would come round to his views in due course." Let us hope that the conversion predicted by Mr. Haque, when it does come about, will be a peaceful conversion. Till then, the Mussalmans, we may trust, will be allowed the necessary freedom of conscience and of thought. It

is the overt and covert assaults on this freedom, instances of which will be present even to the mind of Mr. Haque, that have driven the Mussalmans to seek political salvation on independent lines. It is the attitude of the Hindu "nationalist" that has created the gulf, which is unfortunately widening everyday. He has protested too much, and the very violence of his attack on the principle of separate representation has convinced the Mussalmans that these protestations of love for an "erring minority" and the inordinate desire to suppress its distinctive features and individuality are not all altruism. The gentlemen who can recognise the need for a separate Hindu University must have some very subtle reasons if they fail to recognise the need for the communal consciousness of the Mussalmans.

The Hon'ble Mr. Haque is in favour of the modification of the Partition. He said that "the public opinion in Behar was unanimous on one point, that they would neither agree to the *status quo* being restored, nor to a Governorship with a Chief Commissioner for Behar. They would co-operate with their brethren of Bengal in their efforts to constitute Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa into a separate province and to put the whole Bengalee-speaking people under another administration." With all his love for his "brethren of Bengal," the President of the Behar Conference would like to extricate his province from the dominance of the Bengalee, and would thrust back more than thirty millions of his "brethren" in Eastern Bengal under the same yoke from which he seeks deliverance for himself. It may be good business, but it is scarcely good logic or even disinterested patriotism. Whatever argument may apply to the creation of Behar into a separate administrative charge, it applies with tenfold force to the separate existence of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The majority of the people of the new province, who have found new scope and promise for a decent political existence, will hardly thank Mr Haque for his inconvenient attentions. If the Behar majority in old Bengal has reason to dread political association and common provincial life with the Bengalee, we know not with what horror the Mussalmans of the new province will look upon a return to old bondage. Whatever fate may be reserved for the aspirations of Behar for a separate existence, the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam cannot be wiped out again without inflicting an injustice of incalculable magnitude on millions. Any disturbance of the *status quo* in this direction will be the greatest blunder of the Indian Government.



Turkish Relief Fund.

We announce to-day with thanks the generous contributions received by us in aid of the Turkish sufferers from the War. Now that a hopeful beginning has been made, we feel confident our numerous friends, sympathisers and subscribers will assist in the beneficent work of charity to relieve those who are shedding their blood in defence of their honour, faith and fatherland.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Syed Sultan Ahmad Esq., Bar-at-law, Calcutta ...	100	0	0
Through M. Basit Ali, Esq., Badaun, U. P. ..	70	0	0
M. Azizur-Rahman Esq., Mianganj, Unao ...	10	0	0
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A Sympathiser ..	50	0	0
The Comrade ...	50	0	0
The Staff of the Comrade ...	50	0	0
TOTAL. ...	350	0	0

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

MUCH interest has been aroused by a statement in the Vienna *Reuchpost* declaring that Turkey is prepared to grant Russia exclusive right of passage of warships through the Dardanelles in return for Russia's guaranteeing the integrity of Turkish territory in Europe. It is stated that England consents to the agreement and will receive concessions in the Persian Gulf and that Italy consented long ago on Russia promising not to oppose the Italian occupation of Tripoli.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The Marquis Theodoli, representative of the Italian bond-holders on the Council of the Ottoman Debt, has been ordered to leave Turkey.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—It is officially stated that six Italian warships have been sighted from the island of Chios, off Smyrna. Reuter wired from Milan:—It is believed that Italy has abandoned her intention of occupying the islands in the Aegean Sea. She will probably now make a naval demonstration off the coast of Syria. Reuter wired from Rome:—The reservists of 1889 have been called out. Another Army Corps and a Commander have been ordered to Tripoli, whither strong reinforcements are proceeding. Reuter wired from Tripoli:—The disaffection here is spreading. The Arabs complain that the Turks compel them to bear the brunt of the fighting. A division of twenty thousand strong with artillery and aeroplanes is concentrating at Naples, prior to embarkation for Tripoli.

The Porte has protested to the Powers against the execution of Arabs in Tripoli on the ground that it is in contravention of the Hague Convention of 1907.

Reuter's special correspondent in Tripoli has arrived at Malta and says that contrary to Italian accounts the Turks and Arabs engaged in fighting on 23rd and 26th October, did not number more than two thousand, yet they took the Italians completely by surprise, inflicting losses on them of over one thousand killed and wounded and forcing them to abandon a part of the Oasis. The Italian front which on the 23rd ultimo stretched over fifteen kilometres is now only eight kilometres. The Turks, continues the correspondent, signalled their success by advancing their artillery and shelling the Italian lines. They actually dropped a shell in General Caneva's headquarters. The Italian Army has been driven back to a point from which it cannot retire further except by the sea. All idea of marching into the desert has been abandoned for the present. So long as the Turks hold the Oasis which is fifteen miles long by five miles broad, Tripoli is exactly in the position of a besieged city and General Caneva's position is one of stalemate, unless he chooses to take the offensive. He gives, however, no sign that he intends to do this. In spite of official denials which have been issued, Reuter's correspondent cables details of massacres of Arabs between 23rd and 27th October as observed by himself and two other special correspondents who signed a statement at the request of the British Consul at Tripoli. The statement says that General Caneva ordered the troops to shoot all the Arabs who could reasonably be suspected of bearing arms. This order led to the worst abuses, parties of soldiers during the four days scouring the Oasis and shooting indiscriminately. The statement concludes by declaring that General Caneva must bear the full responsibility for these acts.

Italy has circularised the Powers notifying them that Tripoli (Cyrenaica) has been definitely annexed and suggesting mediatory efforts on the part of the Powers to induce Turkey to come without delay to the wise decision of acquiescing in the accomplished facts, and so avoiding senseless bloodshed.

It is understood that General Frugoni is superseding General Caneva in command of the forces in Tripoli, which are about to be constituted as an Army Corps. General Caneva becomes Governor of the town of Tripoli. Reuter wired from Rome:—It is officially denied that General Caneva has been superseded. It is announced that General Frugoni will be the Commander of the First Army Corps, while General Caneva retains the general command.

The *Standard* publishes a message received in London describing a victory in Tripoli on Tuesday and Wednesday the 1st instant gained by eight thousand Turks and sixteen thousand Arabs over the Italians, who are said to have had between five and six thousand casualties. It is added that the Turks captured two forts and numerous guns and ammunition. The telegram reproduced by the *Standard* reporting the defeat of Italian troops on Tuesday and Wednesday is categorically denied. Reuter wired from Tripoli:—The Turkish guns shelled the Italian positions on Sunday morning the 5th instant and an artillery duel lasted all day. Aeroplanes again dropped bombs into the Turkish camp. The Turks were repulsed.

There is a circumstantial report in Constantinople that the Turks captured Derna, after a battle, the Italians losing five hundred killed and eighteen guns, but according to Italian telegrams of 6th instant the situation at Derna was unchanged. According to the *Englishman* special cablegram, the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent says that after a month's occupation the Italian military situation in Tripoli is worse than when the fleet first hove in sight.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The growing anti-Ministerial feeling in Parliament was demonstrated to-day by the House passing a resolution by 133 votes to 35 demanding an immediate explanation from the Minister of War of the attempted arrest of the Opposition Leader in order to court-martial him on a charge of publishing statements against the Government. An application for a postponement of the explanation until Wednesday was rejected.

Cholera is raging among the civilians in Tripoli and also among the troops. The sanitary situation in Tripoli is becoming worse. Fifty bodies of natives who have died from cholera and starvation have been picked up in the streets, while the oasis is full of the dead, creating a pestilential stench. There are forty cases of cholera among the Italian troops daily. The outbreak of cholera in Malta appears to have been got under control. Altogether there have been 46 cases, with 29 deaths. Reuter wired from Malta:—The United States cruiser *Chester* has been ordered to Tripoli.

A frontier correspondent states that the Amir of Kabul is showing the keenest interest on the war between Italy and Turkey just as he did in the Russo-Japanese campaign in Manchuria. He has appointed a number of Munshis to translate into Persian, accounts which appear in the newspapers and these translations are read out to him every evening. The same correspondent also states that Colonel Rasul Khan, the Amir's agent at Bombay, who has recently arrived at Peshawar, has recommended boycotting of Italian goods throughout Afghanistan.

The Officiating Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Marine Department, has addressed the following letter to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce:—I am directed to forward for the information of the Chamber a copy of a telegram N. 694-L.M., dated the 23rd instant, from the Government of India, Marine Department, regarding the defence of the ports of Salonica and Smyrna by mines and to state that the Port Officer, Calcutta, and the Commissioner of the Orissa Division have been directed to issue notices on the subject to all British merchant vessels leaving the Port of Calcutta and the Orissa ports respectively.—Following telegram, dated 19th October, from Admiralty begins:—"Salonica Smyrna have been defended by mines; Pilot boat stationed at both ports conduct neutral vessels in and out of the harbour, inform intelligence officers and British merchant vessels. British Consul at Port Said has been informed." Please issue instructions that all British merchant vessels clearing from Indian ports may be informed.

The report that the Turks had captured Derna is now definitely stated to be untrue.

At question time, in the Commons, Mr. F. D. Acland said the British Government was not precluded by the declaration of neutrality from offering mediation, but the views of Italy and Turkey were so divergent that no basis for mediation at present existed.

General Frugoni immediately on landing with fifteen thousand reinforcements took a vigorous initiative on Monday and ordered the advance, the vigour and rapidity of which surprised the enemy. It resulted in the recapture of a fort at Hamidieh and a portion of the Oasis. Warships co-operated with the field batteries. The Italians claim that the enemy suffered enormous losses. Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The War Office has issued a statement discrediting the report of the Turkish capture of Derna. The Porte has despatched a protest to the Powers against the Italian annexation of Tripoli and stating its determination to resist. Italian despatches from Tripoli report that there is considerable quarrelling among the Turks and Arabs over the precarious and meagre supplies reaching them. The Arabs also resent the tendency of the Turks to place them in the forefront of the battle. An aeroplane yesterday dropped two bombs into the enemy's camp. He states that the ranks have been much depleted since he made his last reconnaissance. An Italian cruiser has bombarded Akaba, and sunk a Turkish gunboat, killing the second officer.

Reuter wired from Tunis:—Eighteen killed and forty-one wounded have been received at the hospitals here. The death roll among Arabs is not known, as they conceal their dead and injured. Three Italians were killed in the rioting at Tunis. Many armed natives have been arrested.

Reuter wired from Tripoli.—An Italian battalion, supported by the artillery and fleet, sallied out of Hamidieh fort and drove back the enemy, killing sixty. Fifteen Italians were wounded.

Natal Muhammadans have subscribed £1,600 to the Red Crescent Society at Constantinople.

Moslem Feeling in India.

RESOLUTIONS were passed at a protest meeting of Cawnpore Muhammadans:—(1) Asking the British Government to interfere and save the Turks from injury; (2) boycotting Italian goods and giving preference to British goods; (3) for raising funds for the widows and orphans of the killed and those injured in war; (4) thanking the Indian Government for consenting to forward funds to the Turkish Consul. Rs 392 was collected on the spot.

At a meeting of Lucknow Mussalmans on Sunday afternoon on the 5th instant in Kaiserbagh Baradari, a resolution was passed expressing the utmost horror and indignation at the massacre of innocent men, women and children of the Tripolitan Arabs by the Italian army. Mr. Hamidali Khan, Bar-at-Law, in moving the resolution, remarked that war existed between man and man and not between man and woman. The outrage, he said, was a wanton display of intolerable savagery peculiar to primitive ages. The resolution was seconded by Moulvi Aziz Mirza. It was also resolved that a copy of the resolution should be submitted to Government. Moulvi Nizamuddin Hasan, retired Deputy Commissioner, presided. Fly-leaves are being distributed broadcast containing a list of Italian goods and requesting Muhammadans to boycott them.

At a mass meeting of the Muhammadans of Ceylon on Sunday, the 5th instant, a resolution was carried expressing profound sympathy with the Sultan and imploring King George to intervene and use his influence to end hostilities. Prayers were offered for the Sultan and calling divine succour to Turkish arms in Tripoli. There were five thousand persons present.

A mass meeting of Mussalmans, numbering about 7,000, was held at Comilla under the presidency of Moulvi Ryazuddin Mohammed, the premier zemindar, and the following resolutions unanimously passed:—"Resolved that every Mussalman should offer prayers every night and also prayers be offered in every village mosque on every Friday for the success of Turkey." "Resolved that a sense of gratitude be recorded to the British Government for non-interference in the religious traditions of its loyal subjects and an appeal be made to the Government of India for transmission to His Imperial Majesty the King and Emperor George V. to interfere for the cause of humanity in the atrocities and brutalities committed over the Arabs by the Italians." "Resolved that subscriptions be realised and sent to the Red Crescent Society for the widows and children of the killed and wounded Turkish soldiers." "Resolved that all Italian goods be boycotted." A considerable amount was collected on the spot and about 200 Italy-made caps destroyed. The assembly then offered a prayer to the Almighty for the victory of Turkey and Islam.

The Hon. Nawab Syed Muhammed presided over a monster meeting of Moslems and Hindus at the Victoria Hall to protest against the Turko-Italian war. There were eight resolutions on the agenda and speeches were made in English and Hindustani. Dr. T. M. Nair was the speaker of the evening and proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting beseeches the British Government, which is concerned in the welfare of a large Empire in the East, to further use its best endeavours to allay the grave feeling of insecurity which the unjust war and the manner in which it is being prosecuted by Italy against Turkey along with other recent events have produced in the minds of non-Christians and the Oriental races generally. The second resolution strongly condemned the execution and ill-treatment by Italy in Tripoli of the non-combatant Muhammadan inhabitants, including women and children, and earnestly appealed to the sense of humanity of the British public and Government to use their influence in putting a stop to such cruel action. The other resolutions carried were with reference to the duty of the Muhammadan community to rally round the Khalifa, collection of subscriptions, requesting the Grand Vicer at Constantinople to communicate to the Turkish Consul-General at Bombay news from the seat of war, etc. At the termination of Monday's Moslem meeting in Madras, a subscription list was opened and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was subscribed, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim giving Rs. 400, Mrs. Abdur Rahim Rs. 100, and Miss Rahim Rs. 50.

An open air mass meeting convened under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Barisal met on Sunday afternoon under the presidency of Kazi Obedulghany to express sympathy with Turkey in her present crisis. The meeting was opened by the Hon. Moulvi Hemayetuddin Ahmed, B.L., who explained to the assembly the exact position in Tripoli and succeeded in removing the erroneous impression which failed to differentiate Italy from England. He asked for subscriptions for the relief of the families of the slain and

wounded. Other speakers having addressed the meeting the following resolutions were adopted:—"That the Mussalmans of Backerganj, while regarding the aggression of Italy as most unjust and opposed to all laws of humanity, desire that it should be condemned by all Mussalmans, Hindus or Christians, and as a token of their condemnation should boycott all Italian goods. That every Mussalman should pray for Turkish victory in their daily nimaz, and that on Fridays special prayers to the same effect should be offered at every mosque. That funds be raised for the relief of the families of the slain or wounded in Tripoli in fighting the Italian invaders. That the most sincere thanks of the entire Muhammadan community be accorded to those noble-minded Christians, Hindus, and men of other races and creeds who have been helping the Muhammadan cause. That a telegram of sympathy be sent to the Turkish Consul-General, Bombay, for communication to the Amiral Moumenin, the Sultan of Turkey, and to the Turkish Parliament.

Following the mass meeting of the Muhammadans of Hooghly and Chinsurah held on the 29th October on the *idgah* grounds to express sympathy with Turkey in the unjust and unprovoked war which Italy is waging on her, another meeting was held on the 5th instant at the same place. Several speeches were made deploring and condemning the barbarous massacre of Arab women and children in Tripoli by the Italians. Resolutions were also adopted to collect funds for the relief of the wounded and the families of the dead and to boycott Italian goods. The meeting concluded with all the Muhammadans present joining in a fervent prayer for a continuation of victory to the soldiers of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, who is the Commander of the faithful and the Caliph of the whole Muslim world.

A MEETING of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League was held at the house of S. M. Sheriff, Esq. M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Joint-Secretary, at 58, Lower Circular Road, on the 5th November 1911, at 4 P.M., and the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League records its strong condemnation of the aggression of Italy in attacking Tripoli and its deep abhorrence of Italy's savage atrocities and resolves that the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor be respectfully requested to intervene in the interests of grace and humanity and put a stop to an unjust and barbarous war. The Committee also resolves that Mussalmans should show their deep resentment of Italy's action by boycotting all Italian goods and that funds should be collected for relieving the Turkish wounded and the widows and orphans of victims."

Under the auspices of the Red Crescent Society a mass meeting of the Muhammadans of Bareilly was held after the Juma prayer in the Naumehla Eadgah on 3rd November. The number of the people who were present amounted to about ten thousand. After the fervent prayers were offered for the victory of the Sultan and the honor of Islam, the Imam of the mosque recited some verses from the Quran. The public expressed much indignation at the piracy of Italy and horror at the inhuman massacre of the innocents by the Italians and showed sympathy with the Turks and Arabs, and all who were present unanimously made a fresh vow that they would never buy Italian goods, and those who had Italy-made caps threw them off their heads which were burnt. A Resolution was passed that the British Government be requested to intervene and put a stop to the atrocities of Italy and to secure the integrity of the Turkish Empire. A telegram about it was sent to the Viceroy. About Rs 200 were collected on the spot and subscriptions are being raised in different parts of the town.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, October 9.

TO ESTIMATE the situation newly created in North Africa with a due sense of proportion it is almost necessary to see Tripoli as I have seen it during the past few days. We made the port in an Italian steamer. The first we knew of our destination was the heavy smoke-bank created from the funnels of the Italian men-of-war. There were nine of them, great buoyant batteries of 8,000 to 13,000 tons, stripped for the business of war. For quite a long time they and their bank of smoke entirely masked the elongated strip of oasis on a desert coast in which the ancient town is set. At last, however, as we drew nearer the warships, and a fluttering group of signal flags summarily ordered us to anchor, we could discern the league of palm trees and the medley of white-washed houses that is Tripoli. Even before one had had time to learn the history of the past three days it seemed that all sense of proportion had been lost as one saw these giants threatening an over-grown Arab oasis.

It was quite evident that Italy was in possession of the town, as the blockading squadrons were anchored close inshore, and several torpedo craft were fussily engaged in the harbour, which had hitherto known little better than decrepit Ottoman gunboats and Greek sponge-divers' schooners. The Italian Admiral showed us every courtesy. A boarding officer took our letters of introduction, and

the Admiral straight-way ordered a torpedo-boat to put us ashore. While these instructions were being carried out it was possible to familiarize ourselves with the general appearance of the port. A spit of rock running out from the sand-dunes naturally furnishes a partial breakwater to a small shallow bay. Upon this rock Phœnician, Carthaginian, Roman, Mameluke, Spaniard, and Turk have built their defences in turn. Behind these defences, and half-way round the bay, is Tripoli. Like most Arab coast towns, from the seaboard it looks clean and cool. In reality it is a maze of filthy alley-ways, pestilential arcades, and noisome bazaars. The minarets of three mosques and the spire of a Catholic church give relief to the unbroken flatness of the roofs; while at the back of the bay, rising sheer from the water, is the Castle, a great medieval pile of puddled clay and sand-rock, that furnished Konak, barracks, arsenal and stores for the Turkish garrison.

As the torpedo-boat took us ashore we could note the results of the bombardment upon the Turkish fort at the harbour entrance. This erection is known as the "Spanish" fort, though perhaps more generally spoken of as the "pink" fort, from the colour of the wash in which it has been distempered. It consists of two bastions, connected by a heavy curtain. The walls and parapets, which were built of rough-hewn stones filled in and thickly faced with clay, rose about 30 feet above the level of the sea. The parapets were of great thickness, and had made an extraordinary resistance to the 10 inch Italian projectiles; but where the shells had hit the bevelled edge of the parapet the splintering of the rock-substance must have been awful, and showers must have swept across the town. Not having witnessed the bombardment, I cannot say if the Italian practice was good or bad. It certainly had nothing to disconcert it. The Pink Fort showed many low hits where the heavy projectiles had practically made no impression on the curtain. In the bastions were only three Krupp guns of a type now obsolete, which it is locally said were mounted 30 years ago. None of them had been dismantled by the bombardment. From the hits near the water-line on the curtain it looked as if the Italian gunners had laid their pieces low in order to spare the town from overranged projectiles.

We landed at the Customs at an opportune moment. The Turkish officials said that his authority had ceased, and that he had orders to hand over to the Italians as soon as their Customs officials arrived. We escaped, therefore, the 11 per cent. *ad valorem* duty that the Turks exacted in the past, and marched on shore. Tripoli has a tiny sea front parade, where are situated the principal *cafés*; that and here, in the cool of the evening the Turkish *jeunesse d'oeil* in *fezzes* and the Arabs in snow-white *halks* have for decades been wont to gather to "eat" the cool sea breeze that heralds the setting sun. But when we landed there were no insolent and indolent sitters before the *cafés*. There was, however, a crowd of awed Arabs and cowed Jews, who stepped into shadow with alacrity as a party of Italian sailors came bustling past. Workmanlike fellows these sailors were, in white uniforms and brown canvas gaiters and carrying infantry arms and accoutrements. Their eager and bronzed little officer, with a Mauser pistol strapped to his thigh, as he marched with businesslike smartness down the street, never realized how out of proportion the whole picture was. The light of conquest was in his eye. The spirit of success pervaded the whole detachment. Italian correspondents landing with us clapped their hands and shouted in a delirium of ecstasy at the sight of the national flag floating above the Castle. There was no sense of proportion. The plucking of this rotten plum from a decaying branch of the Ottoman Empire is to the Italians as a battle of Austerlitz. It is the realization of a "heart's desire."

Tripoli, October 12.

This morning at sunrise from the roof of the Consulate I witnessed a stirring and moving spectacle. Out of the morning mist on the far horizon appeared a great fleet of Italian transports steaming in double line ahead, convoyed by a division of battleships and cruisers and a flotilla of destroyers. The pall of smoke from the 19 transports and eight large warships hid the rising sun. The transport fleet was marshalled in two divisions, one anchoring off the port, the other off the Western Bay. It was as I surmised, the authorities became anxious for the naval brigade after the night attack on the outposts, and immediately despatched two swift ocean liners with five battalions as a measure of security in advance of the main force.

I understand that the fleet to-day brings a complete division with a cavalry brigade. It must also be bringing supplies, as up to the present no stores have been landed, which is curious when the local supplies are practically nil. I therefore roughly calculate that there are 15,000 men, taking 13 battalions to a division, and 600 bayonets per battalion. This with the divisional troops of Artillery and Cavalry and the services should approximate the estimate.

Immediately after the landing of the troops public notices were posted in prominent places pointing out that it was the Italian Government's intention to observe all the religious prejudices of the populace and calling upon the Arabs to accept the new régime in the friendly spirit in which it was proposed to apply it. Certainly there

is no sign of resentment by the Arabs in Tripoli itself, while the Jewish population is tumbling over itself to peddle small wares to the soldiers. Beggars now croon "Viva Italia!"

Tripoli, October 13.

THE naval occupation is now entirely superseded by the military. General Caneva, commanding the expeditionary force, landed to-day amid the salutes of the Fleet, which had dressed ship for the occasion. The Italians are making every endeavour to impress the Arabs. In a grandiloquent proclamation the Governor refers to the Turks as "the common enemy."

The majority of the troops have been pushed up under the palm trees of an oasis on the outpost line, practically the same that was occupied by the naval brigade. This outpost holds the southern fringe of the palm grove, its front being apparently boundless sand desert. During the two nights that the troops have been in position there has been slight rifle firing, but, as I suggested in a previous message, the desert is the abode of the mirage.

The "Times," October 16

WE HAVE received the following statement from the Turkish Embassy —

The news of an attack made on 30 Italian workmen on the Hedjaz railway published by the *Times* on the 12th instant, as emanating from the Italian Embassy, is, according to official information just received, without any foundation. The Turkish Embassy begs to warn the British public against such news, with certain tendencies, spread almost daily with the object of justifying a conduct which has provoked universal indignation in all countries where justice and a respect for the right of others is a creed.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, October, 13.

The war party appears to be gaining strength and comprises the leading members both of the Committee and of the Opposition.

The *Tanin* to-day publishes an appeal to Ottoman patriots to form an anti-Italian League, the members of which bind themselves during their lifetime to boycott Italian schools, post offices, and commercial establishments, to inflict every injury of omission and commission which is "permitted by the laws of humanity and morality" upon Italians, and to bring up their children in the hate of Italy. Four Italian journalists have been ordered to leave the country within 24 hours.

Official circles are reticent in regard to the replies of the Powers to Turkey's communication asking for their mediation. There is some reason, however, to believe that two of the Governments approached, which rumour identifies with Italy's allies, have informed the Porte that the incompatibility between its refusal to surrender any of its rights in Tripoli and Italy's decision to occupy and annex that territory renders it impossible for them at present to take the steps which the Porte desires. They will, however, continue their endeavours on behalf of the cessation of hostilities.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 13.

THE constitution of a special "Association of Hatred" against Italy at Constantinople for the purpose of organizing a strict anti-Italian boycott and to educate the younger generation to hate Italy, and the expulsion of Italian newspaper correspondents are interpreted here as signs that the Committee of Union and Progress is gaining ground. The actual outbreak of the boycott at Salonika and Smyrna under the exalted auspices of the Hamalin-Chief, Kerim Aga, is greeted in anti-Italian quarters here with malicious satisfaction. The *Zeit* hastens to declare that just as Italian merchants sought to profit by the anti-Austrian boycott during the annexation crisis so Austrians will now be careful not to let slip this favourable opportunity. The Conservative Catholic *Vaterland* explains that Italians have not the slightest cause to be irritated by Turkish reprisals and claims that the Powers ought to see that the Italian promise to restrict hostile operations to Tripoli is seriously kept. By paying attention to Italian vagaries, adds the *Vaterland*, the Powers would, perhaps, do more to circumscribe the conflict than by premature advocacy of the conclusion of peace.

The unreserved expression of anti-Italian sentiment in the Clerical as well as in the anti-Clerical camp is attracting considerable attention in Parliamentary circles. Yesterday's attack upon Count Aehrenthal in the Christian-Socialist *Reichspost* is followed to-day by a rejoinder in an important provincial organ, the *Tagesspost* of Graz, in which the writer, apparently Dr. Friedjung, taxes the Christian-Socialist Party with inconsistency, but suggests that Count Aehrenthal will before long share the fate of his colleague General Baron von Schönaich, whose dismissal from the Ministry of War recently created some stir. Though political prophecy is not Dr. Friedjung's strongest point, it is an open secret that a certain antagonism exists between the policy adopted towards Italy by Count Aehrenthal and the more militant attitude assumed by General Conrad von Hoesendorf, the Chief of the General Staff. The

conclusion that because General Conrad is supposed to enjoy the favour of some exalted quarters the days of Count Aehrenthal as Foreign Minister are numbered is, however, too bold to commend itself entirely to impartial observers. The difficulty of Count Aehrenthal's position is evident to all who are acquainted with the undercurrents of Central European politics, and it has long been clear that, when he at length acquired the conviction that good relations with Italy are a primary condition of Austro-Hungarian freedom of action within the Triple Alliance, he would incur the disfavour of those elements in the Alliance which regard any degree of Austro-Hungarian independence as a misfortune. At the present juncture these elements, which are powerful even in Austria-Hungary, are reinforced by sundry Clerical influences that are more Papist than the Pope, by a number of anti-Italian military scribes, and by the fanatical Jewish faction, which would regard any diversion in favour of the Committee of Union and Progress as a godsend. But it is a very open question whether this singular confluence of interests and aspirations will avail at the present critical juncture to unseat a Minister whose capacity for sitting tight is proverbial, and who has hitherto falsified by his retention of office all statements that Imperial confidence had been withdrawn from him.

A telegram from Milan to the *Zeit* stating that the retired German Lieutenant von Lochow has been expelled from Tripoli for insulting the Italian Consul and for anti-Italian agitation among the Turks and Arabs attracts some notice here. Lieutenant von Lochow is said to have obtained extensive concessions of land in Tripoli from the Turkish Government. The interest of this announcement lies in the circumstance that recent Turkish concessions to a retired German officer are alleged to have been among the causes of the Italian decision to occupy Tripoli without further loss of time.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, October 15.

MR. STEAD, who is here on behalf of a number of friends of international peace, has been assured by the Grand Vizier and the Foreign Minister that both will do their utmost to support his suggestion that Turkey, if her appeals for the mediation of the Powers unhappily fail, should lay her case before The Hague Tribunal and appeal to its arbitration.

The Ottoman members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union propose to visit the principal European capitals with the object of obtaining public and Parliamentary support.

Salonika, October 18.

Local newspapers all reproduce an article by Mr. Stead in the *Tainin*. The general effect has been greatly to encourage the Party in favour of war to the knife. It is supposed that Mr. Stead is a personage of great distinction in England, and that his views are therefore likely to be shared by the majority of the British public. A boycott of all Italians and of Italian goods was officially proclaimed to-day.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, October 15.

It will be remembered that in consequence of the instructions of the British Government the British officers attached to the Ottoman Fleet were withdrawn almost immediately after the declaration of war, though Germany took no such steps in regard to German officers attached to the Ottoman Army. After the lapse of a few days the officers attached to the dockyard and the Halki Naval School were allowed to resume their duties. Given the special conditions of the present war, there really seems no reason why the combatant officers of the British naval mission should not return to their duties at the Admiralty, provided, of course, that they do not take part in actual hostilities. Should they be withdrawn, the reorganization of the Turkish Navy may quite conceivably be entrusted to the officers of another Power. In the meantime, they are quite in the air, and are apparently, expected to live on it. The Turkish Admiralty has stopped their pay, while they receive none from the British Admiralty.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 16.

ONE consequence of the Turkish Speech from the Throne has been to disillusionize the preachers of premature peace. A pessimistic Note of semi-official origin informs the much misled Austrian public to-night that all idea of mediation must be abandoned for the moment, since Italy demands the unconditional annexation of Tripoli, while Turkey cannot now accept negotiations on such a basis. Even Baron Marschall von Bieberstein adds the Note, who was laudably active on behalf of a compromise last week, has now suspended his endeavours.

Sober-minded and impartial diplomatists here are of opinion that the laudable activity of the German Ambassador at Constantinople and the persistent announcements of an impending outbreak of peace in the German and Austrian financial Press have tended to

protract the conflict and to complicate the situation by hiding from the Turks the reality of things. If clearness now prevails on this point something has at least been gained.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 18.

VAGUE rumours of the impending annexation of Egypt by England have been current in financial circles at Berlin since the beginning of the week. Last evening they appear to have crystallized into a positive announcement in a leading Stock Exchange and financial organ of Germany, the *Berliner Tageblatt*. This morning, as was to be expected, they were given prominence in the *Neue Freie Presse* which appended to a column of ponderous comment the following "telegram" from London:—"Your correspondent hears from a very distinguished financial source that England will proclaim the annexation of Egypt on Monday." Possibly because the effect of the "annexation" story had been neutralized in advance by the Berlin rumours, the Vienna Stock Exchange remained comparatively indifferent to the operations of the *Neue Freie Presse* which nevertheless caused some stir among the public. Towards evening the categorical denials telegraphed from London tranquillized the timorous—but left unanswered the question why persons and journals intimately connected with the international financial world should constantly disseminate rumours, statements, and opinions calculated still further to undermine tottering international confidence.

To this question there is no entirely convincing answer, but some competent authorities incline to the belief that the annexation story, like Herr Harden's declaration of the imminence of a Franco-German war and other apparently less dramatic announcements of secret Anglo-German negotiations for the reduction of naval armaments have one and all the object of destroying French "nerve" and of rendering France more amenable to the pressure of German banks and of the German Government, which desire that the French banks should at the end of October, as at the end of September, surreptitiously supply the wherewithal to save the German Money Market and German industry from a crisis. Last month various French banks, including the *Crédit Lyonnais* and the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, are understood to have supplied some 11 million sterling of French savings to help the German banks over the difficulties in which they have been involved by the aggressive policy of the German Government. M. Caillaux, the French Premier, who is said to have shut one eye to this operation in order not to impede the conclusion of the Morocco Agreement, has since been vigorously attacked in the French Press, and some doubt seems to be felt whether he can afford to be similarly complaisant a second time. Hence in the opinion of some shrewd observers here the attempts to frighten French public opinion by predictions of impending war and to foment in French minds distrust of England by assertions that while France is still struggling to reach a settlement with Germany concerning Morocco England is secretly negotiating a special understanding with Germany and is preparing to pocket Egypt.

The aggravation of an international position already precarious by such manoeuvres is not only reprehensible in itself but short-sighted, inasmuch as it may drive credit-giving nations seriously to consider whether the claim of the cosmopolitan banking world that "capital has no frontiers" is entirely founded and whether it is politic to allow the savings and in the last resort the credit of a nation to be at the disposal of uncontrolled mercenaries.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 19.

THE Austrian Press is gradually accustoming itself to the idea expressed in my despatch of the 11th instant that "when the occupation of the Tripolitan littoral is complete the world must be prepared for an enunciation of Italian sovereignty" over Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The various details of intended Italian procedure now published here are more or less conjectural. Much will depend upon the attitude assumed by Turkey when the Parliamentary situation at Constantinople has become clearer. Private despatches from Rome hint that the Italian Government has already reason to believe the veritable attitude of the Porte to be no longer entirely uncompromising, though its apparent bearing remains for obvious reasons one of determined resistance. It is possible, however, that some show of pressure by the Powers may be requisite in order to give Turkey a pretext for yielding to *force majeure*. This solution naturally presupposes the avoidance of internal disturbances in Turkey—a condition of which the fulfilment is by no means certain. One powerful influence in favour of a comparatively speedy settlement is the urgent need of Turkey for financial relief such as might be afforded by an Italian indemnity, and by fiscal concessions which the Powers might be prevailed upon to sanction. But as one of the best living authorities on the Ottoman Empire recently remarked, "Turkey is a pre-economic country not to be judged by the standards of highly-organized European States."

While awaiting decisive developments, the Austro-Hungarian Press reviews the situation, and shows a tendency to deprecate any

extension of Italian operations to the Aegean. The Clerico-Military *Reichspost* falls foul of Italy in a violent article, while the *Fester Lloyd*, in an avowedly official utterance, concludes an examination of the Balkan outlook by saying that the markedly anti-pacific tendencies which exist at Sofia, Athens, Cettigne, and Belgrade are for the present held in check by the Bulgarian, Greek, Montenegrin, and Serbian Governments, which, in their turn, are controlled by the pacific will of the Great Powers. For the moment, adds the *Fester Lloyd*, there is no reason to be pessimistic, but the situation may be aggravated if, in consequence of the Italo-Turkish conflict, or of its geographical extension, the excitement and strain noticeable in the Balkan States should be increased.

ITALY'S RESOLVE.

ITALY had evidently decided long before the news reached India to carry the war against Turkey beyond the limits of Tripoli as the *Corriere d'Italia* published the following statement a fortnight back :-

"According to our information, the Powers have in a friendly way made known to Italy their desire to see the military operations against Italy quickly brought to an end, in order to avoid dangerous economic results for European commerce in general with the Ottoman Empire. Italy cannot accept any responsibility for the resistance of the Porte and for the tendency Turkey shows to enlarge the area of hostilities. Accordingly, Italy has made known to the Powers her decision to free herself from her undertaking to limit the conflict to Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and is ready to meet in an energetic way the hesitating and insidious actions of Turkey."

A Turkish official of Tripoli, who is a native of Baghdad, of the name of Tahseen Effendi, arrived the other day in Alexandria from Tripoli *via* Malta, accompanied by his family.

Questioned by a press representative about the present state of things in Tripoli he said that the Italian Vali had ordered the Ottoman officials to leave the country immediately and offered them a ship to convey them to Malta. He was one of those who chose to leave for Syria. Speaking of the bombardment Tahseen Effendi said that it was impossible for the Turks to do more than they did. The surrender was decided upon by a council of war composed of the acting Vali, the Chief Officers and a large number of notables of the town. Shortly after the evacuation of the town by the Turks a large number of Bedouins came in for pillage and they carried away as much as they could of the inhabitants' property before the Italian bluejackets landed. Tahseen Effendi also stated that the Turks have distributed about 30,000 rifles among those natives who asked for arms to fight. He also declares that an Italian warship was sunk by the Tripoli forts before they surrendered and that another warship struck a rock in the harbour and was lost.

The Cairo Police authorities have prohibited the sale in the capital of the French newspapers, the *Petit Parisien* and the *Petit Journal*, for publishing some pictures and cartoons representing the entry of the Italians into Tripoli in a way calculated to excite the mind of the native population of Egypt.

Aaref Bey El-Mardini, ex-Vali of Bussora now living in Cairo, who is organising a body of Egyptian volunteers to fight for the Turks in Tripoli, asked the Austrian Lloyd Navigation Company if they would allow one of their steamers to convey the company of volunteers to the Tripolitan coasts. According to the *Akhbar*, which published the news, the Company refused the request and informed both the Austrian and the Egyptian Governments of the matter.

It is amusing to note that the latest Turkish boycott, directed against Italy for her seizure of Tripoli, is bringing much profit to the business-like Austrians, who were themselves boycotted, by means of the famous white tarboush, when they laid hands upon Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then it was the Italian merchants who gained, now the laugh will be with Austria,—always supposing that the present boycott reaches a serious stage. The first outbreak of the boycott at Salonika and Smyrna under the exalted auspices of the Hamal-in-Chief, Kerim Aga, was greeted in Vienna with malicious satisfaction. The *Zeist* hastened to declare that just as Italian merchants sought to profit by the anti-Austrian boycott during the annexation crisis so Austrians would now be careful not to let slip this favourable opportunity.

It seems Turkey has already taken precautions to prevent the Italians from landing in the islands of the Ionian Archipelago. Recently four hundred soldiers were sent by the Porte to Chios and one hundred and fifty to Molyne, with guns as it was known in Constantinople that Italy will commence operations in the Aegean Sea if Turkey does not recognise the occupation of Tripoli.

A Havas agency message from Constantinople states that during a secret meeting of the Council, Said Pasha declared that complications were imminent in the Balkans, but Turkey was ready for all eventualities. Another message from the same source states that Turkey is credited with the intention of making a diversion to the war, in order to give satisfaction to the great mass of public opinion which has become over-excited.

The Turkish Parliament.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, October 17.

AN Imperial Iradeh was issued to-day sanctioning the provisional application, pending its adoption by the Chamber, of a law imposing a 100 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported from Italy into Turkey since the declaration of war. The measure is likely to be popular with the war party, whose principal organ, the *Tanin*, to-day replies to Mr W. T. Stead's suggestion that Turkey should appeal to The Hague Tribunal, remarking that European Powers which have given a tacit consent to Italian aggression are unlikely to lend that support to Turkey without which an appeal to The Hague would be doomed to failure so far as all practical results are concerned. The *Juene Turc*, which continues to express the hope that Turkey will take the place of Italy as "a brilliant third" in the Triple, adopts the same attitude as the *Tanin*.

The leaders and representatives of the different Parliamentary parties held long meetings to-day at which the question of a vote of confidence was discussed. So far as is known, the Committee *Bloc* intends to reserve its decision until a further attempt is made, after the close of the secret Session, to arrive at an agreement with the Opposition leaders as to common action.

A combined meeting of the Opposition groups has discussed the possibility of arriving at an understanding during the present crisis with the Committee Party, but has decided to make the acceptance by their opponents of certain conditions (such as the formation of a non-Parliamentary Cabinet and the recognition of the Grand Vizier's right to form a Ministry in accordance with his own opinions) a *sine qua non* of their entering into any combination with the *Bloc*. There are some hopes that the Committee Party and the Opposition will eventually come to an at all events temporary understanding on the basis of a Coalition Ministry.

In the meantime the position of Said Pasha's Government is further weakened by the publication of the text of a memorial presented to the Speaker by the Deputies from Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This document demands the impeachment of Hakkı Pasha and his colleagues on the following nine counts :-

- (1) The diminution of the Tripoli garrison, by drafts to Yemen and by the reduction of the Cavalry, etc., to 5,000 men.
- (2) The delay in beginning the recruiting of the local Militia in consequence of which only 3,400 out of 16,000 have been called out for training.
- (3) The failure to send a sufficient supply of magazine rifles for the use of the Militia.
- (4) The transfer of all officers of Tripolitan origin or acquainted with the Arabic language from Tripoli to other commands.
- (5) The failure to supply sufficient relief for the sufferers from the constant famines which have driven 200,000 Arabs to emigrate to Tunis and elsewhere.
- (6) The appointment of officials ignorant of Arabic.
- (7) The recall of the Commandant of the Tripoli Division, Ibrahim Pasha, and failure to appoint a successor to him or a *locum tenens* to the Civil Governor when on leave.
- (8) Ignorance of the Italian preparations for war.
- (9) The failure to give any orders for the improvisation of local defence up to the moment when war was declared.

It appears that the Albanian Deputies are preparing a similar memorial dealing with the Malissori campaign and the events which led up to it.

LATER.

I hear on good authority that the Committee of Opposition members of the Senate and Chamber will meet after Said Pasha's statement in the Chamber in order to discuss the possibility of an *entente*. In addition to the conditions which have already been mentioned, the Opposition demands the following guarantees :-

- (1) That the Sultan's right to nominate the Grand Vizier shall be safeguarded.
- (2) That occult influences shall not be brought to bear on the Cabinet, and no Minister shall resign during the recess on account of such influences.
- (3) That the Cabinet shall follow a moderate but dignified foreign policy.

Constantinople, October 18.

It is believed that the question of confidence in the Government was not raised at to-day's debate, which was carried on within closed doors, after Said Pasha had made his statement.

Constantinople, October 18.

In the Chamber this afternoon the Grand Vizier read a statement of the Government's policy. He declared that the Government

would defend Ottoman rights at all costs, and added that in order to safeguard the interests of the country it was proposed to modify the policy hitherto pursued by Turkey and to seek alliances. Said Pasha continued:—

"The first and foremost task of the Government will be to reach a solution of the Tripoli affair such as we consider most favourable to the interests of this country. We will apply ourselves to strengthening our friendly relation with all the Powers, particularly the Balkan States. We desire to maintain and strengthen our normal sincere relations with the Balkan States on a basis of mutual confidence and the reconciliation of our common interests. We have no aggressive intention, no ambitious designs against any country or any State. It is our most ardent desire, on the contrary, to respect the legitimate rights of all countries, and to obtain respect for our own. By producing on the one hand material proofs of these dispositions and by securing, on the other hand, agreements beneficial to the rights and legitimate interests of our country, we have the consciousness of fulfilling the pacific duties which devolve upon the Ottoman Government. Such is our programme. We shall pursue its execution integrally if you extend to us your confidence.

Speech from the Throne.

Constantinople, October 14.

PARLIAMENT was opened at half-past 2 o'clock this afternoon in the presence of a large and brilliant company, including the Sultan and the Imperial Princes, who were in the Imperial box, the foreign Ambassadors, who occupied the Diplomatic Gallery, all the Ministers in uniform, and the heads of the leading financial establishments.

The Speech from the Throne was, as usual, read by the Grand Vizier, and, although it dealt for the most part with the Italian war and the steps taken by the Government in the direction of securing the mediation of the Powers, it was of a rather uninteresting character, and threw no new light on the situation.

It said that, while the Government was busy with the application of the laws and was working for the development of the country industrially, commercially, and educationally, and generally repairing the errors of the old régime, the Italian Government had presented an ultimatum which attempted to justify its aggressive aims against Tripoli. Notwithstanding the pacific reply of the Porte, agreeing to discuss the Italian economic desiderata and requesting detailed information with regard to these demands, the Italian Government had declared war, opening hostilities before the expiration of the 24 hours mentioned in the ultimatum. The Italian warships, violating international law, had opened fire without warning upon Turkish torpedo boats in the Adriatic, which, not being aware that hostilities had been begun, were saluting the Italian vessels at the time.

In the circumstances, the speech continued, it was necessary to convoke Parliament before the appointed time. The Government had immediately appealed for the mediation of the Powers in order to put an end to a war which was so contrary to international law, equity, and the universal desire for peace. The speech proceeded:—

"In awaiting the definite result of these steps the Government continues to take the necessary measures to defend its rights and legitimate interests. All civilized peoples were surprised and stirred by the unexpected assault of Italy, which paralysed the pacific and progressist efforts of my Government. I am convinced that the Government, as well as Parliament and the nation, will to the best of their power discharge the important duties entailed by the defence of our rights and interests. It is unnecessary to emphasize that in union dwells the greatest strength, which is essential to the progress and grandeur of the nation and the defence of the Fatherland. It is my most ardent desire to see all Ottomans work towards the greatest development of fraternity and union, which are the chief factors in the prosperity and well-being of the country. I note with satisfaction that the relations with all Powers and the neighbouring States are as friendly and sincere as they have hitherto been. Finally I will continue to follow the policy of avoiding offence to the rights of others and of maintaining our own.

The speech was received with profound silence, and there was no applause.

The arrival and departure of the Sultan were witnessed by a crowd in the street.

The Chamber re-elected Ahmed Riza President by 86 votes against 55 given in favour of the candidate of the Opposition, Mahir Said, an Independent Deputy. The Chamber then adjourned till Monday.

Marshal Ahmed Mukhtar has been appointed President of the Senate, and Sherif Ali Haidar, a former Minister of Evkaf (Pious Foundations), Vice-President. At the meeting to-day of the Unionist Party and Opposition groups the former proposed to re-elect Ahmed Riza as President of the Chamber, undertaking, how-

ever, to vote for the candidate of the Opposition for the Vice-Presidency. The Opposition was unable to agree to the proposal. The question of the Cabinet was subsequently discussed, the Opposition insisting that Kiamil Pasha should become Grand Vizier, while the Unionists were against the proposal, and suggested the selection of a neutral person. Finally the Opposition urged that the forthcoming Parliamentary elections should be free from all influence by the Committee of Union and Progress. No decision was arrived at, but it is hoped that an understanding will be reached at the next meeting.

Turkey seeking an Entente.

THE Grand Vizier, in the course of his speech in the Turkish Chamber on 19th October, in reply to Opposition criticism of the Cabinet, says Reuter, stated: "The Government has been accused of having knocked vainly at the doors of Europe. I say, on the contrary, that it found all the doors open, and the results obtained have been favourable, as I will show later. The Government has also been reproached for not taking reprisals against Italians in Turkey. Our object has been purely in the best interests of the country. Remember that France had to pay a heavy indemnity for treating Germans in France in such a manner. Our object is twofold—to resist, but also to have recourse to diplomatic means. If pacific endeavours fail and Islam is endangered, naturally we will defend the Fatherland to the last drop of our blood (Cheers.)

"As regards external policy I am of opinion that every Power, no matter how strong, requires support. I am not a partisan of splendid isolation, but it is essential before concluding any *entente* to seek community of interests, otherwise the *entente* will eventually turn to our disadvantage. The destinies of the country are in your hands. If you accord confidence I will endeavour to do my best to achieve the best results. Otherwise I am ready to hand over power to more competent hands. A Deputy of the Opposition suggested an appeal to the Treaty of Paris but did the Treaty of Paris save Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am not in favour of the idea of ceding Tripoli in return for monetary compensation. Public opinion in Italy is hostile to the Italian Government, but should we expel Italians this feeling would change. Nevertheless, the Government will do its duty.

The Chamber adopted by 125 votes to 60 a motion proposed by the leader of the Unionist Party to the following effect: "Confident that the Government will effectively safeguard the Sovereign rights of the Sultan in Tripoli and the integrity of the Empire, the Chamber expresses confidence.

Italy and the Triple Alliance.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, October 13.

THERE has been little news here of any importance regarding the war in the Mediterranean for several days past, except the information as to the movements of the Italian expeditionary corps, which is a matter of common knowledge. Nothing further appears to be known as to the prospects of peace, and messages from Constantinople relating to the views of the Turkish Government and to the internal situation are too confused and contradictory to inspire much confidence. Attention has already been drawn to the efforts which have been observable of late to modify or counteract the strong anti-Italian feeling which has been displayed by almost all organs of German opinion since the presentation of the ultimatum to Turkey. In this connection it is interesting to notice a long article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, whose attacks upon Italy were perhaps the most violent of all, in which reasons are advanced against the contention that Italy has practically destroyed the Triple Alliance and that her two allies would be well advised in telling her plainly that they will have nothing more to do with her, and that they regard their connection with her as at an end even at the risk of throwing her altogether into the arms of France and England. Indignation, however, says the commercial organ, is a bad counsellor, and quiet reflection will be found to lead to a different conclusion.

The journal then proceeds to recapitulate briefly the historical facts relating to the origin of the Alliance and to the obligations which its members contracted towards each other. It points out that the separate members are entirely at liberty to make friendly agreements with other nations, as has already on several occasions been done. They are at liberty also to take action which does not involve the *casus foederis*, but they do so, of course, at their own risk, as Italy discovered to her cost when she embarked upon her Abyssinian adventure. The journal continues:—

The case is somewhat different when the action of a member of the Alliance affects the interests of the other members. The freedom of the separate members still remains unimpaired, but it is only just and in accordance with the spirit of the Alliance that in such case

the member which contemplates action should give notice of its intentions to the allies whose interests are involved and take counsel with them. Austria failed to do this when she annexed Bosnia. That was an offence against the Triple Alliance, for the annexation might easily have caused a war in which the Triple Alliance might have been involved. In spite of this Germany supported her ally not so much as a sign of her approval as because it lay in Germany's own interest to prevent Austria's power from being impaired. As regards the Italian expedition to Tripoli it cannot be maintained that it directly touches the interests of the Triple Alliance. But as an attack upon Turkey it has involved the danger of reopening the whole Eastern Question, with all its horrors.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, October 15.

SUDDEN prominence has been given here to the question whether Italy ought or ought not to be expelled from the Triple Alliance. Raised by a contribution to the *Berliner Tagblatt* yesterday and promptly adopted by that journal's Austrian counterpart, the *Neue Freie Presse*, it was discussed and minutely dissected before a crowded audience here last evening by Herr Maximilian Harden, of the *Zukunft*. Prominent among the audience were General von Aussenberg, the new Austro-Hungarian Minister for War, and a number of Austro-Hungarian officers. While waiting for his words of wisdom the public was able to study in the evening edition of the *Zeit* summaries of despatches addressed from Vienna to sundry North German organs denouncing Count Aehrenthal's conciliatory policy towards Italy, and predicting that the Foreign Minister will share the fate of General von Aussenberg's predecessor, General Baron von Schönaich, whom Count Aehrenthal is taunted with having striven in vain to save.

The Austrian public, whose capacity for political criticism is limited, will probably take some time to perceive that the sudden raising of this question is a manoeuvre designed by heavy-minded psychologists in Berlin and elsewhere to save the face of Germany in Turkish eyes, and to render the Italian Government more obsequious towards German wishes. In the latter respect the manoeuvre will fail, nay has already failed, since the Italian Government is understood to have informed the Powers officially that the only acceptable basis of peace will be the complete annexation of Tripoli and the Cyrenaica by Italy, coupled perhaps with the eventual payment of a money indemnity to Turkey in case the cost of Italian operations be not needlessly increased by Ottoman resistance. Italy is not at present in a mood to be bullied, and would doubtless find a prompt and pertinent answer to any official German intimation that her presence in the Triple Alliance is no longer desired. Nor is Germany the sole arbiter of the destinies of the Dreibund. Austria-Hungary has also a word to say, and unless radical changes occur would be likely to say it in favour of maintaining the Austro-Italian Treaty independently of any view Germany or Italy might take of the expediency of maintaining the Italo-German Treaty. From the Italian standpoint at least many cogent reasons might be advanced to prove that the Italo-German Alliance has lost its value.

Herr Harden, to do him justice, made short work of the claim that between the Turkish friend and the Italian ally Germany should opt for the friend and that—on the lines of a suggestion which he alleged to have been addressed by Mahmud Shevket Pasha to Field-Marshal von der Goltz for the benefit of the highest quarters—Germany should encourage Turkey to force a passage through Egypt and succour Tripoli while German forces should deal a deadly thrust at the heart of the British Empire. This plan, said Herr Harden, is by no means impossible of execution. Its impossibility is moral, inasmuch as Germany cannot venture arm in arm with Turkey to throw down a challenge to the spirit of the 20th century. Herr Harden added:—"No self-respecting Power can to-day help to reverse the great world historical movement that is driving back Islam. . . . There can be no question of choosing between Italy and Turkey. Islam is not only sterile, it has done very little for humanity. It is and remains a danger, and I am of opinion that every province taken from Islam is a province conquered for the community of European States." If the Triple Alliance was to be renewed, continued Herr Harden, Italy would probably be ready to remain in it, though the circumstance must be reckoned with that Italy intended to create an Empire of her own—an intention that would compel her to remain for the moment on the side of the Western Powers. The present success of two Latin peoples in Morocco and Tripoli would not be without consequences.

France no longer felt the same fear of war as in the past, and he was convinced that a Franco-German war would come in a comparatively short time. But Austria-Hungary and Germany, co-operating on the basis of their several interests, need not be apprehensive, and might even find means of giving a new and productive substance to the Triple Alliance. At a moment of huge changes it was not expedient to preserve munies and, to prolong unhealthy conditions merely from fear that more dangerous conditions might arise. In any case, concluded Herr Harden, the two Central European Powers

were strong enough by themselves to face all perils, and if adversaries knew that they were ready and fearless the future need have no terrors.

Whether Herr Harden spoke spontaneously or as an interpreter of tendencies more powerful than his voice or pen, he may be left to bear the responsibility for proclaiming the imminence of a Franco-German war and for expressing German views in regard to Islam. In one respect only can his enunciations be endorsed and commended—in regard to the principle that for nations as for individuals it is folly to work on artificial bases or to court suicide for fear of death.

Signor Giolitti on his Country's Task.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, October 18.

IN reply to a communication from the Rome correspondent of the *Fecht Journal* the Italian Prime Minister writes that he realizes "the sympathy with which the Press and public opinion in that great country, France, follow Italy in her conflict with Turkey." Signor Giolitti continues—

I thank you all the more cordially that your act of courtesy gives me a pleasing opportunity of telling the French through your very widely circulated journal that the feelings of the Italians towards France are equally warm and fraternal. . . . It is a heavy task that we have undertaken in order to restore to its ancient destiny and its ancient prosperity that part of the African coast on which our soldiers have just disembarked. You know this by experience in France, where for many a year you have devoted yourselves to a similar enterprise. But our people now feels that it is ripe for this mission of civilization, for which it will find a constant spur and encouragement in the memories of a past the traces of which have survived the lapse of time and have survived barbarism. These traces which we are encountering on our way bear witness to the sons of the greatness of their fathers.

The Committee of Union and Progress.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, October 16.

WHATEVER fault be found with the policy of the Central Committee, it has at least the merit of being perfectly straightforward and clear. War to the knife both commercial and military, no compromise. Prominent members of the Committee make no secret of their dissatisfaction with the existing Cabinet, or, indeed, with any Cabinet other than one composed entirely of themselves, although unwilling or unable to suggest the actual names of those they would like to see in office. The mere mention of Kiamil Pasha's name seems invariably to arouse the utmost scorn. In Salonika the Committee means the majority, perhaps—certainly not all—of the officers of the Army and of the officials of State. I have not yet been able to discover a single avowed supporter in any other walk of life.

The Jews and crypto-Jews indignantly deny the connection with the Committee which has been attributed to them by the European Press. The Jews, in common with other subject races, warmly supported the Committee during the initial stages of the new régime, but have long since severed any connection with it. The resignation yesterday from the Committee of the Jewish Deputy for Salonika, Carasso Effendi, is said to be a parting of the last link, and appears to give much satisfaction. The Committee, above all the Central Committee, is composed of Turks, and nothing but Turks, so my informants say. It is fair to add that the reaction against the Committee seems unnecessarily and unwisely strong. Many are ready to condemn it, few are ready to suggest how, when, or where any political power is to be found to take its place. News from Constantinople giving the result of the vote of confidence in the Government is most anxiously awaited here.

Boycott of Italians.

London, 9th October.—The swift approach of a mighty conflict between the East and the West was prophesied by several fervid speakers at a mass meeting of Orientals at Caxton Hall on Saturday afternoon. It was a picturesque and motley gathering of Arabs and Egyptians, Turks and Persians, Hindus and Chinese several hundred strong and many in their national costumes. While it had been called to utter a protest against Italy's aggressive action towards Turkey, the meeting differed from previous gatherings of the kind in that it was broadly Oriental, rather than strictly Moslem.

Representatives of every creed were there, including even a small sprinkling of Coptic and Indian Christians, while his Excellency Mohammed Bey Farid, leader of the Nationalist party in Egypt,

presided and sounded the first warning note of the coming conflagration. Turkey, he said, is to-day the only Oriental nation still free from the clutch of the white man's throttling fingers. If the people of the East did not wish to become for ever the slaves of the people of the West, Turkey's integrity and honour must be preserved and the Sultan's power upheld. The entire Oriental world should put aside all tribal and religious differences and unite in one great, irresistible movement to check the rapacious greed of the Western Powers.

First a universal boycott of Italian goods should be organised to be followed by a similar action against all Europe should Italy be permitted to continue her present unjust war against the Turks. A still more powerful weapon lay in the hands of the Muhammadan peoples, he added, but this should be held in reserve until more peaceful methods had failed.

BOYCOTT RESOLVED UPON.

The following resolutions were then adopted by acclamation, with prolonged demonstrations of enthusiasm—

Resolved—that this meeting of Orientals residing in England, professing various creeds, condemns the outrageous action of Italy against the integrity of the Turkish Empire; and appeals to Great Britain and the other Great Powers to prevent such a violation of the principles of justice and humanity.

That this meeting humbly appeals to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan and Khaliph to uphold the prestige of Islam and the dignity of the East and in wishing success to the Turkish arms, offers its deepest sympathy and support.

This meeting calls upon all Orientals to carry out a rigorous boycott of Italian goods, until the dispute is settled in a way honourable to, and maintaining the integrity of the Sultan's Empire.

That the president be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, His Highness the Grand Vizir, representatives of the various Powers at St. James's Court and the Press.

During the meeting speeches were also made by Professor J. M. Paraph, Professor Roof H., Professor M. Palha, Dr. H. K. Selim, Mr. Ahmed Abd-el-Ghaffar, Dr. Sathayc, Mr. Dube, Mr. Azaz Ah, and several Chinese, Indian and Persian students of high rank and lineage in their own countries.

EGYPT AND THE CRISIS

In a different hall in the same building the Egypt Committee also held a protest meeting, particular stress being laid upon the peril to Egyptian nationality involved in a conquest of Tripoli by Italy. One speaker called upon the Muhammadan community not only in London but also in Egypt and in India, and wherever it exists in contact with British rule, to show its teeth in earnest. The All-Moslem League of India was invoked to declare that as a condition of loyalty to the British Crown, Turkey shall not be dismembered. It should be presented as a test case by which to measure the value of British friendship. The Khedive was also called upon to support the Sultan with the full complement of troops prescribed in his firman as the Sultan's vassal and so save Egypt from the crushing burden of a defensive military competition with an unscrupulous European Power just across the border line. The following set of resolutions was unanimously adopted before adjournment:

"Resolved—That this committee congratulates Mohammed Bey Farid on having so nobly upheld the freedom and peace of Egypt, and heartily greets him on his release from prison, and welcomes him to England.

"That this committee protests against the occupation of Tripoli by the Italian Government as a dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and as a future danger to Egyptian independence, and as contrary to all international law and morality.

"That this committee demands that Turkey be permitted, in accordance with the constitutional engagements of Egypt towards the Porte, to move her troops through Egypt to Tripoli, should she so desire, and that Egypt should be prepared to send the necessary troops to help the Ottoman army should the Sultan require it.

"That this committee, on the occasion of its first meeting after Asabi Pasha's death, desires to express its appreciation of the great patriotic work he did for Egypt in 1882, and to send a message of sympathy to his bereaved family in their present sorrow."—*Standard*.

The Present Position of Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, October 17.

In contrast with the great reserve which is manifested, not only in official quarters, but also by the French Press, with regard to the war and the international situation, the *Journal des Debats* publishes a remarkable article in which it attributes the present position of Turkey to the policy of Bismarck and the subsequent attitude of Germany and her Austrian ally. The Treaty of Paris of 30th March

1856, guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the European concert maintained its obligations in this respect until French prestige was impaired by the Bismarckian hegemony. The French system, according to the *Debats*, was founded upon the principles of the independence of Turkey and the protection of the Christian races. The German system was devised with a view to the ultimate partition of the Ottoman Empire. It was Bismarck who encouraged the expansion of Austria towards the East after her expulsion from Germany. The logical consequence of German policy is to this day the dismemberment of Turkey, and "when the German Emperor or his Ministers claim to be the protectors of the Sultan it is not with the object of saving for him the wreck of his inheritance; they are really reserving that wreck for themselves under the guise of compensations in the day of the great realization."

The *Debats* has always maintained that there is the closest connexion between the Moroccan and the Near Eastern questions in the minds of German and Austrian statesmen. France, it asserts, has again and again been warned that French inactivity in the Near East would be the price of French liberty of action in Morocco. The French Government may have hesitated for a time, but it eventually rejected this proposed bargain as being opposed to France's true interests. Thenceforth every time that France regained the slightest influence in Constantinople, or seemed to be resuming her traditional Eastern policy, German pressure was applied to her in Morocco. "Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter and Baron Marschall von Bieberstein doubtless allow Turkey to continue to exist but it is for them not for herself.

A closer consideration of the negotiations on railway concessions will establish instructive coincidences." The so-called Young Turk régime has not delivered Turkey from her old errors, and a policy which has wavered between equitable treatment for all nationalities and the old spirit of Turkish domination has compromised the success of the revolution and the very existence of the Turkish Empire. Turkey is described as being once more confronted with the choice between "straightforward Ottomanism without *arrière pensée*" and the convergent onset of malcontents at home and ambitious neighbours abroad.

Paris, October 19.

The *Journal des Debats* continues its severe criticisms of Turkish foreign and domestic policy under the new régime, and hopes that the programme of Said Pasha as explained to the Turkish Chamber yesterday will not remain a dead letter. Turkey is not in a position to maintain the pretensions which were constantly in the mouths of the Young Turks. In her treatment both of the Albanians and of the Arabs, in her attitude towards England on the Euphrates, and towards France in the *Hinterland* of Tunis, Turkey, at the instigation of the Young Turks, was attempting to replace Islamism by a new variety of "Pinchbeck" Ottoman Imperialism. That way disaster lies. The affair of Tripoli is only an episode, and it now depends upon Turkish policy whether that incident is to mark the arrest or merely a fresh stage of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. A domestic policy of toleration and of union is now the only one which can secure the continued existence of Turkey, and her foreign policy must be characterized by greater modesty and straightforwardness if a conflagration in the Balkans is to be avoided.

Turkish Socialists.

A GREAT meeting of Socialists to the number of 4,000 was held last week in Salonika. Vlahoff Effendi, a Bulgarian member of Parliament for Salonika, opened the proceedings by a speech in Turkish. "For some days," said he, "we have been at war with Italy, which, under the pretext of humanity and civilisation, wishes to lay savage hands upon a huge slice of our territory. It is not the Italian people which has stirred up this war, it is the work of capitalists, financiers, diplomatists, and partisans of a 'forward' colonial policy who have incited Italy to commit this unexampled act of piracy. Official Italy thought that as France was getting Morocco, Germany the Congo, Russia the north of Persia, and Austria Bosnia and Herzegovina, so she, Italy, also must have her share of the cake. Italy, however, has two accomplices, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, who are permitting her to perpetrate this monstrous crime. Nothing, then, is to be expected from the so-called Great Powers. Germany, which we took for our friend, forsakes us, and the others laugh at our weakness. But the Socialists of all the world are on our side. A meeting of Socialists at Zurich, including many Italians, has condemned the base conduct of Italy, while in Italy itself the Socialists and the workers of Rome, Milan and Genoa have hurled in the face of the Government the epithet 'Robbers'!" Four other speakers followed to much the same effect, speaking in Spanish (the language of the Jews of Salonika), French, Greek and Bulgarian. Their words were received with tremendous applause and the singing of the "Song of Labour" by the crowd. Telegrams of adhesion were received from two Armenian societies, the Revolutionary Dashnaksutun and the Democratic Hithhak. The meeting despatched a telegram to the Italian Socialist Party congratulating it on its courageous action, and another to the International Socialist Party at Brussels.

Letter to the Press.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—It cannot be to the advantage of the British Empire or to the cause of peace to draw a veil over what is transpiring in the East as a consequence of the war that Italy is waging against Turkey. In this conviction I ask your permission to draw attention to two facts of peculiar significance.

The war is causing immense ferment throughout the Mussalman world, and the resentment it has aroused has so far found expression in admirably restrained language. The news of the mass meetings held in British India, South Africa, and elsewhere to protest against the Italian action has not penetrated the principal organs of public opinion in this country; nevertheless the fact remains that the ferment and resentment are universal and deep.

The other fact is one of more sinister import—the Italians appear bent on giving a religious turn to this singular war.

A little while ago it was reported that the Pope had sent a blessed rosary to be hung on the Italian Admiral's flagship as the harbinger of victory over the Turks; and now the Apostolic Delegate speaks in his message to his Holiness of the raising of the Cross of Christendom in Tripoli; whilst only a few days ago an Italian resident in London, lecturing to a fairly large audience, is reported to have urged the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and "their dispersal over the globe like the Jews." Similar hopes and wishes have been expressed in other quarters.

Now I venture to ask all those to whom the interests of the British Empire are sacred beyond temporary opportunism or the demands of expediency, what is the prospect which these two facts open up? England has unquestionably the greatest stake in the maintenance of peace in the Eastern world. She has in her charge the welfare and progress of 400,000,000 of people, of whom fully one-fourth are Mussalinans. As a British subject who has worked for many years past in strengthening the bonds of sympathy between the East and West, I feel that it is of the utmost importance to England, for the sake of her great trusteeship, to do all in her power to bring the one-sided struggle to an early termination on an equitable basis. No one suggests that she should go to war single-handed in defence of the law of nations. But I am not singular in believing that the voice which has often spoken successfully against wrong doing and injustice can still make itself heard without resort to force.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
AMEER ALI.

Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The severe judgment expressed by the English Press on the present action of Italy has produced in our country a painful impression. The Italian people are convinced that this judgment can only be the outcome of an imperfect appreciation of all the points at issue between Italy and Turkey, and of the fact that our action has almost taken the English public by surprise. We are confident that the English Press will in all fairness reconsider its judgment, not forgetting that both in the darkest and in the brightest hours of the South African War Italy was the only country in Europe which staunchly stood with her sympathy by England, fully understanding that the reasons of the war were the reasons of civilization, the same as we hope is now our case.

DR. O. MALAGODI,

Editor of the *Tribuna*.

ROME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—I see in the *Times* of to-day that Dr. Malagodi, the accomplished editor of the *Tribuna*, is distressed at the attitude of the English Press towards the Italian adventure in Tripoli. But Dr. Malagodi must not be surprised that the sudden descent of Italian warships on Turkish territory has produced an unpleasant impression in England among the staunchest friends of Italy. At the present moment our feelings are similar to the frame of mind of Dr. Malagodi himself at the time of the *Transvaal War*. Speaking of that enter prize in his admirably-written book entitled "*Imperialismo: Studi Inglesi*," the editor of the *Tribuna* says:—

"Questa guerra ha contraddetto a tutti quegli alti ideali di giustizia internazionale che l'Inghilterra aveva sostenuto da principio del secolo fra le nazione. Ma pagio ancora ha rivelato una straordinaria metamorfosi nello spirito del paese."

I think that Dr. Malagodi's strictures on England's action in South Africa are somewhat severe, but they will help him to understand the attitude of many sections of the English public. Our traditional sympathies are with the great Italian people; we should not like to see their policy dictated by what Dr. Malagodi described as "il capitalismo conquistatore." That policy, according to the editor of the *Tribuna*, affirms that no nation has a perpetual right to the territory it occupies—not even if they are ancient nations

possessing a venerable civilization. Many of Dr. Malagodi's friends in England would like to see him state the Italian case—we are as jealous as he is for the good name of Italy.

I am, yours faithfully,

W. D. MORRISON.

St. Marylebone Rectory, 38, Devonshire-Place, W.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—It is with considerable regret and disappointment that we have read the numerous unfriendly, and in some cases malicious, comments on the present foreign policy of Italy in the British Press. One paper published an offensive article, sneering at Italian civilization coupled with the Camorra, and another talks of "this detestable outbreak of Chauvinism and brigandage." This unfriendly attitude of the British Press has caused the greatest surprise and pain to our Italian friends, who consider the English should be the last people to be shocked at the acquisition of territory *vi et armis*.

We refrain from commenting on the political side of the matter, as that is beyond our sphere; but we would point out that commercially our relations with Italy are likely to suffer considerably, as the feeling of soreness will take some time to wear off. Sentiment counts for something even in business transactions; and at a time when a new opening for trade is in prospect, it seems very undesirable that our traditional friendship for Italy should be diminished by exaggerated and hostile criticisms of irresponsible and badly-informed writers in the British Press.

The effect of any ill-feeling towards Great Britain on the part of Italy will be to the benefit of our rivals, who are quite alive to the importance which the development of Tripoli under the Italian flag will have for trade.

FOR THE BRITISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR ITALY,

A. C. CAMPBELL, Vice-Chairman.

GENOA, 14th October

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Will you allow me to express a very earnest hope that His Majesty's Government will urge that of Italy to suspend military proceedings, and refer their complaints against Turkey to The Hague Tribunal, or, at any rate, to arbitration? Italy may be justly aggrieved, as to that I express no opinion. Let us assume that this is so, that Turkey is in the wrong; still this does not justify Italy in disturbing the peace of the world, and making a sudden attack on a neighbour whom she believes she can despoil.

Any strong State, wishing to rob or annex a weaker one, will be able in future to quote this high-handed and deplorable action on the part of Italy, which, in my judgment, will have thrown back the cause of peace and progress at least 100 years, unless, indeed, neutral States now intervene to stop bloodshed and insist on arbitration.

I am, your obedient servant,

AVEBURY.

High Elms, Orpington, Kent.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The letter in *The Times* of September 29 is the first I have seen which will enable the public to see in a measure the true value of the Italian claim to Tripoli. So few Europeans have been to Tripoli that much of the information in the papers is as little true as the statement printed a few days ago to the effect that the character of the country was very similar to that of Afghanistan. I know the whole coast from Tripoli down to the Gulf of Bomba and have spent several months between Benghazi and Derna. The dissimilarity to Afghanistan is absolute. Along the whole distance from Tripoli to Derna runs a coastal plain a few miles in width, interrupted here and there by spurs of the higher land which break down to the sea. Behind this coastal plain the land rises sharply some 2,000 feet, at which height one finds an arid, rolling plateau covered with rock and bushes and here and there large extents of low scrub forest. The plain is already fairly well cultivated, but only a very small portion of the plateau. Your correspondent seems to share the doubts, already expressed by Mr. Zangwill in the reports of the Jewish Territorial Organization, whether much could be made of this country in an agricultural way. The evidence of the classical authors, together with that of the ancient ruins, which are very numerous and of large extent, is absolute proof that some 2,000 years ago the land was highly cultivated and supported a large population. It is true that wells and springs are few and far between nowadays, but they are not so rare as the Jewish investigators who went from Derna to Benghazi a few years ago would lead one to suppose. They did not see, or perhaps it is better to say were not shown, several springs, among them the biggest of all. Then, too, these writers, who assert that the country is incapable of supplying a large population, disregard the system of dry-farming which is being practised in Syria and Algeria, where there are stations for the teaching of the system.

established by the United States Department of Agriculture. Other stations exist at Haifa and elsewhere in the Turkish dominions.

It is unquestionable that these possibilities of future agricultural wealth have had great influence on Italian action in relation to Tripoli, and I have reason to think that the Banca di Roma has already reaped a rich and golden harvest. Certainly so long as these possibilities are recognized, no one can really believe that the disturbed state of a country "opposite" Italy has been the primal cause of the action which is now taking place. As for the desire, often expressed by Italian writers, to colonize Tripoli, one may well wonder whether the Italian peasant will find much temptation in leaving Italy and going to a land where he will have to struggle hard to win a living so long as the richer opportunities of both Americas are open to him.

That the country is disturbed in a certain sense I have only too good reason to know; but what I also know is that the disturbance is not due to Arab fanaticism or to Turkish inability to govern the semi-wild population, but is in great measure the result of the character of the news sent from there to which your correspondent refers. I have travelled across a broad stretch of the country and spent several months there at various times. During all this time I had no difficulties with the Arabs after they had once learned that the reports spread about us by interested parties were false. Furthermore, the Turkish authorities have always shown the most perfect willingness to further my archaeological investigations.

Much could be said concerning the military difficulties which any European force will meet in Tripoli if the Turks resist them, but on this subject your military correspondents are more fitted to instruct your readers than I am. One cannot help wondering, however, if England has fully realized what might happen if one party of the Triple Alliance gain control of the harbour of Tobruk, which is but a few miles from the Egyptian frontier and is the only natural harbour on the coast between Tunis and Alexandria.

The reasons which Italy gives in the Reuter despatch to show that she has suffered desperate wrongs at the hands of the Turks have been greeted in Europe with the ridicule they deserve. Among them she mentions that she has not been granted archaeological concessions in Tripoli. This is, I believe, untrue. She was printed last spring the right to excavate Tokra. But, furthermore, why should any country grant these rights to Italy, who has consistently refused for years past to allow any foreigners to excavate on her territory? Really they make one smile. Another reason adduced in the Italian case is that a young woman, the daughter of an Italian workman at Adana, was raped and then married to a Muhammadan. Disregarding the character of the town of Adana and the type of workmen who are probably there, everyone knows that cases of this sort are very often capable of other explanation than the exciting one which serves the purpose of the Yellow Press. No one who knows the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and Italy, where it is not unheard of for blackmail to be sought on the plea of outraged innocence, will believe that the honour and safety due to women has been seriously endangered by the assumed unwillingness of this woman in Adana to marry her Muhammadan husband.

Among the other grievances brought forth by Italy is the murder of Father Giustino at Derna. Put in this bald manner it sounds a justifiable cause of complaint; but when I was at Derna I heard from many different sources that the real explanation of the affair was to be found in that elusive *femme* who so often has to be *cherché*.

No, Sir, let the Italians grab Tripoli if they are able; but let them at least cease to steal the laurels of Gilbert and Sullivan by such lists of grievances as those now put before us.

Respectfully yours,
RICHARD NORTON

(Director of the American Excavations at Cyrene)

Corn as Contraband.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

St. Petersburg, October 13.

Russo-Turkish differences as to whether wheat should be contraband do not appear to have been removed by the reply received from Constantinople. Turkey agrees to apply the Declaration of London to general cargoes passing through the Dardanelles without the reservations stipulated by Russia. The *Nouvelles Vremes* urges the advisability of insisting purely and simply that wheat shall not be treated as contraband by Turkey. It points out that the Declaration of London applies to cargoes on the high seas, and therefore does not apply to cargoes in the Dardanelles.

Another Ministerial conference has been held here to decide upon the measures to be taken in case Turkey places impediments in the way of Russian trade.

M. Kokovtsov is going early next week to Livadia.

St. Petersburg, October 12.

In view of the fears aroused by the war among those interested in the free export of Russian corn the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople received instructions to point out to the Porte the importance of this question for Russia. The Porte replied that it intended to act according to the Declaration of London of 1909. The non-receipt of a definite answer prompted the Russian Government to instruct the Ambassador to make the following communication in writing to the Ottoman Government:—

The Imperial Government, basing itself on the Declaration of Paris of 1856 and on Articles 24 and 33 of the Declaration of London, considers that cargoes of Russian corn are subject neither to arrest nor to confiscation, when addressed from Russian ports on the Black Sea to Italian or other ports, so long as such cargoes are not destined for the Italian field forces or for Italian official consignees. Any attempt to arrest or confiscate the abovementioned cargoes the Russian Government will regard as a violation of the rights of Russia, and the Government gives warning of the heavy responsibility which the Turkish Government would incur in such circumstances.—(Reuter.)

The Turkish Government and Contraband.

The "Times" October 11.

THE announcement that Turkey had declared grain coming from ports in the Black Sea to be contraband of war has naturally caused consternation and alarm at the Baltic and in shipping circles. Yet in its first form the announcement was manifestly incredible. To declare grain contraband, "irrespective of destination," is to declare that which is nonsensical. Destination is of the essence of contraband. It must be either on its way to a belligerent port, or, if the principle of continuous voyage is admitted, to an ultimate belligerent destination, or, if the point is to be determined by the Declaration of London—which, though not ratified, may be viewed as expressing general opinion upon the subject—when the cargo of grain in question comes within Articles 33 and 34 of that Declaration. Under those provisions foodstuffs may be captured if desuned for the use of the armed forces of a Government department of the enemy State. A presumption of a hostile destination exists if the goods are consigned to enemy authorities, or to a contractor established in the enemy country who, as a matter of common knowledge, supplies articles of this kind to the enemy. Many critics of that document thought that our Government went too far in assenting to those articles as being impolitic from the point of view of England, so largely dependent upon foreign supplies, and as departing from the doctrine on the subject sanctioned by Lord Stowell and other English and American Judges. Certainly no belligerent in modern times has suggested that foodstuffs might be declared contraband on the mere off-chance that they might find their way to a belligerent or his subjects.

The modern example of a wide extension of contraband, much referred to in the discussion of Articles 33 and 34, was the action of France, which, in February 1885, declared that all rice destined for Canton and Chinese ports to the north was to be treated as contraband. Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, promptly protested against this declaration. The French Government, through M. Jules Ferry, sought to show that special circumstances existed warranting exceptional measures, one being the fact that some of the shipments of rice destined for Chinese ports were of the nature of tribute to the Government. Lord Granville persisted in his objections, and intimated that England would not be bound by the decision of a Prize Court which maintained a doctrine so much opposed to ours. Doubtless to-day we should treat in like manner any similar extravagant contention. Turkey has rights over her own ports, with due respect always to the rights of neutrals, but she has none over vessels coming from Odessa other than that of stopping and seizing contraband, as generally recognized. The later reports are to the effect that Turkey has agreed to the free passage through the Dardanelles of grain-laden vessels. The majority of these are, no doubt, English owned and sailing to a home port, the English grain trade being by far the largest, and as such they will go free. Of course, if it appears that they are conveying grain for the use of the Italian expeditionary force or fleet they run the risk of being captured and condemned. Little is known as to the Turkish Prize Courts, or, indeed, whether any real provision has been made for their working. But shipowners who engage in such a business cannot count upon indulgence. Turkey was a party to the Declaration of Paris; that is, to the acceptance of the principle that "the neutral flag covers enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war," and "that neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag." Accordingly, grain shipped on board English vessels, though belonging to Italian consignees, would be exempt, unless its destination rendered it contraband; and such also should be the position of neutrals' goods or property carried by an Italian or Turkish vessel. The Turks are reported to have seized Italian merchant vessels, and the Italian Government threatens to retaliate by seizing Turkish. Article 211 of the Italian Maritime

Code abolishes capture of private property at sea, but subject always to the condition of reciprocity. The same policy is followed as to privateering, which is abolished by Article 208, but subject also to the right of authorizing it by way of reprisals. In recent wars the conduct of nations in this respect has varied much. The Japanese and Russians freely exercised this right against each other. On the other hand, in the war between Austria and Italy in 1866 exemption from capture was agreed upon and observed. Probably the two present belligerents will be guided by the extent of their interest in a matter which concerns them much less than nations with large sea-borne commerce.

As to one point neutrals have good grounds for remonstrance. The extinction of lights by the belligerents on their littoral territory along the Mediterranean and Red Sea is an act of great gravity, and, it would seem, not justified by the necessities of warfare. These States may be within their rights in withdrawing these safeguards of navigation. But the inconvenience and possible danger to neutral commerce must far outweigh advantages likely to be derived by the belligerents from these measures, and we hope that both will agree to abandon them. It may, of course, be necessary that united pressure be brought by neutrals generally with a view to put an end to measures which may result in great loss of life among those who have no part in the contest. In any future conference as to belligerent and neutral rights it might be well to lay down rules, far clearer than any now existing, as to the conditions of interference with the great international services, of which not the least are shipping lights.

Private advices were yesterday received in the city that grain laden steamers had actually left the Danube and had passed through the Dardanelles: this fact, coupled with the report given above at once restored confidence, and chartering on the Baltic Shipping Exchange proceeded as briskly as at the end of last week, before the check was administered by the disturbing news from South Russia.

Now that the danger is removed there is to be found among shipping firms an under-current of sympathy with Turkey in her attempt to describe grain shipped to whatever port as contraband. Italy annually takes large quantities of grain from South Russia, and it is pointed out that there is no insurmountable obstacle in the way of arranging for steamers bound from the Black Sea to Gibraltar for orders to proceed thence to Genoa—a distance of only 850 miles. It is even asserted that such a double voyage has just been completed and will again be attempted in the very near future. Turkish officials, it is suggested, are alive to the possibilities of this trade, and, therefore, would have been glad to prevent supplies from leaving the Black Sea for Italy in the only effective way—that of stopping all vessels, under whatever charter, at the Dardanelles. Such general prohibition apparently proved beyond the strength of Turkey, and now since she is powerless in the Mediterranean Sea she must leave the gateway open for Italy to supply herself if she chooses with the assistance of neutral owners.

Turkish List of Contraband.

The following was issued by the British Foreign Office.—

His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has now received officially from the Porte a list of articles declared to be contraband. The list comprises the articles enumerated in Articles 22 and 24 of the Declaration of London (Parliamentary Paper, "Miscellaneous No. 4 [1909]"), with the addition of iron bars, presumably rivets of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch or $\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter. The Porte have also informed his Excellency that cargoes of grain from Black Sea ports, carried in neutral vessels to neutral ports, will be allowed to pass. Such cargoes consigned to Italian ports will also be allowed to pass, provided they are not destined for Italian forces or administration. Such destination will, however, be presumed if such cargoes are addressed to Italian authorities or to merchants known to supply Italian Government, or when they are destined for following fortified places:—Spezia, Civita Vecchia, Naples, Taranto, Bari, Brindisi, Ancona, Castellamare-di-Stabia, Catania, and Syracuse.

This arrangement will only hold good provided British Consulate-General at Constantinople gives written declaration to Turkish port authorities that the destination of cargoes does not come under any of the abovementioned headings.

Why Italy Wants Tripoli

The Rome correspondent of the *Daily Express* wrote on 3rd October—An Italian talking with a Turkish official, a young Turk in high authority, a certain Djemal Bey, was told the following story to explain why Turkey would not spend money on Tripoli:—"God made a journey to earth. He arrived in one country and asked, 'Where am I?' 'In England,' and God admired the land. Then He passed to another country and again asked where He was. 'In France,' was the reply. 'How beautiful it is,' said God, and passed on. Finally He came to a country, and as He put his foot on the land He said, 'Ah! this country I know! It is Turkey! I know it without asking, for it is

exactly the same as when I made it!" Two thousand years ago a great Roman, Cato, returning from Tripoli, appeared before the Senate with his toga full of figs, bananas, and other fruit. "Here, see my friends the country that produces this fruit is only two days from Sicily." But Tripoli of to-day is not the Tripoli of Cato. For centuries it was a decadent land, and probably to-day it is more flourishing than it has been for a thousand years. Napoleon I., when he took Lombardy from Sardina, generously offered the pirate-infested coast of Barbary in exchange. Bismarck, Napoleon III., and Palmerston almost begged the Italians to take it. But Italian statesmen were too nervous. Crispi refused, and in connection with the proposal uttered the famous phrase, "My name is To-morrow." Every Foreign Minister after Crispi refused, including Canevaro, Visconti-Venosta, Prinetti, Tittoni, Guicciardini, and even on 2nd December 1910, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis di San Giuliano, declared "Italy wishes that Tripoli shall remain Turkish." But private people and big moneyed interests were at work to accomplish what the Government had failed to do. The Banca di Roma, which, as is well known, is a powerful Vatican financial concern, stepped into the breach, and it is safe to say that four-fifths of the trade of Tripoli is now controlled by that bank. The peaceful penetration accomplished in the past few years by this bank has been greatly aided by the Franciscan and Capuchin monks, who, by the establishment of schools, lycees, and dispensaries, have given a position to Italy in second Tripoli only to the native Arab element—a fitting pretext for a military occupation. But Italy desires the provinces for what still may be done, especially in the vilayet of Cyrenaica, which is supposed to have been the mythical garden of the Hesperides. The resources of Cyrenaica are unlimited if properly developed. The richness of the flora is fantastic. Besides every plant and tree that grows in Europe there are vines, olive trees, and date palms. In the days of the Romans the palm oil of Cyrenaica was famous, but to-day the inhabitants have forgotten how to extract it. And besides this wealth produced above ground there are mines of sulphur, phosphates, precious minerals, including diamonds. The native salt monopoly, badly worked as it is, yields a revenue of £40,000 a year to the Government. Camels are the only animals useful and numerous in the province of Tripoli, but in Cyrenaica one of the principal sources of wealth is in the export of cattle and sheep. These are the reasons why a camarilla in Rome and Sicily have decided that Tripoli shall become Italian. Their endeavours to obtain coveted wealth by pacific means were checked by the obstinacy of the Turkish Government. The Banca di Roma wished to buy a quarry. After months and months of treating just when the contract was to be signed the Vali sent a notice to say that the quarry was in the military zone and therefore could not be sold. The same Vali refused to allow the bank to trade as a bank, and placed police at the doors. But the Arabs, wishing to escape the 120 per cent. charged by the local usurers entered by a side door. When the bank wished to buy a house from another Italian it was necessary to obtain the signature of the chief priest. He had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and returned several months afterwards, and the document was placed in front of him. "Yes," he said, "it is true that fifteen years ago I signed the document by which Arbid bought the ground, but I remember very well that fifteen years ago on that day I was exceedingly drunk." When the present Vali was sent from Constantinople to succeed Usni Pasha, he called his council together and addressed them thus:—"The Government of weakness is finished. Agreements with Italians will no longer be permitted."

The European Press.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin.

The appearance of the Italian ultimatum, the presentation of which was denied by the semi-official telegraph agency even in last night's *Cologne Gazette*, has naturally come as somewhat of a shock to the German public after the reiterated assurances given in "well-informed" quarters that no decisive step was to be expected until next week. The inaccuracy of the information supplied from official sources is in consequence commented upon to-day with considerable severity. Opinions are divided as to whether these misleading statements were due to the Government's desire to conceal the facts as long as possible or to simple ignorance. The *Post* accepting the latter hypothesis recalls the fact that on the very day when the Japanese torpedo-boats delivered their attack upon the Russian Fleet at Port Arthur the *North German Gazette* issued a statement to the effect that the maintenance of peace had never been more certain. The *Local-Anzeiger*, which has been the vehicle of most of these soothing utterances now falsified by the event, tacitly admits their erroneous nature, but adds that all the other Cabinets of Europe were officially, at any rate up to the last moment, as completely in the dark regarding the intentions of the Italian Government as was the German

Foreign Office and were, therefore, as completely surprised by the ultimatum as was the case in Berlin. With regard to the step itself, the opinions expressed to-day are without exception very unfavourable, although a message from Rome speaks of a German semi-official telegram published there in terms which would lead one to suppose that the despatch in question, the contents of which are not further specified, had produced a highly gratifying impression in the Italian capital. Commenting upon this the *Lokalansieger* says that the opinion appears to prevail in Italy that her campaign of conquest is one that can command approval in Europe, which, is, however, by no means the case. As regards the motives put forward in the ultimatum to justify Italy's action it is declared to be by no means surprising that they are not of a particularly convincing nature inasmuch as the task of throwing a cloak of decency over such an unusual method of procedure is naturally one of considerable difficulty. The language employed by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is much more emphatic. The Italian Government, says the German commercial organ, cannot itself believe that anybody is likely to accept the arguments set forth in its ultimatum as any sort of justification for the forcible seizure of a Turkish province. Its policy cannot be otherwise described than as a naked application of the doctrine that might is right. It is true that this doctrine has often been applied before, but not without the presentation of some alternative which would allow the country attacked to escape the necessity of sheer despoliation or destruction. The journal continues:—

"So far as we are aware this is the first instance in modern times when one great State has precluded another from any such means of escape. It is an open campaign of robbery upon which Italy has entered an act of violence in time of peace against which all civilized Europe, quite apart from the question of political views and interests, must with one voice protest."

Although it appears to be felt that even at the cost of the grievous blow to their national pride which would be inflicted on the Turks by submission to Italy's hard terms they would, nevertheless, be acting in their own best interests by yielding, it is fully recognized that such a humiliation may be regarded in Constantinople as unendurable. A Berlin message to the *Cologne Gazette* this evening, indeed, says categorically that "war is inevitable." Grave fears are expressed that should this prove to be the case the Note of the Italian Government to its Diplomatic and Consular representatives in the Balkan Peninsula will have very little effect and that all the admonitions of the Powers may prove unavailing to induce the various discontented elements in the Peninsula to keep the peace. In the Pan-German Press it still continues to be asserted that it is England who has chiefly encouraged Italy in her present course. The articles in the English Press and especially in *The Times*, warning Italy against the perils which her action involves for herself and for the peace of Europe, are denounced as transparent hypocrisy. England having gained her object can, of course, well afford to preach moderation, but in Germany such tactics will deceive no one.

Vienna,

The outstanding feature of the situation as viewed from Vienna is the remarkably moderate language of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office Press. While the *Fremdenblatt* diligently avoids all discussion of the merits of the conflict, recognized exponents of official opinion, like the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Preser Lloyd*, wish Italy every success and express only the hope that despite the gravity of the situation a costly and bloody struggle may be prevented. The *Preser Lloyd*, moreover, explains that if the Young Turks now find themselves in a sorry situation they themselves are largely to blame. Their Chauvinistic stubbornness in rejecting the advice of Austria-Hungary and Germany that Turkey should conclude an economic agreement with Italy concerning Tripoli, not only increased the internal difficulties of the Ottoman Empire, but precluded fruitful mediation until it was too late. Italy, who is defending a vital interest, has, continues the *Preser Lloyd*, loyally informed the Powers of her intentions, and the Powers will place no obstacle in her way. Notwithstanding their lively and active sympathy for Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Germany will know what their duty is towards their ally.

Even more striking and certainly less discreet than the language of these organs is an utterance of the Conservative Catholic *Vaterland*, which represents the tendencies of influential and sometimes of exalted circles. The opening of the Tripolitan question, it writes, will undoubtedly mark the beginning of the end of Young Turkish rule. The moment Turkey becomes engaged in war with a Great Power the Near Eastern question as a whole is raised and Europe is face to face with the most difficult of all political problems. Unless all signs are misleading the liquidation of European Turkey is at hand—a situation that imposes a serious and significant task upon the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Never has there been a more favourable opportunity for Austria-Hungary to repair past mistakes. It is natural that in the question of Tripoli Austria-Hungary sides with Italy. We, adds the *Vaterland*, have shown Turkey more friendship during recent years than was good for our prestige in the Balkans and have gained nothing politically or economically. We believe it to be expedient that all our future steps

in the Balkan question should be taken in close understanding with Bulgaria. King Ferdinand now holds the key to the Balkans and has often proved his ability cleverly to turn given situations to account. We, concludes the Conservative organ, have always opposed the policy of a close alliance with the Young Turks and are to-day entitled to demand an adoption of the line of conduct so emphatically inaugurated by Italy in regard to Turkey. The *Neue Freie Presse* and other journals which represent German and German-Jewish rather than Austro-Hungarian views adopt a more critical standpoint and condemn Italian action in varying degrees of severity. The *Zeit* is frankest in its censure, and declares that the Italian admonition to the Balkan States cannot efface the example set by Italy in removing morality and respect of right from International intercourse. Italy has given the signal for the partition of Turkey, adds the *Zeit*, and it will not be her merit if the evil spirits she has summoned are kept in check for a while by the diplomacy of the Great Powers.

These extracts from published comment indicate sufficiently the tendencies noticeable here. In Austria there is little public opinion apart from the Press, and in regard to foreign politics little disposition to dissent from views semi-officially put forward. Among public men and politicians competent to form individual judgments the standpoint is naturally adopted that the forcible occupation of Tripoli is a breach of International law almost unprecedented in modern European history, but by those best acquainted with the circumstances it is argued that the vexatious conduct of Turkey has gradually exasperated Italian public opinion to a point at which ordinary ethical considerations disappear. The determination of Italy to acquire control, if not direct possession, of Tripoli has, they claim, been the settled basis of Italian aspirations since France occupied Tunis in 1881. Signor Crispi began the diplomatic formulation of Italian desires, and obtained as early as 1893 from the German explorer Rholf a detailed report upon the condition of the country. Turkey, and especially the Young Turkish régime, has pertinaciously ignored Italian applications for economic and commercial advantages not only in Tripoli but throughout the Ottoman Empire and has displayed so erroneous a conception of the military and economic strength of Italy as to wound Italian national sentiment to the quick. Hence, say these Austrian apologists of Italian action, the determination of Italy to attain her object by all means and at all costs on the first propitious occasion.

The Vienna Stock Exchange remained much firmer than was anticipated, chiefly on account of declarations made by the representative of the Credit Anstalt and by the Government Commissioner that everything is being done to localize the Turco-Italian conflict, and that Austro-Hungarian interests are not likely to be directly affected by it. The market had closed before the disturbing influence of rumours concerning Turkish military preparations against Greece could be felt. These rumours, which were disseminated by the evening edition of the *Neue Freie Presse* and repeated on the strength of Greek announcements in an official telegram from Constantinople, have attracted earnest attention.

Later, the official announcement by the Stefani Agency that a state of war now exists between Italy and Turkey puts an end to the misleading reassuring statements issued in Paris and Berlin. News of Italian action is awaited with anxious interest.

Paris,

The official news that Turkey will not offer any opposition to the disembarkation of Italian troops in Tripoli and that the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in Rome has made an intimation to this effect to the Marquis di San Giuliano does not suffice to reassure Paris opinion as to the sequel of the contemplated occupation. It is feared that popular indignation in Constantinople will be turned against Hakkî Pasha's Cabinet, and that it will also find vent in attacks upon Italian residents, or ultimately even in a warlike policy in the Balkans. As the *Journal des Débats* observes, after discussing the acquiescence of Turkey in the Italian landing:—

There remain the people, the Army, and the Committee of Union and Progress to be considered. These elements would have to be suddenly transformed if they were to submit to a fresh dismemberment of Turkey without a struggle. It is greatly to be feared that the resignation of the Porte will not secure a final settlement of the conflict.

Doubts are expressed as to the probability of any great improvement in the economic condition of Tripoli in the event of an Italian occupation. In Turkish quarters it is believed that the gradual occupation of the *Hinterland* of Tunis by France will cut off Tripoli from her trade with the Sudan, and that in the future there cannot fail to be friction between Italy and France on this score. At present the last mentioned apprehensions find no echo in French public opinion. As throughout the rest of Europe, there have been isolated criticisms of the Italian action, but on the whole the French attitude has been characterized by benevolent reserve. France is mindful of the friendly attitude of Italy at the Algiers Conference, and the French Press seems by its silence to recognize and endorse the Franco-Italian treaty arrangements by which the ultimate occupation of Tripoli by Italy was contemplated. The *Temps*, for example, preserves editorial silence on the whole subject.



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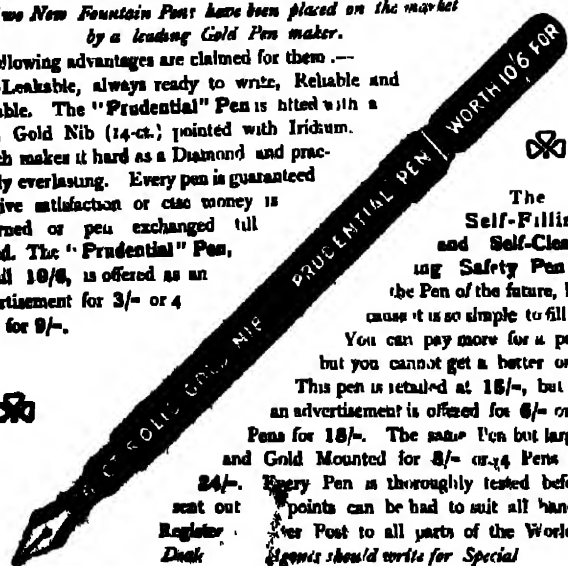


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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is in reply to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Mohammedan students who apply to us during the month of November at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Mohammedan students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

The Royal Yacht.

The King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress have sailed in the *Albatross*. The vessel was met at Spithead by the First Division of the Home Fleet and the Cruiser Squadron, which escorted the Imperial party of the way down the Channel. The Naval procession was received in impressiveness, including as it did, ten of the finest battleships and cruisers in the world. The vessels in the line were saluted and visited as Their Majesties went on board

the *Medina*, where a reception was held and where Their Majesties took lunch. During the passage of Their Majesties through the Red Sea, the Turkish Government is ordering the special relighting of lights which have been extinguished owing to the war.

The Guildhall Banquet.

MR. ASQUITH, speaking at the annual Guildhall banquet which took place on the evening of the 9th November said that looking forward there was much to arouse anxiety. China was in the throes of a revolution, and it would be rash and improper to hazard an opinion as to the outcome. But he was glad to say that as far as foreigners and Britishers were concerned, there seemed to be no reason to apprehend immediate danger. Ships had been sent to the principal scenes of the disturbance but merely for the protection of Britishers and other foreigners, if unprotected. The British Government had no disposition to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of China, but wished her a peaceful and progressive future. "Nearer at home," Mr. Asquith continued, "the peace of Europe is unhappily disturbed by war between Italy and Turkey, in which connection we have declared and intend to pursue a policy of strict neutrality. Many strongly desired that we should make an effort towards mediation and no one is more anxious than the Government to do so, if a fit opportunity arises. (Loud cheers.) Other Powers share this desire and we are in constant communication with them on the subject. Mediation is more likely to be fruitful coming conjointly from the Powers than through the isolated action of one." (Cheers.) Mr. Asquith emphasised the fact that it would be useless to submit proposals for mediation not having a basis acceptable to both combatants. It is satisfactory to turn to the welcome and happy conclusion so honourable to the statesmanship of two great countries of the negotiations regarding Morocco, between France and Germany. The settlement was a relief to Europe, for it removed perhaps the greatest obstacle to the smooth working of European diplomacy. Our own gratification at the happy results was none the less profound and sincere because we had been suspected in irresponsible quarters of looking coldly upon the negotiations and even of a disposition to hamper their success. He declared with great emphasis that nothing could be further from the truth. There was no secret about the aims and methods of British diplomacy. Where British interests were involved, it was our business to safeguard them. Where treaty obligations came in, it was our duty to fulfil them. Where we established friendships and understandings, we sought to maintain them loyally and intact. But our friendships were neither exclusive nor jealous. We had no cause for any quarrel with any nation, nor with such a history and such an Empire as our own had we any disposition to curtail or fetter the

natural and legitimate aspirations of others. We rejoiced sincerely in every settlement which removed upon honourable and durable terms outstanding differences which cleared the mists of misunderstanding from the international atmosphere and which broadened the foundations of peace and good will in Europe and in the world. (Lord Cheers).

New Unionist Leader.

MR. BONAR LAW was unanimously elected leader of the Opposition at a meeting of the Unionist party to-day.

The Congo Convention.

REUTER wired from Berlin.—In the Reichstag on the 10th instant Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg stated most emphatically that the Morocco programme which had been drawn up in May had been carried out fully without interference from any quarter. The Kaiser had vigorously supported the programme and had been fully ready to draw the sword, if necessary, for Germany's honour. Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg referred to Mr. Lloyd George's speech and said that he had made representations in London through the Ambassador pointing out that the negotiations with France did not directly touch British interests but if Great Britain desired to participate in the discussion, he expected to be informed through the usual diplomatic channel. In conclusion, he defended Colonial acquisitions, emphasising that the source of danger with France and Great Britain had been removed. He denied that the Government had retreated before anyone. In the Reichstag the Deputies of the Centre Conservative and National Liberal parties delivered violent speeches denouncing what they described as Germany's purposeless policy in Morocco and her failure to meet the provocation of Mr. Lloyd George's speech. Baron Hertling, of the Centre Party, said that popular displeasure at Germany's purposeless Morocco policy since the unhappy demonstration at Tangier in 1904 had been transformed into flaming anger by the speech of Mr. Lloyd George. What, he asked, had the Chancellor done to meet the British provocation? Herr Heydebrand, Conservative, said that the questionable acquisitions in the Congo did not compensate for Germany's assent to the sacrifice of the independence of Morocco. "It is not," he said, "political understandings but the trusty German sword which will secure us peace. We are ready to use the sword at a given moment (Uproar). The German people will not stand after-dinner orations like that of Mr. Lloyd George." Herr Bassermann, National Liberal, said that when the *Panther* appeared at Agadir, a wave of rejoicing spread over Germany. This yielded to indignation at Mr. Lloyd George's speech. The debate was adjourned. The galleries were crowded, among those present being the Crown Prince, who obtained leave from his regiment. According to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the Crown Prince made frequent remarks to his entourage approving the utterances of Herr Heydebrand and Baron Hertling.

Herr Schultz, Imperialist, said that never had such a storm of indignation swept over the land as in connection with these treaties. An English Minister seemed to be ordering the Germans to halt, recalling the days when foreigners ruled them. Those days were beyond recall. Herr Von Bethmann-Hollweg, whose speech on Thursday was received with marked disapproval, was cheered by the Reichstag when he delivered a passionate rebuke to Herr Heydebrand, who is popularly known as "the uncrowned King" of Prussia. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg regretted that words had been used in the Reichstag regarding Great Britain which were not usual in a Parliament having a sense of responsibility. Such words of passion, going beyond all bounds, must harm the German Empire. A strong man need not be ever carrying his sword in his mouth. He must openly say that there were forces at work which more concerned the impending elections than Morocco. The German Press generally condemns the attitude of the Crown Prince. It is understood that the Kaiser strongly disapproved of the attitude of the Crown Prince at the Reichstag debate. The Crown Prince will not attend any further debates. Reuter wired from Berlin: The Reichstag has unanimously referred the Moroccan Agreement to the Budget Committee. The publication of a secret Franco-Spanish Treaty on

Morocco dated 1904 has caused sensation in Paris. The treaty confers rights on Spain which are considered as seriously detracting from the advantage obtained by France in agreement with Germany. The French Premier in the Chamber urged the speedy ratification of the Franco-German Agreement in order to strengthen the hands of France in her negotiations with Spain.

Persia.

REUTER wired from Teheran: Sir George Barclay, British Minister to Persia, in an interview with Mr. Shuster, the American Chief of the Treasury Department, read a telegram from Sir Edward Grey warning him that if he persisted in the appointment of a Britisher, Mr. Lecomte, to the Collectorship of Tebriz, Russia will occupy a part of North Persia. He advised Mr. Shuster to adopt a conciliatory attitude. Mr. Shuster replied that he was unable to consent to the proposal any more than he was able to consent in the case of Major Stokes and added that if Russia would show conciliatory spirit in one single thing then Persia would reciprocate her action tenfold. A *Times* message from Teheran states that Mr. Lecomte is already employed in the Persian service in North Persia. The message differentiates between his case and that of Major Stokes. Mr. Shuster has also appointed two Englishmen named, Schindler and Haycock to the Collectorships of Shiraz and Ispahan, and there has been no objection to either of these officials. The *Times* publishes a letter from Mr. Shuster extending into two and a half columns being the first instalment of a detailed indictment of Russia and Great Britain especially of the former country with regard to their behaviour towards Persia. Mr. Shuster complains also generally of what he terms a deliberate agreement between a number of Foreign Legations headed by the Russian Legation, aiming at the defeat of the execution of the law which confers upon Mr. Shuster the powers of Treasurer-General. Mr. Shuster says this campaign of threats and nagging and general opposition is descending even to vulgar personalities which he says, however, have failed utterly to attain their object. He makes charges against Russia and Great Britain, in particular against the former, for permitting the escape of the ex-Shah and describes in detail a series of high-handed proceedings on the part of the Russian Legation and Russian Consulates in different parts of Persia setting Persian authority at naught. Mr. Shuster's letter to the *Times* complaining of the behaviour of Russia and Great Britain to Persia is concluded in the *Times* of the 10th instant. After passing severe criticism for her "extraordinary and bizarre claims" under the name of "protegeship" on Russia, Mr. Shuster discusses the case of Major Stokes at great length and quotes his own earnest protest to Sir George Barclay, British Minister in Teheran, against the totally uncalled-for interference of Great Britain in the internal affairs of the financial organisations which he (Mr. Shuster) is endeavouring to uphold. Mr. Shuster concludes with a strong protest against the despatch of troops to Southern Persia, the probable effect of which, he says, will be the despatch of larger forces into Northern Persia upon even smaller pretexts. Mr. Shuster says:—"Surely, the land of Cyrus has fallen upon evil times, but even the ragged misery of the beggar does not justify one's giving him a gratuitous kick."

The *Times* in an article replies to the letter of Mr. Shuster. It says that it published his letter reluctantly, not so much owing to any fear of its effect upon informed public opinion as to concern for its effect upon the Treasurer-General's own position and influence in Teheran. The *Times* points out that Anglo-Russian interference amounts to the control of guardians over a minor, and says that Mr. Shuster ignores the fact that Persia is not really an independent country in the full meaning of the word. It agrees that some Russian authorities connived at the ex-Shah's return, but is firmly persuaded that the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg acted most loyally towards Britain and Persia. The paper controverts the other statements of Mr. Shuster as evidently based upon the statements of Nationalists with whom Mr. Shuster has thrown in his lot.

A Russian semi-official version is published in St. Petersburg of the incident in connection with the opposition by the Russian Consular officers of the Shua-es-Sultaneh's property and the enforcement by Mr. Shuster of the seizure. The statement explains that Russian intervention was due to the interest of Russia in the confiscated property and concludes that Persia having refused to apologise the Russian Minister has been instructed to present a note renewing the demands. The statement adds that in the event of non-compliance, Russia will take steps to protect Russian interests. The note was delivered on the 11th instant. Russia has sent an ultimatum to Persia threatening rupture of relations and other serious measures unless she receives an apology for the alleged insult to the Russian Consul-General on the occasion of the confiscation of the property of Prince Shua-es-Sultaneh by the orders of the Mejliss. The Persian Government vehemently protested against the intervention of Russians on the occasion of the confiscation and refuses to apologise. A message to the *Times* from Teheran states that the ultimatum requires immediate satisfaction, meaning thereby forty-eight hours. The Regent and the whole Cabinet have resigned and no Minister is likely to go to the Legation and apologise. The *Times* adds that Russian action has caused unbounded surprise. The Russian Minister disavowed the proceedings of the Consul-General but the Consul-General appealed to St. Petersburg and appears to have carried the day entirely against local British and Russian feeling. The mother of Shua-es-Sultaneh at the time telegraphed to Empress Marie alleging, though mistakenly, that her harem had been violated, hence the Minister practically disavowed the Consul-General's action. In the House of Commons Earl Ronaldshay asked whether Government had any information regarding Russia's threat to break off relations with Persia. Mr. F. D. Acland replied:—"I understand that the facts are as stated. The Government is not concerned in the question giving rise to a dispute but will deeply regret any serious rupture of relations. I am unable to give further information."

In the House of Commons, Colonel Yate asked a series of questions drawing attention to the continued insecurity in Southern Persia and consequently the loss to British and Indian merchants and asking whether pending the organisation and efficient working of the new Gendarmerie, steps would be taken to render the roads secure. Sir Edward Grey replied that it would be an undertaking of the most serious responsibility, possibly leading to grave consequences if we ourselves took steps for patrolling roads. He was unable at present to say that we should do anything of the sort ourselves. Mr. Ponsonby asked whether the Russian ultimatum was not a violation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement to preserve the integrity of Persia. Sir Edward Grey said that the Agreement could not be construed as depriving either Government of the right to claim redress for injuries to subjects or to their property. The ultimatum was based on such claims and was not necessarily, or in principle, a violation of the Agreement. The issues raised by the developments in Persia were too important to discuss except by a full statement, for which he trusted there would be an opportunity later. In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Dillon in reference to Sir Edward Grey's warning regarding the appointment of a Britisher to the post of Collector of Tabriz, Sir Edward Grey said that the constant appointment of Britishers in North Persia must give the impression that British influence was displacing Russian influence in the north. Sir Edward Grey added that we could not connive at that change which was contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian undertaking and was bound to provoke counter-measures on the part of Russia. Mr. Shuster had been informed to this effect in connection with the appointment of Mr. Lecoffre. It was in the interest of the independence and integrity of Persia that neither Britishers nor Russians should be appointed to posts on the frontiers of Russia and India, respectively. China.

The Third Division which was ordered to Paoingfu has declined to fight the rebels. A message from Peking states that Nanking has

yielded to the rebels on instructions from the Government. Two-thirds of the city has been destroyed. The loss is estimated at ten millions sterling and 400,000 persons are destitute. General Chang with twenty thousand troops is outside Tientsin. He has cautioned the Consuls to take precautions for fear of Manchu resistance. The Consuls replied that the troops had better remain outside. Excitement is growing in Peking. Two thousand Manchus fleeing after the assassination of General Wu have entered the city, as also 2,300 recruits. It is estimated that there are altogether 22,500 Manchu troops in Peking. Their temper is uncertain. Foochow has been captured by the rebels after a short resistance. The Yamens were burnt. Foreigners are safe. From Hong-Kong on 9th November—Canton has declared its independence. A salute was fired to-day and the Dragon Flag lowered.

Reuter wired from Shanghai, 11th November:—Fighting between the Imperial troops and the rebels continues at Nanking. The Imperial troops are slaughtering the inhabitants and burning and sacking the city. Thousands are fleeing. The Manchus of Foochow made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the foreign settlement. The Republicans executed 27 incendiaries. The mine-owners of Perak have subscribed a million dollars, and the coolies ten thousand dollars to the Chinese Revolutionaries' war chest. The Imperial troops have regained Nanking. The Republicans are short of ammunition. It is reported that the Imperial troops have begun to bombard Han ang. China, south of the Yangtse, is becoming republican; Manchuria and Chihli remaining monarchical. Other provinces are choosing their own government. Much depends on the attitude of General Chang who is controlling the situation. Yuan-Shi-Kai has written to General Li-Yuan-Heng, the rebel leader, offering him terms and urging his acceptance of the constitution in order to give the monarchy an opportunity of proving the sincerity of their promises. A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Peking states that Yuan's letter ended ambiguously and that Li Yuan-Heng reading it laughed and said he would give an answer when the rebels entered Peking. Although refusing the Premiership Yuan-Shi-Kai has started for Peking to discuss the situation. An audience has been arranged with the Regent General Chang is also expected to arrive here. A Defence Society consisting of troops and civilians has been established in Mukden. It amounts practically to a declaration of independence. A similar situation exists at Newchang. Yuan-Shi-Kai arrived at Peking this afternoon, 13th November. He looked hale and hearty. Vast silent crowds lined the route to his residence. He was accompanied by 2,000 troops. Chifu has peacefully submitted to the rebels. An edict appoints Yuan-Shi-Kai to the command of all the troops in the vicinity of Peking.

Indian Opium Department.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, Lord Ronaldshay put a series of questions urging the claims of officers of the Opium Service, as they are discharged, to employment in posts of equal status in other services.

Mr. Montagu replied that the Indian Regulations provided for compensation in the event of an appointment being abolished, if no suitable employment could be found for the holder, but every effort was being made to provide such employment. The Government of India had undertaken to give consideration to the reasonable terms of all competent officers, whose services had been dispensed with. The abolition of appointments and the provision which could be made for those displaced were matters with which the Government of India was competent to deal and were not reported to the Secretary of State. Replying to a question whether it was intended eventually to end the cultivation of opium in British India and to restrict to the Native States cultivation of the drug required for consumption in India and for the remaining export trade, Mr. Montagu said that the Secretary of State was not aware of such an intention. In any case, it would require his approval.

TETE À TETE



MOSLEM India will learn with peculiar gratification the news that

The Nizam and the Moslem University. His Highness the Nizam has contributed the princely donation of 5 lakhs to the Moslem University Fund. It is quite in the fitness of things that the first public act of His Highness

should be one of splendid generosity in the cause of Moslem education. It is fully in keeping with the traditions of his House and with the liberal patronage of letters that distinguished the reign of his illustrious father. The Aligarh College owes much to the liberality of Hyderabad. It has been in receipt, for many years past, of an annual grant of Rs. 24,000 from the State. When the movement for Moslem University first assumed organised shape in January last, and active work for funds began under the enthusiastic leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan, the eyes of the Mussalmans turned instinctively and with one accord to the Premier Moslem Prince for help to bring to fruition the cherished dream of Sir Syed Ahmad which had become the cherished dream of the whole community. The cruel hand of fate was, however, interposed between the Mussalmans and their hope by the sudden death of His Highness Mir Mahbub Ali Khan. The entire community mourned the tragic event as an irreplaceable personal loss. His Highness Mir Osman Ali Khan has now given practical proof to his co-religionists of his love for the diffusion and better organisation of Moslem education. We are sure it is but an earnest of many favours yet to come. His Highness has already endeared himself to the Mussalmans, and he will completely win their hearts if he supplements his generous donation by raising the grant to the College to Rs. 50,000 a year. This is not too much to ask from a Ruler of Hyderabad, although its beneficent results in the spread of Moslem education will be incalculable. The Mussalmans look up to His Highness as a child to his mother; whatever he may get, he still cries for more. It is difficult to predict which side will come out successful in the competition between His Highness the Nizam and his co-religionists—the desire of the Mussalmans to get more and the still greater desire of His Highness to give more. But we think it will be the Nizam, and perhaps he thinks so, too.

A SOMEWHAT remarkable instance of the happy-go-lucky procedure of the Aligarh Trustees was brought to light at the Budget Meeting this year. Last year a Trustee who represents the Old Boys' Association had objected to the curious procedure whereby a provision in the Budget Estimates for increments of salary according to the Graded Scheme was in practice taken to imply the sanction of increments in favour of individuals without any further reference to the Trustees. It was then arranged that in future personal sanction would be obtained in each case when all the conditions laid down in the rules had been fulfilled. Thus, while provision had been made in the Budget

last year for the increments of Professors Goldie, Tudor-Owen and Dunncliffe, personal sanction was still necessary. They were required to obtain certificates of suitability and competence from the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees and the Principal, and to pass an Examination in Urdu before being entitled to be made permanent and to draw their increments. But three months later all this was evidently forgotten. Mr Goldie passed the Examination in Urdu, but the other two failed. An accommodating Syndicate, oblivious of the fact that the rules allowed no exercise of discretion in this matter to anybody, decided to hold another examination before the annual meeting on the 31st January this year, made all the Professors permanent in anticipation of their success in the forthcoming examination, and permitted them to draw their increments also. It seems that the Lower Standard of the Urdu Examination is a Stile which at least one of these Professors has yet to jump over; but the Trustees merrily confirmed the decision of the Syndicate in their Annual Meeting last January, although they had no power to do so. Legally the resolution of the Trustees is *ultra vires* and therefore null and void; but the Gallies of Aligarh care for none of these things. Would some astute lawyer inform us who can be sued in the civil courts for a refund of the increments drawn in direct contravention of the rules? Some years ago the Secretary of the Building Committee drew large sums in excess of the amount given by a benefactor for a new Boarding House and because the benefactor rightly refused to more than double his original donation the excess is now being recouped from rent of the building. All this does not go far to convince one that bills are ever pie-audited at all at Aligarh or that they are even satisfactorily post-audited. Another instance that was brought to light in the recent meeting was the fact that the officiating Principal's period of probationary appointment was over, and yet no attempt had been made to obtain the sanction of the Trustees to extend it, or make him permanent, or appoint another. But Life Trustees will be Life Trustees!

ON THE strength of a very definite information that had reached us, we had published a paragraph in our issue of the 28th October, calling attention to an order of the Cashmere Education Department which, we had been told, had been issued substituting Hindi for Urdu as a medium of instruction in State schools. An esteemed correspondent, however, informs us that no such order has been issued, and that our apprehensions were not based on facts. We are glad our previous information has turned out to be unfounded. We unreservedly withdraw what we had said then, and publish our correspondent's account of the matter in full. Says our correspondent:—"I see that you, too, have come out with a note on 'Hindi in Cashmere.' This agitation is very unfortunate as it is absolutely groundless. There has been no order whatever issued either against Urdu or in favour of Hindi. All that has been done is this. So far both Persian and Sanskrit were taught in the Primary Classes, but recently Urdu and Hindi grammars were introduced also as optional subjects. On this it was considered by the Education Department that it became too heavy a burden for boys of tender age, and in their interests, therefore, they have revised the scheme and excluded both Sanskrit and Persian from those classes. In the Upper Primary and Middle classes both those languages are still allowed as optional subjects as heretofore, along with Urdu and Hindi. There is thus, you will see, nothing to condemn the Durbar about, and it can in no way be called an Urdu and Hindi question. "The majority of the boys do take Urdu and Persian here, and so far as I can see there is little chance of those tongues being replaced by Hindi which is not in any sense a popular language either in Jammu or Cashmere. For Cashmere, indeed, he would be a bold man who ever suggested Hindi to become compulsory in the schools. Urdu is quite enough for the people to learn, and so far as I can see they are never likely to take kindly to Hindi."

It is a happy sign of the times that public opinion in this country is awakening to the pressing social and economic needs of the people, though it has not wholly emancipated itself from the spell of the more noisy aspect of politics. Education and sanitation are beginning to receive the weight and attention that their supreme importance to the welfare of the people demands. Even the official conscience has been touched by the overwhelming claims of sanitation, and we are glad to note that the initiative to organise work on more systematic lines has rightly come from the Government. The Hon. Mr. S. H. Butler, as President of the First Sanitary Conference held at Bombay, surveyed the sanitary situation of the country in a speech of great lucidity and optimism. He clearly defined the scope of the work, the difficulties that have to be faced, noted the various conditions that affect the life and health of the people and wound up with a note of hope as regards the ultimate success of the great task. "The basis of all sanitary achievement in India," he rightly observed, "must be a knowledge of the people and the conditions under which they live, their prejudices, their ways of life, their social customs, their habits, surroundings and financial means." Rightly so, although it is necessary for the success of sanitary work that the people should be taught to appreciate the modern conceptions of hygiene and sanitary principles. We are glad to find that the Member for Education believes "in the slow but sure results of education, the forerunner of sanitation." The *Statesman* would place sanitation first in point of importance. It is no doubt some consolation to think that our contemporary recognises the need of sanitary improvement, although in its impatience to get rid of the incubus of mass education, it ignores the fundamental conditions of the success of any scheme for sanitation. All sanitary measures, however far-reaching and beneficent, must depend for their ultimate success on the willing co-operation of the mass of the people. No amount of official pressure or persuasion will succeed to enlist popular sympathies as long as the mentality of the people remains what it is. Their intelligence must be roused and their mind must be freed from its habit of looking upon the environment as something fixed and ordained for eternity. Mass education should therefore go along with, if it is not to precede, sanitation. For the present, however, as the Hon. Mr. Butler said, "the forefront of a sanitary programme must be (1) a reasoned account of the conditions and circumstances which affect mortality and the increase and decrease of populations and (2) a study of the relative effects of various diseases, of personal environment and of the social and economic conditions in different parts of the Indian Empire. We have to work out our own sanitary salvation. We have to study the epidemiology and endemiology of our communicable diseases, the so-called 'tropical diseases'—plague, malaria, cholera and dysentery—in order that having ascertained the actual sources and modes of conveyance we may determine scientifically the particular methods requisite for their avoidance, prevention and suppression; and that we may apply with precision those methods which it is possible and politic to adopt, and we cannot do this without the assistance and co-operation of Indians themselves. We are confident the educated classes in this country will lend a most willing support to all sanitary schemes and teach the people to appreciate their need and importance. The Hon. Mr. Butler concluded his address with an eloquent plea for earnest, sustained work and with a robust faith in the future of the movement. He said:—"Sanitation as now regarded covers the whole life of the people. The difficulties before you are many. The ignorance and even hostility of the masses of the people are still fundamental obstacles. But a thousand difficulties need not make a single doubt. The more enlightened minds in India have awakened to the importance of sanitation and the movement in its favour is steadily gaining ground. In India as elsewhere, old ideas of politics are yielding to more

modern conceptions of social duty. I doubt not that you will go forward with intrepid confidence in the ability of science to create the environment in which alone man's higher aspirations can be fulfilled. Though you may not yourselves see the fruits of them, your labours will assuredly not be in vain."

IT SEEMS there exists much confusion in regard to the interpretation of the Proclamation by His Majesty the King, republished in the *Gazette of India*, commanding his subjects to observe "a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid (Turko-Italian) War, and to abstain from violating or contravening either the Laws and Statutes of the Realm in this behalf, or the Law of Nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril." We have received a host of inquiries from our Mussalman subscribers asking us for definite information as to what form their expressions of sympathy for the Turks may legitimately take, in view of the declared neutrality of their Sovereign. As loyal and loving subjects of His Majesty it is their natural desire to do nothing which may reflect adversely on the neutral character of his Government or embarrass it in its international relations. At the same time it would be hypocrisy to disguise the intensity of the feelings which a wanton and unjust war against their brethren in Turkey has evoked among them. Clearly, it is their duty to observe the neutrality enjoined by the State, but within the limits of that neutrality they are perfectly free to express their sympathy with their co-religionists of the Ottoman Empire in any manner legitimately open to them. What are the requirements of the neutrality? According to the Royal Proclamation, no British subject is allowed to accept or agree to accept "any Commission or Engagement in the Military or Naval Service of any Foreign State at War with any Foreign State at Peace with His Majesty" or to prepare or fit out "any Naval or Military Expedition to proceed against the Dominions of any friendly State." There is, however, no prohibition against raising funds for the relief of sufferers from the War. Nor can it be in any sense regarded a breach of neutrality if a section of His Majesty's subjects takes a vow not to use manufactured goods or other articles of trade imported from a certain country. This is purely a matter of conscience and of moral right, about which "the Laws and Statutes of the Realm" have always observed a just and commendable neutrality. The *Lahore Tribune*, however, which, in company with some other organs of Hindu opinion, cannot resist the temptation of casting cowardly aspersions on Moslem loyalty on an occasion like this, has solemnly delivered itself to the effect that "a declaration of boycott against Turkish (sic) goods would be a violation of neutrality." If "the Laws of the Realm" had depended for their interpretation on the *Tribune* and others of its tribe, the Mussalmans would have long ago been deported for much more trivial "offences" out of Bharat. We are not sure if their sturdy refusal to participate in the "Boycott of British Goods" only a few years ago, would not have been one of these "offences." However, it is a matter of some consolation to the Mussalmans that the making of the laws of the realm is not as yet in the hands of newspapers of such easy consciences and elusive memories. They still enjoy the ordered freedom and justice of British laws and institutions, and no clumsy and unheroic insinuations of the kind can shake their loyalty to the sovereign or their sympathy with their brethren of Islam. The example of the British nation itself is their best guide. The indignant protests of the British public against Italian aggression and the offers of large-hearted Englishmen to fight for a just cause are no more "a violation of neutrality" than the efforts of the Mussalmans to raise funds for the relief of the Turkish wounded and the widows or orphans of the soldiers killed in battle, their determination to resent the terrible wrong against international equity and justice by boycotting Italian goods, or their readiness to take part, if need be, as volunteers in defence of a righteous cause.

It is a very laudable ambition of the gentlemen who contrive to start clubs and libraries to keep their reading-rooms well stocked with newspapers.

"Concessions."

They, however, singularly fail to realise that journalistic concerns are not run on the principles of Poor Relief Societies or other charitable organisations of the kind. It would, therefore, be a rather heavy and unjustifiable drain on the proprietor of a newspaper if he were called upon to supply the paper to a couple of hundred public "libraries" at so-called "concession" rates. A library is in itself a device to afford to the public a cheap access to the periodical and other literature by distributing the cost of its up-keep among its constituents. Why then should the unfortunate proprietor of a journal be taxed to provide literary facilities to a well-equipped body of gentlemen, we utterly fail to understand. Yet the demand is very often made, and with an assurance and persistency that would be ridiculous were it not so irritating. We hope the Indian reading-rooms and libraries are not so many parasites and their conductors understand the principles on which these organisations are based. A dilittante or even a more serious interest in the things and affairs of the world does not entitle one to the gratitude of every author of a book or every conductor of a newspaper. There is, however, an underlying notion of some such privilege and of a right to enforce it, from which the all too numerous demands for "concession" take their rise, which go to ruin the temper of many a newspaper manager every week. We suppose a cap merchant, or a draper, or even an itinerant hawker in *puri-kachaus*, has never had to deal with "concessionist" demands. The newspaper proprietor is the favoured recipient of these attentions, perhaps because he of all business men is, thanks to the public patronage, the most insecure from the sound financial point of view. The concession is perhaps demanded on the principle that from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

ON THE 7th instant the Hon. Mr. Leslie Porter and Mrs. Porter visited Aligarh, and it was a happy idea of Mr. Shaikh Abdullah to request Mrs. Porter to lay the foundation stone of the Hostel of the Zenana School. There is a grim humour in the discreet veil which Mr. Abdullah has hung over the activities—or inactivity—of the Female Education Section of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, and wedged, as he seems to be, to the conservative traditions of the Islamic world, and particularly of Moslem India, he has not permitted us a fleeting glimpse of reality even in the Address of welcome that was presented to Mrs. Porter. We have all the platitudes about "ignorant mothers" and "arrangements suited to our special requirements," flaunting themselves like brazen shamsies, but evidently very "adequate arrangements for strict Purdah" were made, not only for the ladies who had assembled, but also for the condition and work of the school. Mr. Abdullah has been in charge of this section since the last Durbar was held at Delhi, and the forthcoming Durbar to be held after nine years will still find him at the head of affairs. Beatrice promised Benedick "to eat all of his killing" without any fear of becoming a cannibal, and we can give Mr. Abdullah the sole credit of all that the Female Section has done during the last nine years, without fear of becoming his panegyrist. The Address explains that "the first object of this school is to turn out educated and trained teachers, for whom there is such a demand all over the country. The great majority of respectable Muhammadans, while anxious to educate their daughters, are not yet prepared to send them to schools, and for all such cases lady-teachers are an urgent necessity." Yet not a syllable is devoted to explain what the school has done during so many years to carry out its "first object" and to satisfy such an "urgent necessity." The reason for this reticence is obvious. The

school has done nothing! Still, something had to be said in justification of its existence, and we are informed that about 250 girls of Aligarh joined it in more than five years, out of which about 160 have already left, after having read up to the fourth or third standard of Primary education. With a fatuity characteristic of so many Aligarh arrangements, we are assured that though even parents resident in Aligarh object to sending their girls to school after they are 12 or 13 years old, "if we have a properly managed Boarding House, their objection will be greatly removed." Is it not the height of absurdity to hope that when "the great majority of respectable Muhammadans are not yet prepared to send their girls to schools" they would be prepared to send them to a Boarding House away from their homes? The net result of nine years' "work" of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference is that Aligarh parents have received back into the bosoms of their families 160 girls who have "read up to the fourth and third standard of Elementary education." Like many of the best-laid schemes of mice and men, the great projects of training governesses and schoolmistresses and of preparing ideal courses of study for girls have gone agley, and the only actual beneficiaries of the unstirred generosity of Her Highness the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal have been the parents of 160 girls of the Koil municipality, whose daughters can perhaps add and subtract and write letters in bad Urdu and worse hieroglyphics. Such is the glory of "our first national school for girls," and the labours of the mountain that gave birth to a mouse pale into insignificance by the side of the pangs and throes of Mr. Shaikh Abdullah's loudly proclaimed parturition. But we believe that

'Tis better to fight for the good than reel at the evil.

We are not content with mere criticism and earnestly appeal to some of the more energetic and practical *alumni* of Aligarh. Will not even one of them devote his life to the cause of his sisters, which is really the cause of his brothers as well, and rescue it from the lethargy and procrastination which has characterised the Female Education Section during the last decade?

TURKISH RELIEF FUND

COLLECTED BY M. MASUD HOSAIN ABBASI, ESQ., AT BAREILLY

	Rs.	A.	P.
Sheikh Lal Mohammad, Esq.	...	25	0 0
Mohammad Khan, Esq.	...	10	0 0
M. Asadullah Khan, Esq.	...	10	4 0
M. Qamar Ali, Esq., M.A., L.L.B.	...	5	0 0
Messrs Ghulam Mohammad, Rahmatullah, and Saeed Khan, rupees two each	...	6	0 0
Messrs. Abdul Kadir, Abdul Razzak, Mohammad Hosain, Ghulam Ahmad, Lutf Ali Beg, Ikramur Rahman, Ataulah, Ali Ahmad Khan, Munshi Tullan Khan, Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Sheikh Tullan and Masud Hussain Abbasi, rupee one each	...	13	0 0
Mir Asghar Ali, Kifayatullah Khan, Mohammad Haksh, Bashir Ahmad, and Nazir Khan, annas eight each	...	2	8 0
Amanatullah Khan, Enayatullah Khan, Shakur Ahmad, Shakur Khan, Lal Mohammad, Rustam Khan, Najibullah, and miscellaneous, annas four each	...	2	0 0
Amanatullah Khan, Chatta Khan, and Munne Khan, annas two each	...	0	6 0
TOTAL	...	74	6 0
Less M. O. Fee	...	0	12 0
Amount received during the week	...	75	6 0
Amount previously acknowledged	...	354	0 0
TOTAL	...	429	6 0

18th November.

The Comrade of the 18th November, 1911 publishes a leading article on "The Situation in the East" in the Comrade.

The Comrade.

The Situation in the East.

LORD CURZON, replying to the toast of "the guests" at the inaugural banquet of the Persia Society held in London on the 15th instant, is reported to have said that

"The Muhammadan countries of the world were fully entitled to the benefit of the law of nations, and with them treaties ought to be kept. When they sought their own salvation we ought to give them all assistance. The loyalty and contentment of the Moslems was one of the strongest things of our rule in India, so we would like the Moslems of the world to feel that in England they had their truest friend, who was prepared to make every effort and to make a sacrifice on their behalf. With none of them we ought to have more sympathy than with Persia."

These noble and sagacious words of the late Viceroy, who was unfortunately himself the author of the forward policy in the Persian Gulf region, sound at the present moment very much like faint echoes from another world. As far as the real issues of fact are concerned, the shadow of the Russian menace for the time being looms with fearful imminence across the destiny of that unfortunate land. The rapid and sure development of the Russian designs in Persia since the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention, with their undisguised objective and peculiar audacity of method, have already added yet another chapter of diplomatic scandal and bluff to contemporary history, and have set "the law of nations" and solemn "treaties" at defiance without the least scruple or ceremony. There may be no "hostility in England against Persia," or, for the matter of that, among any other people who cannot see unmoved the solemn spectacle of a nation earnestly struggling for freedom and light. Yet it has somehow very often happened that the sympathies of the liberty-loving peoples of Europe have not been able to save historic nationalities from destruction. Civilisation may have in store a fine message of hope for the political emancipation of mankind, but its fine hopes and ideals have always stood rebuked, as it were, by that Colossus of Tyranny, who loves to trample all nascent liberties under foot. The record of Russia, in the sum and balance of modern achievement, is an instructive study in political cynicism in all its brutality. She has single-handed destroyed more hopes and greater efforts for freedom than what the liberal movement of Western Europe has been able to create. The destruction of the liberties of the Finns and the Poles and the suppression of independent Tartar States in Central Asia were carried out just when the "Trinity of modern faith about Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" was moving nations with a fine delirium of hope about the millennium. Now is the turn of Persia to go the way of the Finns and the Poles. She may be honestly desirous to set her house in order. But she has learnt enough through direct and unmistakable hints that the Muscovite will not tolerate any measures on her part which may ensure her peace and order and independent existence. The recent phases of the unfolding drama at Teheran have scarcely a parallel in the pretty vast records of political usurpation, and in an age of such magnificent pretensions as ours they are an outrage on the decency and civilised sense of modern states. Whether Persia stands or falls, she has reason to be grateful to Mr. Shuster, the American Treasurer-General, whose sense of equity and fairplay has risen in revolt against a campaign of "threats and nagging and general opposition," and who has framed a damning indictment against the aims and methods of Russian policy. Persian protests against these methods had never had a chance of being listened to, and were invariably set down to the imbecility of the Mejliss, to the incapacity of the executive and even to the "fanaticism" of the people. Here is, however, an American gentleman quite capable of taking an unbiased view of things, not quite a tyro in the dark and devious ways of European diplomacy, and intimately knowing the situation, whose testimony about the manner in which "the integrity of Persia" is being maintained must compel a hearing. It may be a little "wearying" to that great friend of human liberty, the ubiquitous daily of Allahabad, to have to learn how the voice of liberty is being throttled in Persia, but perhaps it has not occurred to our contemporary that its *abster dicta* are becoming equally "wearisome" to Persia and Mr. Shuster and to all those who have still faith in freedom and love honest independent criticism.

It would, however, be difficult even for the *Pioneer* to imitate the ponderous fatuity of its great prototype, the *Times*. This solemn scoffer at everything that is right and just, this pillar of expediency and opportunism, has an immitable knack of looking grave and portentous in a situation of sheer triviality and farce. Replying to Mr. Shuster's protest it says that "Anglo-Russian interference amounts to the control of guardians over a minor, and Mr. Shuster ignores the fact that Persia is not really an independent country in the full meaning of the word." Was this the interpretation put upon the words "integrity and independence" when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed? Is it true that treaties, on whose sacred character Lord Curzon has dwelt with emphasis, are, after all, what the

Tanin called "mere instruments of deception?" If the spirit of a solemn pact is to change with the changing mood and conscience of a newspaper and its meaning is to be whittled down in a pettifoggish vein to suit the exigencies of the hour or to get rid of inconvenient facts, then what is the profit of playing such a farce and invoking the so-called honour and prestige of empires in a squalid game of subterfuge? The shade of the great empire-builder who had deliberately resorted to forgery to hoodwink Amichand at a supreme crisis in the East India Company's fortunes, may still be haunting the Printing House Square. But we refuse to believe that the views of the *Times* are, in any measure, the reflex of the spirit and sense of justice of the British nation. The fact is that the Anglo-Russian understanding about Persia was the most unfortunate thing that could happen. It was bound to fail in spirit, for Russia had no idea, and never any intention, of allowing Persia to remain independent and intact. A formal agreement with England has given her a free hand and she is carrying out her original programme of occupying North Persia with a freedom and directness of method that has reduced the understanding to a nullity. Sir Edward Grey, may not like the latest consequences of his diplomatic blunder, but he has cut away his own hands, as it were, and can feel no moral right and courage to protest. His own acts have reduced him to the unedifying rôle of Russia's apologist. He sits helpless, held down by the meshes of the astute Muscovite diplomacy into which he plunged himself in dire distress of isolation and, perhaps, in terror of Germany. If he has no courage and resource to retrieve the failures of the past, he will go down to history as a Liberal statesman who, by his pusillanimity and lack of will, saw the destruction of a nation's freedom and of his own liberal principles.

The latest threat to Persian independence, the fate of Morocco to which the Congo Convention has set the seal, and the Italian *coup* in Tripoli have given rise to an intensity of feeling in the Moslem world to which there exists no parallel in recent times. It is easy enough to understand this feeling, the existence of which no European statesman worth the name can lightly belittle or ignore. Some of the scaremongers in Europe as well as in India have gone into hysterics about the vague "Pan-Islamic" menace implied in this feeling. We have no patience with the shallow pated theorist who reads in every intellectual and moral awakening of the people of the East a grave threat to civilisation. The Mussalmans, in India as elsewhere, have awakened to a sense of their backwardness and feel a genuine, earnest desire to improve their condition and move with the times. The aggressive tendencies of the great European Powers like Russia and Italy have, however, brought home to them the lesson that the opportunities for free development cannot be had for the mere asking when civilised Europe believes in the doctrine of suppression by brute force. Peace and enlightenment may be the fair promise of modern civilisation, but its inner pulse beats to the strains of martial music, to the loud glories of conquest, to the methods of blood and iron. Would it be, then, a triumph of civilisation if about 300 millions of Mussalmans began to feel that the message of peace and enlightenment was not for them? It would be a grave intellectual and moral disaster, and its results in other directions would be simply incalculable. To prevent such an impression from gaining ground, to make them feel that opportunities for free development are not to be taken away at the bidding of an ambitious European Power, that civilisation does not mean ruthless suppression but sympathy, would be an achievement of which any Cabinet of European statesmen might be proud.

The war about which the Mussalmans, and we believe other Eastern peoples as well, are so much interested and concerned, in spite of the early swagger of the Italian journals and their faithful henchman, the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, has not as yet emerged out of the inglorious muddle into which an army of "valiant, spirited and dashing" soldiers, "perfect according to European standards," so quietly plunged it after the great landing on the Tripolitan coast line. The supplies and ammunition which had been collected for a victorious advance in the motherland are being spent in "hand-to-hand" struggles behind the trenches on the outskirts of the coastal towns. Even the Censor-General has felt it prudent to maintain silence after his efforts to create history have only earned for him the derision and laughter of an incredulous world. Even the imaginative, romance-loving "Rome" has fallen on prosaic times, and has apparently lost the faculty of embroidering such plain unvarnished facts as "the fierce and savage attacks of the Turks and Arabs," who were, of course, "repulsed." How sadly we have learnt to miss the *coup de grace* of those repulses "with a heavy loss." Perhaps this mild and civilised manner of Italian warfare has rendered these details unnecessary. Be this as it may, Baron Reuter, too, is beginning to feel, with the Italian censor, the strain of creative efforts. He too has ceased to regale us with the gossip of the Neapolitan cafes and Maltese streets. During the Græco-Turkish War it was a general complaint in India that Reuter withheld all accurate information, and an Anglo-Indian daily was heard to complain that, though it might be a good Christian feeling on the part of Reuter, it was hardly good business. We are afraid Reuter has once again developed some similar feeling. News

about Italian defeats and disasters have leaked out through quite independent sources, while *Reuter*, in company with the Italian censor, was keeping up the fiction of the smooth and triumphant progress of the victorious army. Egyptian and Constantinople papers are full of details about the capture of numerous guns and rifles and enormous quantities of ammunition by the Turks and of several thousand Italians-made prisoners. In view of the ignorance, helplessness, or transparent contradictions in the statements of other news agencies, there is nothing inherently improbable in the information from Turkish and Egyptian sources to which we might take exception. In any case, the Italian army has met with a formidable opposition, has lost several thousands in killed and wounded, and is carrying on a purely defensive warfare within a mile of the coast. If 50,000 "well-equipped" soldiers, full of a patriotic fervour to vindicate the "valour and prestige of the Italian arms" cannot win an inch of ground against a "handful" of Turks and "discontented and mutinous" Arab militia, they must be in a sore plight indeed. "Patriotic" demonstrations of the Italian populace have quietly dissolved into space, and one is beginning to hear even the unpatriotic murmurs about the cost that shall have to be paid sooner or later. Even "civilising missions" have got their little bills, though how these bills are to be paid the Liberal Bishop of Italy has not as yet thought fit to explain.

The populace that hailed Signor Gioiotti as the Second Cavour may yet have to curse him for a Second Adowa. It was certainly a mad escapade of the Minister, who plunged his country into a struggle in which the chances of success are becoming daily remote. There have been appearing many hints in the European press to the effect that England egged Italy on to the Tripolitan raid in order to estrange her from Germany and Austria and eventually wean her from the Triple Alliance. The British nation may be full of indignation against Italian action, but Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey deprecate all questions, even about Italian atrocities. The Austrian Premier in a statement to Parliament said that "we know that the failure of Italy to inform her allies of her intentions in advance proceeded from friendly regard for its allies on the part of the Italian Government." But if Italy failed to inform her allies, the well-informed Italians themselves frankly avow that she had sounded Great Britain beforehand. The letter of Mr. Vernon Lee to the *Nation*, which we publish elsewhere, throws a very significant light on this aspect of the question. Whether the British Government was in the secrets of Italy or not, the attitude of the British Premier and Foreign Minister is certainly not calculated to dispel the impression.

There has been much frivolous and foolish talk about the Moslem feeling about the war. We have already noticed the feeling in its broad aspect and dwelt on the reasons that have given it strength and intensity. In India itself its manifestations are unmistakable, and no one can deny its existence after observing the spontaneous outburst of sympathy for Turkey and the collection of more than a lakh of rupees by the mass of the people themselves without the least pressure from outside and without any organisation whatever. Meetings of sympathy for the Turks are being held in every town and village in India and the subscriptions for the relief of the Turkish sufferers are growing every day. In every other Islamic country similar feeling exists. We, on our part, consider it our duty to acquaint the Government with the true state of Moslem feeling in this country. We would be false to our sense of loyalty to our Government if we failed to do so. We have always endeavoured to the best of our light to do this in the past and shall never shirk this obvious responsibility in future. It is equally our duty to try to keep such feelings amongst the Mussalmans within proper bounds. We have every reason to believe that nothing can shake the close and loving attachment of the Mussalmans to their Sovereign. It would however, be folly to ignore or suppress the true nature of their feeling, as is being done by some newspapers like the *Saturday Review*. This journal thinks, or pretends to think, that the Italian aggression has failed to produce any deep impression in the Moslem world. "Scrutator" wrote to similar effect in *Truth*, and the Cairo correspondent of the *Near East* assures us that "the war has caused practically no excitement and very little interest." Opinions like these are based either on deliberate suppression of facts or on ignorance. Do these papers desire the Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King to rise in revolt before they would recognise the existence of "excitement and interest" among them about the war? We know as a matter of direct experience about India that Englishmen in this country sometimes betray a fearful ignorance of the state of public feeling, and hardly seem to know about facts which are on the lips of everybody and are being talked about in the streets and the market-places. This is the penalty that the rulers of millions of men of alien race and creed have to pay by living in a state of splendid isolation. When even women and children in Egypt are subscribing large sums of money in aid of Turkey and hundreds of young men are enrolling themselves as volunteers to go to the front, it must be some strange myopia that prevents the Cairo Correspondent of the *Near East* or other journals from seeing the Moslem "interest and excitement" about the war. The

Tripoli correspondent of the *Times* wired on the 10th October that "the attempts to beat the drum of Islam have failed, as nearly all local Turkish militiamen have returned to their homes." One should have thought it needed no "beating of the drum" to induce the Arabs of Tripoli to defend their homes and liberties, and perhaps the later experiences of the correspondent have already convinced him that no such drum was needed at all. The returned militiamen and discontented Arabs are still, somehow, keeping two whole divisions of the Italian army, "a model of completeness, judged by the standards of European warfare," rooted dismally to the coast.

As a matter of fact, we are ~~in the midst of~~ rapidly changing standards, of desire and personal motive as the sole test of right and justice. Without perhaps being guilty of a platitude one might say that what is commonly styled "history in the making" is really nothing better than a frolic of downright, sordid facts unredeemed even by illusions. The chronicler, who treads close on the heels of events, like a camp follower, picks up their dead bones along the course of march of restless humanity, and begins to dress them up with human tone and tint. He breathes "ideas" into "facts" and recreates the past after his own image. The statesman gratefully calls it "the experience of humanity" and reads new lessons into it for his own immediate purpose and convenience. The philosopher twists and bends it remorselessly to suit his mood, strangles it with a definition, and safely buries it away in a system. The process goes on, as whirling go the busy looms of Time, and humanity grows rich in "wisdom." Yet, somehow, it always comes to pass that every fresh fact finds humanity gaping in blank stupidity and despair. Is it because all human affairs are a ceaseless spinning round and round, it may be, at an ever-increasing velocity, and, what is solemnly called progress, is but a mere dance in a circle?

Be this as it may, things are hopelessly out of joint in this age of unmeasured pretensions and mean performance. The tremendous boast of an essentially militant civilization to humanise the bases of life and soften the rigours of a competitive existence had well-nigh imposed upon a credulous world the sham belief that good-will and peace were to be, henceforth, the portion of the children of men on a new earth, if not under a new heaven. Arbitration enthusiasts and peace propagandists had been roaring with a loudness never heard in the history of the world before. Yet it will live as one of the greatest ironies of history that the most strenuous activities of the peace evangelist should have coincided with the clearest and most emphatic repudiation of the gospel that he so confidently preached. The political cynic whose mind has been suckled on the latest shibboleths of the evolutionary philosophy assures us that the world is hardly yet ripe for loove and dangerous experiments which the peace visionary advocates. So let it be.

We hope the lesson will not be lost on Turkey or any other Power which has the misfortune to be weak. The sins of fathers are proverbially visited on the children, and who can deny that the troubles of Turkey, Persia or Morocco are the result of their own shortcomings in the past. Let the wisdom learnt through past failures be their guide and let them understand this very clearly that their salvation lies in their own hands. No external prop can keep a rotten house from tottering to its fall. Let them organise themselves, strengthen their position, by strengthening their character and intelligence and material equipment. The future is theirs for the making. We are sure they will respond heroically to the call of destiny.

Aligarh Affairs.

ALTHOUGH it will not be true to say that Aligarh and advertisement have nothing to do with each other, the many friends of Aligarh who live outside its municipal limits have often painfully felt the absence of definite and accurate news of the internal affairs of Aligarh in the Indian and even the Moslem Press. We trust we shall not be accused of being nothing but critical if we once more draw the attention of the powers that be to the absence of such news. We gratefully acknowledge the efforts of the new management of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and the *Aligarh Monthly* to keep the outside world well informed, but there is still a tremendous gap to fill, and unless the Honorary Secretary to the Board of Trustees, the Principal of the College, and the Headmaster of the School take active steps in the matter we see no possibility of any great improvement. As an instance of neglect we may mention that the Annual Report of the Principal and the Budget Statement of the College are never published in the two journals issuing from Aligarh, and the friends of the Aligarh Movement must remain ignorant of the true condition of affairs unless some outside journal takes it upon itself to enlighten them. We ask, could not the authorities publish such reports and statements in the *Institute Gazette* to the exclusion of some items of stale news wholly unconnected with Aligarh? Last year a Trustee of the College had requested the Honorary Secretary to publish the Budget Estimates before the Budget Meeting of the Trustees, but to no purpose. If 26 years after its foundation the Moslem community is still woefully ignorant about Aligarh, the fault is not that of the Mussalmans only but of the

Aligarh leaders also, and though the recent Moslem University campaign has brought it much closer to the outlying provinces, the snail's pace of progress in converting the promised donations into payment must to a great extent be due to the old neglect which still exists.

We may justly congratulate ourselves on having privately suggested to the Honorary Secretary that the Budget Meeting, which was originally fixed for the 28th October, should be postponed, so that it may just precede or follow the visit of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. We do not know whether it will please the high officials of Government and other eminent personages to know that whenever they honour Aligarh with a visit a much larger number of Trustees are attracted to their neglected Trust than by such insipid things as budget meetings and annual meetings, but it will certainly grieve the community itself which these co-opted gentlemen presume to represent. The only formidable rival of such visits in the way of attractiveness is a "row" between the Students and the Staff, the Staff and the Trustees or some of the Trustees and their Secretary. Luckily there was no "row" to attract the Trustees to Aligarh this year, but our well planned conjunction of planets proved lucky enough and more than 70 Trustees greeted His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and thereafter attended a part of the Budget Meeting.

Mr Porter was for a considerable time Collector at Aligarh and he knew the Aligarh of 14 years ago intimately. Before reaching the Strachey Hall, he had gone round the College and must have noticed the many additions that had since taken place in the College buildings. But in the Hall itself, where the students had assembled, he could realise more vividly than anywhere else the great expansion of the last decade and a half. That Hall was ample enough then for the 339 students of the College and School, but it could not provide sufficient accommodation, in addition to that for the Trustees, Staff, and visitors, for 1,023 students, 825 of whom lived in the many courts and quadrangles of the College. The Address of the Trustees, after quoting Mr Porter's eulogy of the "living and life giving influence of the great national College, the sound training, the patriotism, the sturdy self-reliance, and, above all, the high moral tone of the men who have been educated in it," to which he had given expression in 1893, compared the material condition of the College at the time with the expansion that had taken place since then, and referred in glowing terms to the long cherished dream of the Moslem University and the association of its realization with the auspicious occasion of the Coronation Durbar.

The great Emperors of the past were wont to scatter gold and precious gems and used to grant territories and high posts of honour on such auspicious occasions as a Coronation; but all those proverbial Royal honours will pale before the grant of our University Charter, which carries within it the fruitful seeds of all the chief blessings which God has given to man. Territorial possessions we have had in abundance as well as gold and all other forms of material wealth and prosperity, but that which procures us well as preserves land and material wealth we have lost, without which all such possessions are of no avail. It is because we regard our proposed University as the best and the only means of recovering our moral and intellectual prosperity that we prefer it to any other boon, however precious or imposing it might be. So far, therefore, as the Mussalmán Community of India is concerned, the memory of the coming Durbar will be associated, in their mind and in that of their posterity, with the fulfilment of this long cherished hope and ideal and will thus mark an epoch in the history of their national movement. Indeed the year which shall witness this great event will open a new era and will ever be remembered as a turning-point in the fortunes of our community under British rule in this country; and thus our love and loyalty to our sovereign are destined to become an essential part of those traditions which shall go down to future generations connected with the origin and birth of our University—the seat and centre of all our dearest hopes and highest national aspirations.

In his reply the Hon Mr. Porter emphasized the need of religious instruction and his remarks on the subject are worthy of the most careful consideration because they expose the mockery of a false but fashionable latitudinarianism which has become unduly insistent even in high quarters. "No education," said Mr. Porter, "could be complete unless it included sound religious training. Now, religious instruction to be adequate must be denominational." He went on to say that

A religious teacher who wishes to carry conviction must not only believe all that he teaches, but must teach all that he believes. There is no room for insincerity and no room for reticence. The history of this country during the last few years has borne eloquent testimony to the soundness of Sir Syed Ahmad's view. Sometime ago I was talking to a gentleman of high position in Government service, of good education and of the highest character. The conversation turned on the nature of a certain religious festival. He was unable to explain what the festival was and I asked him in jest if he did not know his own religion. His reply startled me. He said he did not. As soon as he was old enough to learn he had been sent to a school and all his time was taken up with ordinary secular studies. When he left school, he obtained a Government appointment and ever since then all his time had been taken up with his official duties and he had never been able to devote any thoughts to religion. Those of you who in the trials and sorrows of life have been accustomed to seek consolation in religion can form your own opinion as to what that gentleman had lost; but there is worse than this. If we can trust the reports we read in the papers in certain parts of the country, boys fresh from school or college and perhaps

still at college or school see nothing degrading in adopting the career of a common felon. If any of you desire to form a true opinion of the debt of gratitude which you owe to Sir Syed Ahmad, I would ask you to compare the tone and discipline of the students of the Aligarh College with what appears to be the state of affairs in other parts of the country.

With reference to the University, His Honour warned the promoters of the Scheme not as an official, but as a well-wisher of the College and the Mussalmans, against the dangers of associating the Aligarh University with a cheap degree. In the Convocation of the Allahabad University also he quoted some advocate of "denominational" Universities who seemed to regard the present standard too high. Although, on the one hand, we are assured that no such fears need be entertained so far as Aligarh at least is concerned, and on the other, we fear that the Allahabad standard is notoriously shifting and variable and not always as high as it should be, the warning of Mr. Porter was given in no unfriendly spirit. His Honour showed his sympathy with the movement for a Moslem University by holding up to the men of smaller means the example of a student who gave his first salary to his old school. He would, we feel sure, be glad to know that many Old Boys of Aligarh regularly pay one per cent. of their income to their Alma Mater, and their promised contributions of a month's income to the University Fund exceed three quarters of a lakh. But this "rabble of young men" has yet a great deal to do to prove that it more than deserves the right of electing a fairly large proportion of Trustees for the Court of the Moslem University which it is going to secure. In this connection we may add that, according to the belated annual report of the late lamented Secretary of the Old Boys' Association, there were last April no more than 845 members of the Association, that during the last two years the income has been falling though the number and the prosperity of the members have no doubt increased, and that as many as 30 per cent. of the V. P.'s sent every month are returned unclaimed.

On the 8th instant, the Budget Meeting came off. There is little to record of a Budget that is discussed when seven months of the year to which the estimates relate are over. Lest it be supposed that this is an unusual occurrence, we would like to inform our readers that since 1899-1900, only one Budget Meeting took place so early as 4 months after the commencement of the year to which the estimates related, that some of them have taken place fully 10 months after and were only technically distinct from the Annual Meeting, and that the average is a little more than 7 months after the commencement of the financial year. Every year an excuse is easily forthcoming for the delay and, of course, a promise of reform. This year the University Scheme proved a serviceable redeemer without the necessity of even offering an excuse. Our only difficulty is that there is nothing which we can think of as a possible excuse for the inactivity shown in the collection of the funds for the University itself. Would not the pressure of the Budget work reciprocate and justify the delay?

The estimated revenue in 1910-11 was Rs. 2,10,483, but the actuals rose to Rs. 2,17,943. This year's estimate is Rs. 2,19,130, and includes the Government Grant-in-aid of Rs. 34,687 and a Government Grant for a Roorkee Engineering Scholarship of Rs. 2,400. The total Government Grant amounts to about Rs. 37,000 which gives a ratio of 1 to 5 of the Moslem contribution. Looking at it from another point of view, the Government contributes no more than Rs. 36 per student studying in the college or school. Considering that it costs the Government no less than Rs. 435 to educate a student in a Government College, it is not difficult to see that Aligarh has saved the Government considerable educational expenditure. The Local Government may not possibly afford to be more generous, but there is a very strong case for an Imperial grant, for at least half the expenditure of the College is incurred on account of students from other Provinces. We trust that other Local Governments and the Imperial Government will soon realize their obligations in this matter and relieve the College from what is becoming a chronic financial embarrassment.

Last year the estimated expenditure was Rs. 2,07,094, but the actual expenditure did not amount to more than Rs. 2,01,383. There was thus a surplus of Rs. 16,560. This year's estimate of expenditure is Rs. 2,30,307, thus resulting in a deficit of Rs. 11,177, wholly due to the inadequate provision for the Prince of Wales' Science School which has a revenue of Rs. 16,317 and an expenditure of Rs. 27,757, though we should explain that while salaries of Science Professors are debited to the Science School, tuition fees and rent of Boarding-House and Bungalows are not credited to it. There are no variations worthy of mention except an increase of more than Rs. 25,000 in salaries out of a total increase of Rs. 29,000. The College Staff salaries rise from Rs. 53,852 last year to Rs. 68,912, the School Staff from Rs. 27,240 to Rs. 30,513, the Boarding-House Staff from Rs. 13,193 to Rs. 14,687, and the Science School Staff from Rs. 18,054 to Rs. 21,737. It must be noted in this connection that there has been practically no increase in the number of students nor do the estimates of revenue from tuitional fees in the current year give the least indication of any expected

increase. The Finance Member's memorandum is a document of such meagre proportions that one never expects to find, nor does find, any explanation of such matters as an increase in expenditure of more than 17 per cent. in salaries of the staff in one year without any corresponding estimated increase in the number of students. Last year Mr. Mohamed Ali had ventured to draw the attention of the Trustees to the increasing expenditure on salaries by submitting a statement of expenditure, number of students and average annual cost per head during each of the last 12 years. The figures for the School had shown an increase of nearly 50 per cent. in the average cost per head since Mr. Rees had become Head Master, while the examination results had shown that the teaching was rapidly becoming worse, the average of success in the Entrance coming down from the 65 per cent. of the three years 1905 to 1907 to the 28 per cent. of the next three years. It was also shown that whereas the expenditure on residential discipline was only the paltry sum of 5 annas per resident student in 1899-1900 and 4½ annas in 1900-01, it had steadily increased since then and was about Rs. 17 per resident student in 1909-10, although frequent complaints were now heard from the English Staff and some local Trustees about want of discipline of which nobody ever heard ten years ago. The "Tutors" who are members of the English Staff get miserable doles of Rs. 30 for looking after discipline—which is as fond an illusion as ever deceived mankind—and the "Assistant Tutors" get a similar pittance of Rs. 25 a month for doing work which senior students used to do before quite as efficiently and far more pleasantly, without any payment. The besetting sin of the Aligarh administration is not that it is pound-foolish, but that it is not penny-wise. Large enough sums in the aggregate are frittered away in petty doles grudgingly given and thanklessly received. The Committee that drew up the Constitution of the proposed University decided to do away with "Assistant Tutors," and to spend part of the saving thus effected in raising the allowance of the "Tutors"—each of whom would be a "Warden" looking after the residential discipline of a Hostel or Court of 150 students—from Rs. 30 to an average of Rs. 150 per mensem. We hope that the claim of the Assistant Professors—who are now Assistant Tutors as well—to some compensation will not be overlooked. But the substitution of the senior students for them, and the increase in the responsibility of the Tutors—who would become Wardens—corresponding with a very great increase in their allowances, is sure to result in greater efficiency and discipline, and would increase the opportunities of students in the management of their own affairs. We hope the scheme of the Wardens and Hostels would be brought into force next April for at present money is being sadly wasted.

A noteworthy fact, which, however, the Trustees seem never to have considered at all, is that, although vast sums are spent on College buildings, not a pie is included in the Budget. A Building Committee, of which non-Trustees are also occasionally members and even office bearers, is the sole authority entrusted with the expenditure of the building grant, and no part of this expenditure ever comes under review of the Trustees who are the Governors of the College. But these *jaivant* rulers are quite content if the Mayors of the Palace and the Peshawas rule while they only reign, and it matters not if plans, estimates and specifications are all regarded as superfluous.

Although the attendance was abnormally good, the Budget was a dull affair and was passed without any discussion. What, however, lent some interest to the meeting was the expected discussion on the Constitution Committee's Draft of a Constitution for the University. But beyond a few preliminary skirmishes nothing of any importance took place with regard to the Constitution on the 8th instant, and when the Trustees met again on the 9th their number had dwindled down to 9, although the local Trustees alone number no less than 15. But this tale of absentee government is an old one and would last as long at least as the Life Trustees. The discussion of the Constitution was not only conspicuous for the absence of the Trustees, but also for the oddity of the procedure. About half a dozen resolutions, some of them even unintelligible, were on the agenda, but they stood there without proposer or seconder. Again, it was objected that if carried they would alter the present Constitution of the College and could not therefore be discussed in any but the Annual Meeting. To this the Honorary Secretary replied that these resolutions were not intended to have any legal effect but were meant to be only feelers. In other words, the Board of Trustees converted itself into a debating society. It had a preliminary canter before the real race of the Annual Meeting. But in its result it failed to be even that. Out of 91 Trustees only nine or less than a tenth were present to discuss the Constitution. About 15 more had formed some opinion or other without any discussion and had sent written votes. But 18 had sent proxy votes, and the Honorary Secretary held no less than 15 of these. As many as 50 had not troubled themselves to express any opinion at all!

It is not difficult to imagine the kind of discussion that could take place between 9 men, one of whom counted for no less than 16. It was not merely a case of x, y and z , but of x, y and z with varying powers. The discussion began as an argument, but had soon to sink

into an entreaty and possibly even into deception. Thousands of people interested in the Moslem University scheme would be anxious to know what formed the chief the subject of discussion. Was it the powers of the Court, or its relation to the Senate? Was it the Chancellor's veto or previous approval, of the qualifications of the Vice-Chancellor? Was it the colour test for the offices of Provost and Professors, or the allotment of the seats among the electorates? Was it the high limit of the landowners' cess or the separate electorate for Ulama? Was it the eligibility of women for election to the Court or the composition of the Joint Board? To cut this speculation short, we must say that it was nothing of the sort at all. The only question which appeared important and worthy of consideration to the Trustees was whether the present Trustees should exist forever, or gradually disappear. And they decided this momentous question not by discussing it, but, to begin with, by counting the votes. The first resolution was in favour of adopting the Draft Constitution as it stood and the voting was as follows—

	For	Against
Present	3	5
Written votes	9	5
	12	10

But it was the proxies that came like Blucher's troops and won the Battle of Waterloo. There was a solitary proxy in favour of the resolution and 17 against it. So the motion was lost by a majority of 27 against 13. After this several amendments were moved and lost, thanks to the Honorary Secretary's 15 proxies, although two-thirds of the members present voted for an increase in the allotment of the Old Boys. The only amendment that was accepted was against giving full powers to the Constitution Committee to modify the Draft as it liked. The alternative resolution was then passed—in virtue of the proxies, of course—accepting the whole Draft excepting the provisions made therein for the gradual disappearance of Life Trustees. Another resolution authorising the Life Trustees to resign after five years was carried with the help of the proxies and some written votes, although two-thirds of the members present regarded it as wholly superfluous, in view of the already existing right of the Trustees to resign whenever they choose to do so. It was almost by an accident that the proxies did not carry the day altogether by perpetuating the present system of co-optation by the Life Trustees which would have nullified the creation of independent electorates. Be that as it may, they won as splendid a victory as Blenheim. Nine Trustees sat to discuss a life and death question—the life and death of 91 Trustees—and the *vis inertiae* of the proxies decided their doom. The Life Trustees—after mature deliberation, no doubt—have decided to live! *Long live the Life Trustees!*

Verse.

My Dream.

None wandered on the pathway where we were ;
 Although it seemed the fairest pathway there .
 With blossoms growing wild on either side—
 Resplendent colorings of bright springtide
 Ours was no mere acquaintanceship of chance ;
 With hearts too full for even utterance
 We walked in silence ever on and on ;
 Only we two—My love and I—alone,
 And yet together in a wondrous land .
 Speaking no words but walking hand in hand.
 Twin souls in understanding each with each.
 Learning what perfect silence has to teach
 Now and again we paused awhile, to view
 The beauties that around our pathway grew,
 Inhaling the sweet scent at ev'ry turn,
 Then seeking something more from which to learn,
 One flower I saw—than all the rest more fair—
 'Twas new in coloring—exotic—rare .
 Then in my ecstasy the silence broke,
 And giving voice to thought, so I awoke
 And knew 'twas but a dream.

W. K. G.

The War Supplement.

The News of the War.

REUTER wired from Rome, 11th November.—There was a fight in Tripoli, yesterday, lasting seven hours. The Turks made a desperate effort to recover the fort at Hamidieh, but were repulsed. Arabs made a series of attacks at Tripoli, on the 11th November upon several fronts, and again gathered at the oasis, firing on the Italian rear. The attacks were repulsed. An expedition will be despatched to clear out the oasis. Reuter wired from Malta.—An Austrian steamer arriving from Tripoli reports that the fighting on Friday was of the fiercest description. The Arabs made savage rushes close to the Italian trenches and many hand-to-hand combats took place. There were heavy casualties on both sides. Refugees arrived at Malta declare that Friday's fighting at Tripoli was as fierce as on the 23rd ultimo. The Turks and Arabs made two attacks on the Italian lines at Tripoli on the 12th instant but were repulsed. Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The Powers' reply to the Porte's protest against the execution of Arabs in Tripoli on the ground that it is in contravention of the Hague Convention of 1907, states that while the Powers are unable to take other action they will call the attention of the Italian Government to the charges made.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 15th instant.—Official telegrams from Tripoli describe the continuance of Turkish attacks on Italian lines. It is stated that the Italians have sent an artillery and an infantry to reinforce the troops at Sidi Messari where they also mounted searchlights. The enemy, however, made a further attack yesterday afternoon. Torrential rains are falling at Tripoli.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Tripoli, October 17

I HAVE already referred to the excellent discipline in the Italian Army, which is the more remarkable as all the units are composite—that is, the battalions have been brought up to war strength by detachments of men from all over Italy who are still serving with the colours. The Reservists who have been called up are organized as special battalions to replace the deficit of troops in Italy, and only a few have been used to complete the Service battalions. Personally, I never remember having soldiered with a lighter-hearted or better-natured force. The sentries, even, challenge you with a smile. The men have not, of course, yet experienced the real rigours of a desert campaign, but there is already sufficient discomfort under a midday North African sun to try the temper of men who in large numbers are enclosed in a limited space.

Benghazi, October 22

The Turkish garrison of Tripoli, though numbering more than 3,000 men and supported by defensive works, offered no resistance to the Italians and preferred, with good reason, retirement into the interior to a glorious death on the shore. At Benghazi things passed very differently. The 250 or 300 Turkish soldiers quartered there and above all, the Arabs from the city and suburbs fought throughout the whole day with extraordinary tenacity, carrying on a desperate struggle even when their defeat was certain with heroic self-sacrifice.

By half-past 7 on the morning of the 19th the Italian Fleet had taken up its battle formation in front of Benghazi, the Vittorio Emanuele, Amalfi, Roma, Napoli, and Etruria in the first line, the other ships in the second line with the transports. At 8 o'clock the bombardment began, shells falling for 20 minutes on the barracks and Juliana Point, but sparing the town. Meanwhile, the transports were discharging troops into barges and landing parties from the cruisers and battleships were crowding into their boats. At 9.25 the first boat's crew reached the shore, some 1,200 yards beyond Juliana. While some of the escorting boats protected the placing of five pontoons for the use of the landing parties, others raked the Turkish post on Juliana Point.

A launch was now sent towards the town beach to discover whether the city had been evacuated, when it had almost reached the beach volleys were fired from the jetty and from trenches dug in a square that separates the Custom House from the town. The warships answered the rifle fire immediately, and in a few minutes the Custom House building was a heap of ruins.

About 11 o'clock the Arabs of Benghazi decided to come to the assistance of the Turkish post on the promontory. One could see them marching in little groups along the narrow strip of land separating the bay from the lake within short range of the ships' guns. Big shells fell round them. Whole groups were mown down. I watched one horseman advancing at a walking pace. Several guns made him their target, but in spite of the rain of projectiles he neither checked nor hastened his horse's pace. At

last the black smoke of a shell hid him from sight, and he was seen no more. Few of his heroic companions succeeded in gaining the comparative shelter of Juliana Point.

Meanwhile, the disembarkation was being concluded. At about 3 o'clock General Ameglio, who commanded the landing force, had at his disposal two battalions of Marines, four battalions of Infantry, drawn from the 4th and 63rd Regiments, and two batteries of mountain artillery. Leaving two battalions in reserve of the landing place, he moved towards the Berka barracks, the main objective of the attack. A little earlier a well-aimed shot from the Admiral's ship had destroyed the central part of the barracks and brought down the Turkish flag floating above it—a fortunate omen of success. The progress of the Italians was slow but steady. The enemy, Turks and Arabs mingled together, disputed every foot of the ground. The bayonet had to be employed to drive them out of their wretched, hastily dug trenches, three lines of which had to be carried in succession before the barracks were reached and stormed. Even then the town itself remained unconquered.

So ended the first battle which the Italians have fought in the Tripolitaine. The enemy's organization was rudimentary and their armament mediocre, but the Italian troops gave proof of their dash and endurance, and the landing operations were carried out with celerity and precision through a sea which was running fairly high and within range of the enemy's fire.

Constantinople, October 24.

THE decision of the second Bureau of the Chamber, which the Chamber of Deputies entrusted with the examination of the petition submitted by the Tripoli Deputies demanding the impeachment of Hakkı Pasha and the members of his Cabinet, is awaited with considerable interest owing to the fact that the Bureau in question includes the majority of the leaders both of the Committee Bloc and of the Opposition. The Bureau, which is now invested with the functions of a Parliamentary Commission, has summoned Ibrahim Pasha, ex-Commandant of the Tripoli garrison, to give evidence on Thursday.

The rumour which has obtained currency both here and in the European Press that Rifaat Pasha is likely to be impeached with his quondam colleagues has caused great surprise in official circles. It is pointed out that the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs was aware of the danger of Italian aggression in Tripoli as early as February of this year, when he submitted a memorial to his colleagues in which, after giving reasons for believing in the imminence of the Italian danger, he urged the Government, while doing all in its power to avoid offending Italian susceptibilities, to take immediate and energetic military measures to safeguard the province against invasion.

The Turkish group of the Interparliamentary Union yesterday received from the Grand Vizier the Government's approval of the proposed tour in Europe in favour of a settlement of the dispute with Italy by arbitration. The Government, while heartily desiring such an issue, cannot officially appeal for arbitration while the possibility of mediation exists.

A deputation composed of five or six members of the Senate and the Chamber, with Suleiman Bustani Effendi, president of the Interparliamentary group, will probably be chosen in the next two days. It will probably leave on Saturday for Bukarest, and thence visit Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, St Petersburg, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, The Hague, Brussels, Berne, Paris, and London. In each capital a member of the local Interparliamentary group will be added to the Ottoman delegation.

Rome, October 23,

The following telegram of Sunday's date has been received here from Tripoli. Yesterday two nuns asked to be allowed to go on boardship to return to Derna. They related that, having been thrown into prison by the Turks at Derna, they were liberated by some Arabs, out of gratitude for services rendered by them in the past.

The sisters stated that they learned of the landing of the Italians at Derna by a wireless message received on board the battleship *Napoli*, in which they were brought to Tripoli.

Rome, October 23,

An official telegram from Tripoli states that Captain Piazza carried out a number of evolutions with a Bleriot aeroplane, filling the Arabs with profound astonishment and extreme terror, the aviator's flight being attributed by them to supernatural agency.

According to the *Tribuna*, Captain Piazza found four Turkish camps situated about eight miles beyond the Italian outposts. One

of these camps was quite large, and an enormous tent, obviously that of the Commander, stood out distinctly beneath some palm trees.

Some idea of the damage which Turkey can inflict on Italy by her commercial boycott can be obtained from a consular report on the trade of Salonika for last year. This shows that goods valued at £247,000 came from Italy into that port alone.

Geneva, October 21.

It is not generally known that Turkey does not recognise the Red Cross in time of war from a religious motive, but it is owing to the delay of the Powers which signed the Convention of Geneva in replying to the Note of June 1910 of the Ottoman Government to the Swiss Federal authorities that an understanding has not been arrived at.

The Sublime Porte stated that it would protect the "Red Cross" on the condition that the "Red Crescent" would be respected to an equal degree by the European Powers. The proposition was communicated to the various Powers, but so far only a few have accepted the proposal, and no definitive reply has been sent to Constantinople.

Constantinople, October 24

By slow degrees news of what has actually happened at Benghazi comes through. The more we hear, the worse appears to be the plight of the Italians. There seems to be some confirmation of the report that many Italians were made prisoners. In any case, it is believed, that Admiral Aubry, the Italian Commander, has asked for immediate reinforcements, and describes the Italian position at Benghazi as grave. This is chiefly because the Arab and Turkish forces in the hinterland are rapidly gathering. The various Embassies here have received news from their Consuls in Tripoli to the effect that the Italians suffered heavy losses.

Many Egyptian sheikhs and princes in Cairo have pointed out that since the Egyptians helped Turkey to conquer Tripoli centuries ago, they should now come forward to help her to retain it. They have sent a telegram to the British asking for intervention and they have subscribed large sums of money for Turkey's war funds. Many of the Egyptian nobles have offered pure Arab horses to the Turkish Government. Money is pouring into the Ottoman Bank here from all parts of the Empire, much of it coming by telegraph orders.

Turkey holds to her determination to dismiss all the Italian officials on the Baghdad Railway, in spite of vigorous German protests. Germany does not oppose the dismissal of ordinary workmen, but holds that the higher officials could not be replaced, and that heavy loss to the railway would result. This loss Turkey would have to refund.

The Servian Government continues the mobilisation of the Army in spite of friendly assurances.

Constantinople, October 24.

I learn from a trustworthy source that a proposal has been made by Great Britain, Russia, and France in full agreement, with regard both to the war and the Balkans.

The following are the terms of this joint proposal:

Tripoli to be annexed by Italy, but with the Sultan's Khalifate maintained.

The integrity of the Turkish Empire to be guaranteed.

A federation of all the Balkan States, putting a stop to their plans for arming against each other.

A loan of £50,000,000 to be raised for public works in Turkey.

The Grand Vizier has requested the Sheikh-ul-Islam to issue a proclamation ordering the Holy War propaganda to cease.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam refused, whereupon a meeting was held at which 360 members of the Mussulman priesthood were present, and the Grand Vizier's order was upheld. The meeting also declared its readiness to welcome such a federation as proposed by the three Powers, provided that the details of such an arrangement could be made acceptable to all concerned. It was also pointed out that there would be grave danger to Turkey in the event of a Holy War.

Vienna, October 25.

It is rumoured here in diplomatic circles, and the rumour seems to be by no means devoid of foundation, that a special exchange of views is taking place between Count Aehrenthal and several representatives of the Great Powers in the hope of finding a basis for eventual mediation between Italy and Turkey. How far this exchange of views has proceeded and what its results will be are for the moment questions comparatively unimportant in view of the undoubted fact that would-be mediators are confronted now as before by the same dilemma—Italy demands complete sovereignty over Tripoli, while Turkey declines to contemplate any settlement on such a basis.

In these conditions even those diplomatists, who originally perceived that the only method of obtaining a speedy peace would

be for the Great Powers to place Turkey in the position of having to submit to *faits accomplis*, are now tempted to argue that after all Italy would perhaps do well to leave Turkey some shred of sovereignty. They express doubt whether the Great Powers would long tolerate the extension of operations to the Aegean, by which Italy believes it possible to secure Turkish acceptance of her terms. Finally, they suggest that the protraction of the state of war and the commercial loss it involves for Italy might have so serious an effect upon Italian public opinion as to oblige Italy in the long run to concede what she had better grant gracefully at the outset.

It is greatly to be feared that in quarters where these arguments are put forward, and where it is claimed that Italy must above all avoid proclaiming her sovereignty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica without the previous mediation of the Powers, the position of Italy is seriously misapprehended.

Italian determination to settle the ownership of Tripoli once for all without fictions or fables is, I believe, irrevocable, and is founded not merely on the whim of a Government, but on the settled resolve of an entire people, which instinctively regards its present enterprise as the defence of a vital interest, and as the greatest national effort put forth since the accomplishment of its unity. The Italian Government cannot, even if it would, consent to the retention by Turkey of any sign of suzerainty, and feels sure of national support in preferring to settle the matter once for all, no matter at what cost and risk, rather than to leave open the door to future chicanes and complications.

In view of the attitude which diplomacy seems now disposed to adopt, there is strong reason to believe that the only chance of a speedy peace lies in the continuance by Italy of the bold policy hitherto pursued. The proclamation of her sovereignty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica would at least create diplomatically an accomplished fact, from which no sane diplomatist or statesman could expect her to recede. The Turks might then regain the perception, of which diplomatic wavering is beginning to deprive them, that, whatever the initial vicissitudes of the Italian occupation, there is for Italy in this matter no going back, and that the wisest policy for Turkey would, therefore, be to make the best terms possible with her adversary either directly or by mediation.

In Germany and Austria-Hungary, especially in Germany, where, in consequence of the Morocco crisis and of the war, trade is stagnating, a lively need of peace is felt, but the only means by which peace can be obtained seem not to be discerned. If vacillation and a hypocritical appearance of impartiality on the part of the Great Powers cause Turkey to believe that, by encouraging local resistance in Tripoli, and by adopting obstructive tactics in Europe, Italy can be brought to her knees the consequences cannot fail to be disastrous.

Vienna, October 26.

The difficulties experienced by the Italians in landing at Benghazi and the combined attack of Arabs and Turks upon the Italian camp at Tripoli cause the unofficial Austrian Press to crow with joy at scoring the bitter bit. Sneering references to Adowa and to "Italian disillusionment" at this serious disturbance of a military promenade garnish comment upon the fighting, and reveal a state of mind that previously sought satisfaction in the unreserved publication of mastodontic Turkish untruths.

This subdued ill-will is not devoid of political significance. The journals which display it most freely are rather exponentials of North German or "Young Turkish" views than of the doctrine of the Ballplatz. It would not be surprising were an attempt presently to be made in certain quarters to argue that, since Italy encounters resistance her claim to complete sovereignty is untenable. The logic of the situation points the other way. If Italy was determined to assert complete sovereignty over a country to be *ex hypothesi* occupied with little resistance, how much stronger must be her determination to take complete formal possession of territory she will have had to conquer. But in the present situation logic counts less than strength of will and power to execute a settled purpose—and it is precisely these factors which malicious references to Adowa tend to obscure.

Adowa was a defeat suffered by 13,000 badly-led Italians at the hands of 40,000 well-led Abyssinians fighting in their own mountains, excellently armed, and provided with artillery, in the use of which they had been exercised by French instructors. The Italians left 5,000 dead on the field, the Abyssinian victors nearly double that number. Save in regard to the supreme command and to the political intrigues that followed, the defeat, though a military disaster, was no disgrace to Italy. Unfortunately, it bulked so large in the eye of Europe that the previous three years of brilliant and successful warfare against Abyssinia and against the Mahdists were totally forgotten, and few military experts remember to-day the battles of Agordat, Sabderat, and Kassala, or the smart actions of Coatit and Senafch, that abundantly proved the ability of Italy both to create colonial forces, and to deal with a valiant indigenous foe.

The desire to obliterate the memory of Adowa undoubtedly burns in the Italian Army to-day, and the very strength and quality

of the expeditionary corps dispose of the insinuation that Italy anticipated only a military promenade. They are, further, an earnest of Italy's settled determination not to acquiesce in any partial sovereignty, no matter from what quarter suggestions to the contrary may come. Were the five Powers to ask Italy to-day to accept a settlement on the basis of a nominal Ottoman suzerainty, they would meet with a clear and firm refusal. There is reason to believe this fact to be so well understood by the majority if not by all European Governments, that it will probably form the starting-point of any mediation or intervention that may presently take place. To judge by the tone of the declarations made in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments on Tuesday, this is also the standpoint of the Austro-Hungarian Government, which would scarcely have authorized a statement so friendly to Italy had it intended to promote or to take part in an international exchange of views or international representations on a basis which Italy could but consider unfriendly.

Such representations or attempts at intervention, when made, will therefore require to be made at Constantinople rather than at Rome. The sooner and the more emphatically they are made the better for all concerned. Italy has no intention of extending operations to the Aegean as long as the attitude of Turkey remains as moderate as hitherto; but every day of war increases the risk that operations may automatically extend themselves to the Balkan States and diminishes Italian readiness to disburse the millions which Turkey so urgently requires.

London.

The Outlook in its issue of 28th October says —

"Special information from Egypt gives us news which may change the whole course of the war in Tripoli. A fortnight ago we were informed under promise of non-publicity that the famous Enver Bey, the purest spirit of the Young Turk movement, a stainless Moslem, and an able soldier, was hastening in a careful disguise across Egypt in order to take command in Tripoli, and to bring the great confederation of the Senoussi to the defence of the Crescent. Enver Bey's unquestioned orthodoxy and honour make him almost sacred in the tents of the desert.

"We now learn that, met by select escorts of Senoussi riders, Enver Bey has passed by camel relay through Egypt, has met the Grand Sheikh of the Senoussi, and has united the whole of the hinterlands in the Holy War against Italian invaders. It is also quite out of the power of the Cairo Government, no matter whether illing, to prevent constant communication across the Egyptian-Tripolitan frontiers. Enver Bey is of the stuff of Abd-el-Kader, and French military history can teach Italy what that may mean."

Milan, October 27.

All the efforts of the Press Association in Rome, under the presidency of Signor Barzilai, a deputy, and several other deputies and senators, besides the protest of the whole of the Press, have proved unavailing to move Signor Gioiotti from his firm determination to maintain a strict censorship over all war news and prevent correspondents, both Italian and foreign, from following the campaign.

To the examples cited of correspondents being allowed to report other campaigns, the Government retorts by adhering to its opinion that the United States would have subdued the Filipinos with greater ease if the news despatched by war correspondents to the American papers had not been retransmitted to the insurgents.

England, it is contended, would have subdued the Boers more easily if the excessive liberty of the Press had been curtailed, while in 1904 Russia received valuable assistance through the indiscretions of the war correspondents with the Japanese notwithstanding the proverbial secrecy of the latter.

When informed that its action would result in a hostile Press at home and abroad, the Government rejoined that it preferred this to risking the safety of the army of occupation.

The Turkish Embassy asks to contradict a report that the Italian expedition to Tripoli was instigated by the fear that the Ottoman Government was about to lease Benghazi to Germany. No such scheme was entertained by the Ottoman Government.

London.

A DETAILED and uncensored account of the situation in Tripoli during the early part of the week covered by the mail newspapers is now to hand. The writer is Mr Herbert F. Baldwin, one of the special correspondents sent to Tripoli by the Central News Agency. Finding it impossible to get his message through from Tripoli owing to the strictness of the censorship, Mr. Baldwin took steamer to Malta and handed it in at the office of the Eastern Telegraph Company.

The following is the text of Mr. Baldwin's message:—"The situation in Tripoli this week is very serious, and fears of massacre are entertained among the European residents, since a Holy War has been proclaimed by the natives of Benghazi and Tripoli. The left line of the Italian defence is being hard pressed at Sharashett. Should it be broken matters will be grave indeed, and the Consuls

realising this fact, are making arrangements such as, it is hoped, will secure the safety of their respective nationals.

"The enemy's force at Sharashett is a combined one of Turks and Arabs. Heavy firing went on, on both sides all day Monday and all day Tuesday, and on Tuesday afternoon an Italian warship off the coast fired shrapnel into the enemy's lines at Sharashett.

"During the fighting on Monday and Tuesday (23rd and 24th October) 400 Italians were killed and wounded, among them being practically a whole company of Bersaglieri. All correspondents have been strictly forbidden to communicate these casualties. The great majority have been bound in honour to divulge nothing as to losses or movements of troops, but as I personally did not sign the document which other correspondents were called upon to sign, I do not consider myself debarred from cabling you the facts.

"The retreat of the Italians on Tuesday night is being interpreted by the town Arabs at Tripoli as a first indication of victory for the Turkish side. These Arabs have been causing trouble all the week, and have been stabbing Italian soldiers whom they have encountered in the streets.

"At midday on Monday they began shooting from the flat tops of the houses. There is no doubt that their action was preconcerted with the Turkish forces outside the town, and that the shooting began at a signal which the latter gave by arrangement. The streets were crowded at the time, and a wild panic broke out among the residents, who fled for safety in all directions.

"The rising was quickly quelled. Soldiers were sent to guard all the entrances to the town, and they had Maxim guns with them. Numbers of Arabs were taken prisoners, and six of them were shot early on the following morning.

"Later on the day on Tuesday a proclamation was posted in the public places prohibiting all natives from carrying firearms or knives. It was intimated that forty-eight hours would be allowed for the delivery of weapons to the Italian authorities, and that after the expiration of that period severe penalties would be inflicted upon any who might be found with weapons in their possession. The proclamation further announced that no natives would be allowed in the streets after night-fall. At the same time a search was made in all native houses and numbers of firearms were discovered. These were all destroyed."

SUMMARY JUSTICE.

"These measures, however, failed to put a check to Arab lawlessness, and on Tuesday night two Red Cross men who were carrying wounded Italian soldiers into Tripoli were attacked and killed by Arabs. I saw summary justice meted out to one of the Arab prisoners. This was a kavass employed at the German Consulate, who had stabbed a soldier during the rising of Monday. He was tried publicly in the street and half an hour later he was taken on to the beach in sight of all who cared to watch and there shot. The scene was a peculiarly horrible one. The Arab, who was absolutely impassive, stood at a distance of only twelve yards from a file of nine soldiers. At the word of command a volley was fired, but not a single bullet struck the doomed man, who, so far as I could see, never flinched. Then there was a second volley and the Arab fell. There was some slight movement of his limbs as he lay on the sand, and two soldiers, going up close to the body fired one revolver shot each into the head.

"The body was left where it fell for the inspection of the Arab populace, who certainly seemed impressed by the execution.

"A force of five thousand Tuaregs is reported advancing on Tripoli. At the time I left it was said to be within two days' camel journey of the Turkish right wing. The report, of course, only serves to increase the fear of Tripoli's defenders that their left will be broken, and there is a general belief that the week-end will see a big battle.

"As I cabled you briefly at the time, a further Italian detachment arrived at Tripoli on Wednesday. It consisted of eleven hundred troops, with thirty guns, and the disembarkation took place close to Sharashett, with the obvious purpose of strengthening the Italian lines at the most critical point."

PANIC STRICKEN ITALIANS.

Another apparently independent account of the fighting was published by the Paris *Excelsior*. The correspondent says, "that in the attack just outside Tripoli the Italians fought desperately against superior numbers, until they were more or less surrounded by the Arabs, who had crept up under cover and fallen upon the sentinels, one of whom was found with 27 dagger wounds. It was only after the company of Bersaglieri was decimated that reinforcements of artillery and cavalry enabled the position to be held. The fighting continued all day, and out of the Bersaglieri only 40 men remained, almost all of whom were wounded. The captain and one of the lieutenants were amongst the first to fall.

"Whilst this sharp fighting was going on outside Tripoli," the correspondent says, "we had the extraordinary sight of an army of 25,000 men literally driven mad with fear by a hundred or so of

Arabs who slipped into the town armed with revolvers. The alarm was given near the Customs, where the expelled Turks were being shipped on board the *Galata*. Suddenly shots were fired. The crowd in a panic fled in all directions. Thousands of people rushed to take refuge at the French Consulate whilst the Italian soldiers who were the most terrified of all fired at haphazard. Our Consul M. Séon had the doors thrown open, and ordered the Kavass to hoist the French flag, but as he was doing so he was saluted with a salvo from the Italians concealed on the roof of the military hospital. Later on the French governess and children of the Consul were threatened as they tried to reach the terrace of the Consulate. Drastic repressive measures are now being taken. All the native population has been arrested and shut up in the farms to allow of a general search for concealed arms. The Arabs are only allowed in the streets with a written permit, and the town is in a state of siege, nobody being allowed out after seven in the evening."

London, November 3

Despite the reiterative denials of the Italian Government fresh stories continue to come through with regard to the alleged massacre of Arabs by the Italian soldiery. M. Cossiga, the special correspondent of the *Paris Excelsior*, prefaces his letter by saying that he instructively attenuates the fact, but that Tripoli has just been the theatre of one of the reddest dramas of military history. He goes on: Day and night the cannon proclaimed the ubiquity of untiring death. It spared none, but it was not this that upset us, for we were at war, and before coming here we were prepared for the groans of the wounded and the sight of the dead. But who could ever have imagined what we have had to look on. Old men, women, and children have been massacred and heaped in piles of mangled flesh. Whilst going away from the cavalry post I came upon a hundred corpses. I passed an Arab village and came across a whole family dead. One little girl thrust her head into a box to avoid seeing anything. Bullets came whistling fast, and I started away to find myself near the prison hospital. The prisoners here had revolted and killed the colonel and some officers. Every one of them had been shot, and walls were bespattered with brains and prints of hands in blood. Whatever way I take to avoid the corpses I still find them round the fountains in the middle of the market place, within a couple of hundred yards from the Governor's palace. His explanation is that the Italians lost their heads entirely. This sort of madness that took hold of them is their only excuse. They had come to Tripoli certain of a victory in overwhelming force, but they had found a subtle foe. They always felt the unseen presence of the Arab, hidden, soft-footed, and ready with his dagger.

Notwithstanding this crop of false reports, it is clear that Italy has a gigantic task in front of her. That this is realised to some extent is evident from the announcement that the Ministry of War has ordered the recall to the colours of reservists of the 1889 class numbering 90,000 men. These will replace the troops which are about to be sent to Africa, the expeditionary force in Tripoli and Cyrenaica will be brought up to a total strength of 100,000 men of whom between 30,000 and 40,000 will be required for garrisoning and guarding the coast towns, the remainder being available for the advance into the hinterland. Altogether there will be four full divisions, each of 25,000 men, and 30 batteries of artillery. Another cavalry corps will be sent.

Meanwhile peril is making itself manifest, and this week the police and carabinieri have been set to work to discover the identity and *modus operandi* of certain anarchists, who are known to be carrying on an extensive propaganda among the rank and file of the troops, especially the reservists, inciting the latter, once they are under arms, to fire upon their own officers instead of the enemy. The news of the existence of such traitors is causing a violent explosion of indignation throughout the country, and the newspapers are loudly demanding that Masetti, the anarchist, who, at Bologna, fired on his own lieutenant-colonel, Gueseppe Stroppa, wounding him on the shoulder, be immediately court-martialled and shot in the back as an example and a warning to any who may entertain similar intentions.

The position of affairs in Tripoli grows increasingly difficult to understand. Definite and detailed statements of one day from one side meet within 24 hours with emphatic contradictions from the other side, and this procedure has been going on for the past seven or eight days with monotonous regularity. For instance, on Monday Reuter's correspondent in a telegram from Tripoli by way of Malta, declared that for three days last week the Italians had engaged in a systematic slaughter of Arabs, sparing neither women nor children when the spirit of massacre seized them. The scene of the alleged carnage was a great oasis which occupies many square miles between Tripoli town and the Italian front to the south. This oasis is the home of the wealthy residents and of a large portion of the Arab population; and the Italians thinking that their proclamation promising an amnesty to all who surrendered arms was sufficient had allowed the Arabs to remain there, and for some time they appeared peaceful and content with the change of Government. During the fighting last week, however, while the Bersaglieri were repelling the attack in front they were suddenly and furiously

attacked by large numbers of Arabs from the oasis. Eventually both attacks were repulsed, but with heavy Italian losses, including many massacred while on their way through the oasis to the front. During this fighting, says Reuter, there was an outbreak in the town itself, and the troops having recovered from their surprise rushed forth and killed every Arab they met, shooting many in masses. Orders were given, continues the correspondent, to exterminate all Arabs found in the oasis. For three days this dread task continued. Parties of soldiers penetrated through that portion of the oasis, shooting indiscriminately all whom they met without trial and without appeal. Innocent and guilty were wiped out. Many of those killed were quite young, and many women perished in the confusion scarcely any escaped. Nothing more deplorable has been witnessed in war for many a day. Four thousand Arabs calculated to have been killed is categorically denied, though these statements purported to have come through Reuter. It is suggested in several quarters that they actually emanated from a Turkish source in Malta, and yesterday they drew from official sources in Italy an emphatic and categorical denial. The Italian Premier, Signor Gioiotti, states that it became an imperative necessity to purge the oasis of the traitors and to punish those of them who had committed some special criminal act. Those who during the fighting or immediately after were found with arms in their hands were shot, says the Premier; those who after a regular trial were found guilty of murder or of criminal acts of the kind were shot. Other Arabs arrested, because they had connived at the treachery and had contravened the order of the Governor for the surrender of all arms, were transported to the number of about 2,200 to Italian islands. On the days following some fresh partial outbreaks of revolts occurred and were repressed in the same way. Therefore there was no systematic slaughter of unarmed people or of women and children. There was no indiscriminate repression. As the attack upon the rear of our troops did not cease, it became necessary to demolish the walls, gardens, plantations, and everything in the oasis which might offer shelter to the rebels. This was not done until all inoffensive Arabs, women and children, had been removed from the oasis and brought in towards Tripoli. On the other hand, the reports of our wounded show that the enemy perpetrated upon them acts of atrocious infamy, as is proved by figures. Two companies of Bersaglieri of about 400 men lost more than 300 killed and had only fourteen wounded. This happened on the spot where we know the attack in the rear took place. And if one considers that our troops lost altogether 374 killed and little more than 150 wounded, it will be evident that such a result would have been impossible unless our wounded had been massacred during the unequal combat.

Another instance of the difficulty in learning what is really happening is afforded by the telegraphic news from Constantinople that after "gallant and desperate efforts in the course of which the Ottoman troops covered themselves in impishable glory, Tripoli has been retaken and the Italians driven from their stronghold, 5,000 being killed and 7,000 taken prisoners." This story was corroborated yesterday from Berlin, where telegrams were published declaring that the Turkish flag was now flying over four forts round Tripoli, that General Caneva had been taken prisoner, and that all the Benghazi forts were once more in the possession of the Turks. All these reports are emphatically declared to be devoid of the slightest foundation, and their origin has now been traced to the Committee of Union and Progress. From Constantinople came the news yesterday that in the Chamber, the President caused to be read a telegram from the Deputy of Tripoli, Suleiman El. Raruni, commanding the Arab Volunteers, which said "I reached the coast accompanied by the volunteers and delivered a formidable assault on the enemy, who were driven out of their entrenched positions. To-day I am marching on Tripoli, and thanks to Divine assistance shall enter the town." Meanwhile the Sultan has given orders that a message shall be sent to the heroes of Tripoli expressing his exceptional satisfaction at their success, and conveying the Imperial salutations.

The *Times* correspondent corroborated this slaughter story as also did the *Daily Mirror* photographer, who had indisputable evidence about the shooting of Arabs without trial in several photographs. The correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* adds a further statement that the Italians were ordered to shoot women and children. Owing to rigorous censorship none of these reports were published in the Italian Press, and great was the indignation when they learned of the outcry in the foreign Press and not less, it may be said incidentally, is their anger at the Government in preventing war news being published. Apparently Signor Gioiotti's explanation has been fully accepted by the British Government, for in face of the Premier's denials, says Mr. Asquith, there is nothing more to be said. There for the present the matter rests, but it is by no means ended.

(FROM THE "TIMES OF INDIA" CORRESPONDENT.)

There seems to be no serious development of affairs in the Red Sea. I referred in an earlier letter to the precautionary measures adopted by the Turks in Mokha and other Turkish ports with

a view to repel any attacks by Italy on these ports. The Turks have now increased the garrison of Mokha by some thousands of Imperial troops and Yemenite Volunteers and are reported to have despatched a force of Turkish troops and Arab Volunteers to the Shaikh Saeed Fortress, which is some distance from Perim. It seems unlikely, however, that the Turks will take any offensive action against Erythrea, unless Italy attacks any of their ports. The telegrams published in the Egyptian papers that the Turks have invaded Erythrea, in spite of the vigilance of Italian warships, finds no credence in well-informed circles here. The rumour that a large force of Abyssinian Muhammadans have advanced against Erythrea is also not confirmed. If, however, the Italian warships now in the Red Sea bombard Turkish ports it is possible that the Turks in Mokha may affect a landing in Ruhata, a place on the coast about 20 miles from Mokha within Italian limits, and from there advance on Massowa. In the meantime the Italian authorities in Erythrea are reported to have made similar preparations and are prepared for eventualities. They have now got four warships in the Red Sea. The Po, the Arithusa, Volturno and the Staffetta, and another Italian warship is expected in Massowa in a few days.

The Feeling in India.

THE following telegram has been sent to the Grand Vizier of Constantinople.—“Madras Persians congratulate Turkey on its victory over the forces of barbarous and brutal Italy. They hope that it will keep up the dignity of the Caliphate in saving Islam from the present peril.”

A great Town Hall meeting at Benares to express sympathy for the sufferers in the Turko-Italian war took place on the 13th November under the presidency of Mahamahopadya Rakhai Das Nayrana. The meeting was composed of Rajas, Moulvies, Mahamahopadys, and people of all classes and creeds. The hall was packed to its full. The meeting was opened by a speech from the Raja of Tahirpur who, on rising, was received with prolonged applause. The Raja said they felt, probably for the first time in the modern history of Hindustan, that Muhammadans, Christians and Hindus, are members of the one and the same house, limbs of the one and the same body, fingers of the one hand—the hand which holds the destiny of the land. The right hand has got a pain at this moment, and the left hand, the Hindus, by natural instinct, has now come forward to its side to soothe it. They appealed to the British Government to extend its hands of peace towards Tripoli, to separate the combatants and to stay the war. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—That the citizens of Benares assembled in the meeting unanimously resolve to co-operate with the Red Crescent Society to help the sufferers of the Turko-Italian War. Proposed by Raja Nittananda Sing, seconded by Moulvi Muhammad Umar, and supported by Moulvi Abdul Masud. “That an appeal be made to the Government of India to grant qualified Indians permission to help the wounded and the needy.” Proposed by Dr. Haji N. R. Ali, and seconded by Babu Gyanendra Lal Moitra. “That in view of the religious friction occurring in India from time to time, it is imperative that Indians, Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians and other sects, should unite together to form a permanent Society to amicably settle differences before they assume any harmful aspect, and that the presidents of the Society be elected by rotation from the above communities.” Proposed by Moulvi Ishaque Beg, seconded by Babu Kahi Prassanna Chatterjee, and supported by Babu Bhuth Nath Chatterjee. “That in view of the ever increasing difficulties caused by keeping the Hindu sea voyage question unsettled, this meeting is of opinion that the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal should take immediate steps to invite a conference of the leading pundits of India to pronounce their collective opinion definitely on the matter.” Proposed by Babu Doorga Charan Mukherji, Secretary, Samaj Raksa Sava, and seconded by Purshottam Bishu Dutt Dube. “That to carry out the intentions of the above resolutions a Central Committee be formed in Benares and that it be empowered to add to their number.” Proposed by Moulvi Abdul Hanud, and seconded by Babu Jogeshchandra Roy, Jale, Personal Assistant to the Maharaja of Mourbhanj. Telegrams and letters of sympathy were received from very many Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Nawabs and others, from out of which the following were read at the meeting:—His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, Sir Gurudas Banerji, the Maharaja of Susang, the Maharaja of Gidhour, the Hon. Syed Mohammed of Madras, Rajah Peary Mohan Mukerji, Syed Hassan Imam of Patna, Babu Sarodacharan Mitra, Nawab Hanud Ali, Mr. Syed Ahmed of Lucknow, Moulvi Nizamuddin Hasan, Dr. Satishchandra Banerji, Babu Jotindranath Roy, Moulvi Naziruddin Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the Red Crescent Society of Lucknow.

A mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Ullapara and its neighbouring villages was held to protest against the Italian war of aggression. About 500 Mussalmans assembled in the meeting. Great enthusiasm prevailed. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:—That prayers be offered in every Mosque for the victory of the Turkish Army, every day after prayer and especially after every Friday prayer, that the Italian goods be boycotted by

the Mussalmans, that subscriptions be raised and be sent to the Indian Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through the president, who was elected treasurer. The Poramanicks and Mundles promised to raise subscriptions from their villages every Friday after Friday prayers. After offering prayer for the success of Turkey the meeting dissolved.

The Feeling in Egypt.

“ALL Moslem countries are being affected by this Italian-Turkish war—Egypt particularly,” writes a resident in Egypt to the *Daily Mirror*. “A Beduin chief, who had been talking loudly in the bazaars about the preparations he was making to go to Tripoli, visited Lord Kitchener, at the latter’s request. He repeated his remarks after a little gentle persuasion, and Lord Kitchener said: ‘I’m glad to hear that you and your men like fighting. We must see about making room for you in the Egyptian army.’ As the dearest privilege of the Beduin is his exemption from military service, I rather fancy that less will be heard in future about the fighting proclivities of the Beduin chiefs.”

An exciting scene took place at the Egyptian Theatre, Cairo, where an Arabic play was being staged before a large audience. It was announced that between the third and fourth acts a native poet would recite some verses which he had recently composed dealing with the present situation of affairs in Egypt. After the curtain had fallen on Act III, the poet duly appeared at the footlights and proceeded to introduce himself to the expectant audience in a short speech. It appeared that he was an Arab follower of Sheikh Balalel-Cemeni, and that his name was Sheikh-el-Testazani.

Dressed in flowing Oriental robes, the Sheikh made a picturesque figure as he began to declaim his verses in sonorous Arabic phrases. The first three verses ran as follows:—

“Oh, people, of the Nile, that Sacred River, keep the Commandants of Allah, for Allah is Great!”

“We perceive a Dog, playing the trick of a Fox against the Lion that protects the Crescent and makes it victorious.”

“We ourselves are Young Lions, but without our Head we are unable to take our share with the rest of the World in winning Glory.”

What more the poet would have said nobody can tell, for at this moment there was a commotion at the door of the theatre, and the Mamour of the district was seen to force his way in at the head of a party of policemen. Striding to the front he ordered the frightened poet to come down from the stage and leave the theatre, which he did with the utmost expedition.

An immense number of poems on the subject have been produced in Egypt, says the *Egyptian Gazette* during the last few weeks. For instance, Khalil Effendi Matran, the well-known Syrian poet of Cairo, publishes a lengthy Arabic poem in the *Muayad* calling the nation to spare no efforts in supporting the Imperial Ottoman Government against the “aggressors.” The poet extols the heroism of the Arabs and the Turks who boast of a noble history full of glorious events of triumph and grandeur.

Hassan El Kayati, an Egyptian poet, publishes another poem in the *Lawa* on the same subject. He tells the Italians that Tripoli which they have been foolishly thinking to lie in the hollow of their hand is still as far from them as the sky. “The lions of Tripoli are always ready to devour the men of Italy.”

(FROM THE “NEAR EAST” CORRESPONDENT)

Cairo, October 2.

A QUESTION that the people of Egypt might be expected to know something about, but which in reality they know less than almost anyone else, is the war between Italy and Turkey—if war it may be called. To prove how little we know, a glance at the local papers will show that what is one day put forward as a fact is the next day authoritatively stated to be untrue. The native papers—or, to be more accurate, those having extreme tendencies—have not failed to seize the opportunity of finding fault with the Government for doing this or neglecting that. One, known as *Misr-el-Fatal*, which has distinguished itself hitherto by sailing as close to the wind as possible without capsizing, has at last been suppressed by the strong hand of the Prime Minister, Mohammed Pasha Said. The suppression took place under the law of 1881 and the subsequent decisions of the Council of Ministers relative thereto. The particular offence was the publication, as recently as the 4th instant, of an article of an extremely violent nature, attacking the Government and accusing it of taking the part of Italy against the Ottoman Empire. From the perfectly reasonable point of view of the Government the article was calculated to disturb the peace of the country, and, very rightly, the extinction of the paper followed. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the article in question; it is an ill-considered effusion, with nothing to recommend it—least of all truth. Without loss of time arrangements have already been made to replace *Misr-el-Fatal* by a paper, published hitherto as a weekly in Tanta,

known as *El-Adl*. This is the journal, as some of your readers may remember, that took the place of *Al-Alam* when it suffered suspension about eighteen months ago.

But, speaking generally, the war has caused practically no excitement and very little interest. As I have already indicated, we know nothing or next to nothing beyond the fact that the attitude of both the Egyptian and the Turkish Government, has been strictly correct in respect to the war. I have good reason to know that the Ottoman High Commissioner has called personally upon Lord Kitchener. What transpired has not as yet been made public, but in well-informed quarters it is believed that the Sublime Porte has, through its High Commissioner, expressed its appreciation of the position of neutrality Egypt has taken up.

Rumours have been in circulation that Turkey desired to draw upon Egypt for troops, the number of which has been variously stated as 10,000 and 18,000 men, also that Turkey intended to march her forces through Egypt to reach Tripoli. Those who have suggested such acts on the part of Turkey are evidently unaware, firstly, that they would constitute an act of war, and, secondly, that Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, purchased his independence many years ago, except in so far as concerned the suzerainty, which to-day is little more than nominal.

Reports, equally devoid of reason or foundation, have been put into circulation that certain of the lights on Egyptian lighthouses were not to be permitted to shine by order of the Turkish Government. *Al-Garida* pretends to voice the wishes of the Moderate party when it calls upon the Egyptian Government to obey the behests of Turkey, little dreaming that the alleged behests are purely imaginary. *Al-Alam*, priding itself as representing a national party which, as a matter of fact, has ceased to exist—the paper in reality being carried on by a group of lawyers, who use it as an advertising medium—bombastically declares that the Italians will find a ghastly death at the hands of the Turks who are anxiously awaiting them should they venture to land in Tripoli. This prophecy does not appear to have been borne out by past events. It is by such vapid efforts that the extreme Press has endeavoured to incite popular feeling on behalf of the Turks. But the people are clearly apathetic in regard to the whole question of the war, and the opinion is gaining ground that, given no complications from beyond, hostilities will not be greatly prolonged.

General Canova has obliged the war correspondents to sign a bond pledging their honour to abstain from sending any news except through the headquarter's staff. The Italian, French, and German representatives complied, but the British correspondents flatly refused, and are consequently expecting expulsion very shortly. This action is attributed to the fear of leakage of information regarding the mistakes made by the Italian forces. For instance, a large party of natives, mostly women, were returning from a funeral on Friday into the town of Tripoli and were challenged by Italian soldiers and asked to uncover their faces. They refused, on religious grounds, and were fired upon, one woman being killed and one wounded. Other incidents indicating bad treatment of the natives have aroused much indignation.

An Appeal to the Moslem World.

It is at a moment of great national danger that this appeal is being addressed to you. To-day, it is only a danger. To-morrow it might assume the form of a disaster and a calamity. May God therefore guide you to avert it!

There is no time for hesitation. Do not, therefore, indulge in discussing the importance of those that issue this appeal. It is a mere necessary formality that compels us to attach our names to it. Though it appears in our names, it is really the appeal of every Muslim to all other brother-Muslims.

Muslims in many parts of the world are busy devising means of rendering some service to an Islamic Empire in peril. We also, as Muslims from different parts of the world, beg to lay before you our humble scheme. We do not claim any originality for it. But we do claim that it is a scheme which, if worked out according to our reasonable expectations, will decisively demonstrate to the world the fact that Muslim solidarity is not a fable but a reality.

The scheme is simple but effective. It demands the simplest form of organisation and the organisation itself involves no expense. We propose that, on the day of *Eed-ud-Duha*, a collection be made in every mosque in the world for what we propose to call, "The Muslim World *Eed-ud-Duha* Turkish Navy Fund."

We are sending out this appeal to every Muslim newspaper, journal, and magazine that we know or have heard of. We request such newspapers, journals or magazines that do not receive this to pardon us for our omission and to oblige us by publishing it in their respective papers as soon as they become aware of it. We also beseech all Muslims that can read, to read it out to those that cannot; and all Muslims that hear of it to speak about and explain it to those that may have not.

To ensure some degree of uniformity in the systems of collections, we beg to draw your attention to what appears to us the simplest method of working out the scheme. We presume, however, that you will introduce into our proposals such changes and modifications as local conditions and circumstances might demand.

Let the congregation of each mosque appoint—do not waste time in proposing, seconding and voting—in consultation with the Imam, two, three four or more men (according to the size of the congregation) to be known as "collectors." Do not quarrel over who the collectors are and are not to be. All the Muslims of the world will share the honour that will be their due for having rendered a service to Islam. Do not, therefore, mar the grandeur of your work by coveting for false honours. On the day of the *Eed*, immediately after the prayers, let the collectors go round the congregation and collect what each has the power to give. Let then the collectors count up the whole amount obtained and the Imam of the mosque announce this at once to the congregation.

Next, take three plain sheets of paper and write on each the following particulars—

"The Muslim World *Eed-ud-Duha* Turkish Navy Fund"

Name of mosque . . . District in which situated . . . Name of city
Town or village . . . Country.

Amounted collected .

(gross, from which are to
be deducted postal and
other charges)

Collectors—

Witnesses { 1. Imam
2. . .

Of the three copies of this statement send one to the principal newspaper of the place, the second to the address of the convener mentioned under this appeal, and forward the third in a registered cover as well as the money collected to the address of—

Central Office of the
Panathi-Milliyya-i Jameeathi,
(National Service Association),
Constantinople

Do not send money in the form of notes, etc., enclosed in an envelope, but through the Postal Department or an accredited bank.

It now remains for us to appeal to you to do everything that lies in your power to make the scheme a thorough success. Do not escape your responsibilities by throwing in a copper as you would to a beggar in the street, but make one huge effort to give all you can as if it were to save your life, aye your honour, for we are inviting you to do no less than save your honour, without which your life is not worth living. Those of you that are living under non-Muslim Governments possess a certain amount of prestige amongst your rulers, not because you are Muslims, but because your co-religionists still count amongst the rulers of the world. Let these Muslim countries go, and your lot will be of the once great but now the most unfortunate of peoples—the Jews.

It is universally recognised in Europe that the only reason of the inability of Turkey to check the aggression of Italy to-day is her want of an efficient navy. There is all the truth in the statement of an important German paper, that six *Dreadnoughts* in possession of Turkey would have completely reversed the prospects of the present war. Let not this impotence last any longer. To-day it is Italy; to-morrow it might be another of the European powers, to whom, in the words of the *Taam*, "treaties are merely instruments of deception which may be destroyed when any advantage is to be gained thereby."

Turkish people, men and women, are doing their best to strengthen the hands of the Government by contributing to its finances. The Constantinople correspondent of an English paper reports that "keenest patriotism is being shown by all the Turkish women. Many of them have given their jewels, their fortunes, their valuable property, including priceless carpets, to swell the fund for equipping the fighting forces." The same correspondent adds that "one of the influential women has even addressed an open letter to her sisters and appeals to their patriotism and devotion to their country in these words:—'Whereas our men are far away fighting, helping to maintain our nation in its struggle against aggression, we women will defend it nearer home. We would even abandon our very children in their cradles and die from the enemy's bullets and bayonets, rather than see the sacred soil of our land trampled on by the enemy.'" The correspondent remarks that "her words are now ringing through the land."

Can the same pathetic words fail to excite your sympathy? "No," we say emphatically "No!" The spirit of Islam cannot be so insensitive. We invite you to demonstrate this to the world. As to the nature of your answer we have no doubts.

ABDUL LATHEEF SAYED, Convener
(Hyderabad, Deccan India).
SALAB-EL-AZM (Damascus, Syria).

KHAIL ALI (Constantinople).
HASAN IRADI (Candia, Crete).
MUSTAFA MAHER (Alexandria).
MIRZA SAGHIR BAIG (Kabul, Afghanistan).
HUSAIN NOSRAT (Cairo).

University Union,
Edinburgh, SCOTLAND.

19th October 1911

P.S.—All Muslim papers and other papers in sympathy with our object please copy.

[Ver] —We fear the despatch of funds from India to Turkey for raising a Navy will be an act against neutrality while the War lasts. But the idea of a collection on the Red day is a good one, and we hope efforts will be made to collect funds for the war sufferers of whom there must be thousands, thanks to the brutality of Italy. No Muslim can treat this Red as a festival while there is a single war sufferer unrelieved.
Ed. Comrade]

The Moslem League's Representation.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, FOREIGN OFFICE

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League to respectfully invite the attention of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the strong and natural feeling of indignation that has been aroused among the Muhammadan subjects of His Majesty in all parts of the world, and especially in India, at the attack on Turkey by a Christian Power which, whilst maintaining an appearance of friendliness, had been secretly preparing for a war of aggression with the avowed object of spoliation. The Committee view with grave apprehension this feeling, which they are sure will deepen and grow, if this one-sided war is allowed to continue to the disadvantage and humiliation of the Sultan people and dominions. As the seizure of Tripoli is represented by the Italians as a triumph of the Cross over the Crescent they fear an impression will be created in the Mussalman world that it is a religious war at which the rest of Christendom is looking on unmoved. The Committee believe the legacy of hatred and bitterness this impression will leave behind will be most deplorable from every point of view.

The Committee feel that our Empire has the greatest stake in the maintenance of peace in the Near East and Asia. They, therefore, earnestly beg to urge His Majesty's Government to use their good offices to bring about a termination of hostilities on terms which, whilst maintaining the integrity and the honour and prestige of the Ottoman Empire in the eyes of all Mussalmans, might satisfy legitimate Italian aspirations for economic privileges.

In submitting this respectful representation the Committee have especially in mind the interests of the British Empire and the effect this war of aggression unparalleled in the history of modern times is likely to have on the feelings of their Mussalman fellow-subjects, for they are convinced if once the idea becomes general among the Indian Mussalmans that the Christian nations of Europe view with complacency, if not with approval, the dismemberment of Islamic countries and hostile attacks on their most cherished traditions, it will leave them exposed to the malign influences which seek to undermine British rule in India.

The Committee have no doubt that these considerations are present in the minds of His Majesty's Government, but they nevertheless feel it their supreme duty to their Sovereign and the Empire to place their opinions before the Right Honorable the Secretary of State in the fervent hope that the voice of England will once more be effectively raised in the cause of humanity and justice.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd) M. KAZIM HOSAIN,
Honorary Secretary

Holy War against War.

MR. W. T. STEAD telegraphed from Constantinople on 15th October. —A Holy War for arbitration has been approved by the Sultan. The friends of peace are to be congratulated. A decision was taken to-day by the Turkish group of the Interparliamentary Union to declare a Holy War against war and for arbitration. When mediation fails owing to an Italian refusal to recognise the Sultan's sovereignty over Tripoli, the Turks will appeal to the Hague Tribunal, and through the Interparliamentary Union groups will begin a vigorous campaign in every country represented at the Hague Conference.

A delegation of six Senators and Members of Parliament representing as many nationalities, and thus demonstrating Ottoman unity at this crisis, will go from capital to capital preaching the Holy War against international brigands who refuse to submit their action to the international tribunal they helped to create. At each capital they will be joined by another delegate from that national group, and the

delegation will grow like a snowball till it reaches London. Public meetings will be held everywhere.

An appeal to the nations has been signed by the Grand Vizier, the Sheikh-ul Islam, the Greek Patriarch, the Bulgarian ex-arch, and the Armenian Catholics. They will summon all honest men to insist upon Italy's submitting her claim to the Hague Tribunal. A subscription fund of £20,000 is to be raised for the purpose. The Sultan gives the first £1,000 and will give his blessing to the preachers of this Jihad of peace when they start.

Interview with Ahmed Riza Bey.

I HAD a very interesting conversation with Ahmed Riza Bey, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, writes the *Daily Express*, Constantinople correspondent. It was interesting because it defined in the words of one of the most liberal and intelligent men in Turkey exactly what this country expects from British foreign policy at the present fateful moment, and because it led inevitably to the tacit perception of the extent to which expediency rather than national honour perforce controls the foreign relations of every country.

Ahmed Riza is a tall, grey-bearded man who has spent twenty years of his life in political exile in Paris.

I asked him what he, as an Ottoman statesman, thought of the attitude of England in the matter of Tripoli.

He answered quickly and earnestly, "England's duty at the present moment touches closely her national honour. England pledged her faith by the Treaty of Berlin and other treaties to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. If she wishes to preserve the value of her word solemnly given she cannot stand by and see Tripoli taken from Turkey without a protest."

"What form should the protest take?"

"A demand for a Conference of the Powers, under England's lead, to charge themselves with the development of Tripoli and the removal of any such disadvantages as those which Italy alleges to be the base of her action. A Turkish Governor-General could be appointed, who would be guaranteed by the Powers. England could say, for instance, 'We will undertake the building of railways in Tripoli.' We should give concessions to Englishmen to carry out the industrial development of the province. According to what I am told, Italy did not warn England of her intention to annex Tripoli. If England was thus taken by surprise she has every right to address a protest to Italy. By so doing she would make a moral conquest of Turkey, for we are a grateful people."

Turning to the question which plays one of the most important parts in the whole situation—that of the relations between England and Turkey—Ahmed Riza replied to my suggestion that the sympathy of the English public with Turkey rendered the present a favourable moment to strengthen the feeling of friendship between the two nations into an *entente*.

"There is nothing I could desire more. We have based our Constitution on that of England and we are your political pupils. If England has doubted our friendliness she has done so without reason. Ask the English people what act of Turkey since the founding of the Constitution, they can point to as being ill-disposed towards Great Britain? On the other hand, what has England done for Turkey during that time?"

"In what particular instance has England neglected Turkey?" I asked.

"England was always pressing for reform in Turkey while the despotism of Abdul Hamid continued. We hoped to see her take an active part in our development, sending us English engineers and English capital."

"But surely you have always given preference to German engineers and German enterprise?"

"When a country is in the condition of Turkey," he replied, "she takes hold of the first hand stretched out towards her. It has always been the German hand that was nearest."

Italy's Task.

AN officer of Egyptian Police writes as follows to the *Daily Mail*. —Out of Egypt into the Tripoli hinterland a man may go by many routes—there are at least three tracks across the Libyan desert—but he is not likely to return unless he has been lucky enough to gain the friendship of a Senoussi chief. The perils and the discomforts of the journey are as nothing compared with the dangers of visiting the Senoussis in their own country uninvited.

The word "country" does not to our English mind convey anything like a correct impression of those vast and desolate regions that lie behind the Tripolitan coast-line and stretch in endless repetition across the great Sahara to the marshes of Lake Chad. It is not a country. It is the waterless bed of a dead ocean, the sands of

which have been blown into mountain ridges by a million years of wind ever blowing in the same direction. These sand-hills are being endlessly moved to leeward, and in the valleys between brackish water is sometimes to be found, if one digs for it, these places which are few and far between are dignified by the name of wells—but an English village pond in the Libyan desert would be called a lake, and so a puddle is looked upon as a well. These puddles often lie in a chain of eight or ten along a sand hill valley, and then that valley is called an oasis. But the sand hills move, the puddles evaporate, the palm and sparse vegetation are smothered, the oasis ceases to exist, and man, bowing to the inevitable, moves on seeking fresh puddles to pitch his tents beside.

To live—to exist in such a region—requires untiring energy, a constitution of iron, and a spirit capable of bearing the unkindest blows of fate with equanimity. The Arabs of the desert are fatalists of necessity. The elaborate puddle, result of ten years' delving, the barley patch, the palm grove, may be blotted out of existence by a six hours' gale. The Arab does not sit down and weep, he gathers together his wives, his sons and daughters, collect his little flock of sheep, packs all his possessions on the backs of whatever camels he is lucky enough to possess (or steal), and sets out afoot to seek a new water hole and to commence life afresh.

Living the life he does his two most precious possessions are his rifle and his camel, the former not only protects him and his from covetous neighbours, but at certain seasons of the year helps to kill his larder. Ammunition is scarce and priceless, so the Arab is an economist: seldom does he waste a cartridge. He shoots to hit, and he invariably succeeds.

The Senoussis are not a tribe, but a religious society which has proselytised every Muhammadan between Algiers and the Nile, the Mediterranean, and Lake Tchad. In the matter of religion the Senoussis are as fanatic as the dervishes of the Sudan, but with a fanaticism based upon the pride of race rather than on the lusts of the flesh. Nowhere in all the world is honour such a vital factor in everyday life as in this wild region.

Letters to the Press.

England and the Tripolitan Raid.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION."

SIR,—Returning to my home in Italy, I find a fresh occasion of writing to you and your readers on the subject of secret alliances, secret *ententes*, and secret arrangements. In the present case it is a "secret arrangement," and, this time, not with France, but with Italy. Certain of my Italian friends, who have not joined the appalling Jingo chorus (the word "traitor" freely applied to disidents, and a boycott of the *Graphic* decided), have considerably staggered me by the statement that, whatever the moral or immoral aspect of Italy's Tripolitan Raid has not only been, politically "necessary," but, what is a very different matter, has been made with the preliminary consent of "the Powers," and most particularly of England. Even the most absolutely Liberal among my Italian friends, an economist who had at first stigmatised the Tripolitan Raid as madness, has since come to me saying, "This business may turn out to be folly on our part, but it appears that Italy was distinctly encouraged to go to Tripoli by England." And another friend, very conversant in diplomatic and ministerial circles, whose similar excuse I thought I had silenced by a collection of leading articles from the *Westminster Gazette*, now wires me as follows:—

"I will not enter into general discussions on the morality of nations, and I entirely respect your point of view. But I must assure you that we had a preliminary agreement with the other Powers. Never should we have taken such a step without it. I can understand the contradiction between this consent and the blame poured on us by the official, i.e., European and more particularly English press, there are times when a certain agreement has to be come to, even when one does not like it. You must bear in mind that if we had not gone to Tripoli, England, or Germany, or France, would have gone, and that would have upset things much worse, it would have been the spark lighting a universal conflagration. This is the only reason, I believe, why they have let us go."

Now, remark that this especially well-informed person does not say that these are the reasons why Europe has tolerated the Tripolitan Raid after it has taken place: the passage I have quoted refers to a preliminary arrangement:—

"The agreement with the other Powers was there. We should never have taken that step without it."

Now supposing this Italian notion to be true, then either (a) the European Press (and more especially the English, including the Press like the *Westminster*, which avowedly represents the Ministerial Party) has known all along of the permission given to Italy and has been dumb (for Heaven knows what hypocritical motives!) has been praising Italy for doing precisely what Italy was officially

allowed to do, or (b) European Governments (especially the English one) have secretly given Italy permission to raid Tripoli in the teeth of the unanimous opposition which even the Ministerial Press has subsequently expressed, and which those Governments must evidently have foreseen. Or is there a still more monstrous explanation: (c) that European Governments (especially the English one) have been so little in touch with the feelings and judgment of the nations they stand for as to give permission for the Tripolitan Raid under the sincere impression that public opinion would back up Italy's action, and justify the hidden arrangements? Of course, my own belief is that such a "preliminary agreement" to raid Tripoli exists only in the uneasy conscience of the more scrupulous and thoughtful Italians, and in the Jingo imagination of the less scrupulous or less intelligent ones. But I think that the supposition is worthy of English Liberals' attention, just because it bears upon the subject of those secret international agreements, *ententes* (cordial or otherwise), about which I ventured to write to you recently from France, and of which your leader of last Saturday admonished a Liberal Government to make a complete end in the future—Yours, &c.,

"VERNON LEE"

October 24, 1911.

England and Egypt.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—As one who has taken a deep interest in Egypt and the Egyptians for the last quarter of a century, I beg your indulgence to offer an authentic explanation of the persistent and false rumour circulated from time to time by mischievous continental agencies. For years it has been the aim of the German and Austrian Governments to induce England to "regularise" her position in Egypt, which is merely another form of urging this country to commit the gravest blunder possible by proclaiming the annexation of that part of the Ottoman Empire. It is an insane proposal.

I am simply quoting the opinion of the late Lord Dufferin in 1882 when I state that "whatever the misdeeds of the Sultan or his Government may have been, it would be the height of folly to incorporate the territories of Egypt with the dominions of the British Crown, quite apart from the dishonesty of such a proceeding."

It cannot be asserted too often that whatever errors were made in dealing with Arabi Pasha or by the unfortunate employment of General Gordon, the Foreign Office has wisely turned a deaf ear to all proposals for a departure from the wise and generous policy laid down by Lord Dufferin thirty years ago and pursued by Lord Cromer with unwavering courage. We recognise the suzerainty of the Sultan, the authority of the Khedive, and the duty of this country to the eleven millions of toilers who inhabit the valley of the Nile.

Yours truly,
HENRY WALPOLE.

19, St. James's Square, London, S.W.

19th October 1911

Press Opinion.

The "Nation."

It is by an inevitable logic that half the newspapers of Europe have gossiped this week about the Turkish quest for an ally. We do not, as a fact, know that Turkey is seeking an alliance, nor need we assume that the search has really begun. But this we may assume without the aid of any special correspondent, that the mind of every Turk who thinks at all, whether he be in or out of office, is necessarily busied on this problem. The disaster to which Turkey is exposed at this moment is the consequence, primarily, of her isolation in Europe. Italy could not have set out on her aggression if the Ottoman Empire had belonged, even vaguely, to either of the two European groups, and if Italy had risked it in spite of such ties, some decisive act of mediation or intervention must ere now have been attempted. This thing has happened because Europe is riven by a profound chasm, and because Turkey stood decidedly on neither side of the gulf. The necessity that Turkey should range herself with one party or the other may be seen with equal clearness from any one of three standpoints. Mediation is a service which must involve, for the Power which undertakes it, some measure of loss or risk. If that Power is to secure for Turkey better terms than Italy would spontaneously grant it must face in some degree the chagrin of Italy, and Turkey must, therefore, pay her new friend for his loss. In the second place, Turkey has learned that no regard for the decencies and conventions of civilised usage will protect her from aggression, and against that permanent danger she must seek a guarantee. In the third place, it is evident that her defensive arrangements will always be incomplete until she can afford to build a fleet, or else to borrow at need the fleet of some allied Power.

For Tripoli is only the extreme instance of the importance of sea-power in defence. Her islands in the *Ægean* could be snatched from her as easily as Tripoli, Albania and the Yemen, both probable centres of unrest, are both unconnected by rail with any of her great centres of population and concentration, and neither could be held for long if she were to lose the power to send reinforcements and munitions by sea. No railroads serve the vast and difficult country which is exposed to Russian invasion through the Caucasus, and until the railway reaches Baghdad, the Persian Gulf is the key to another great area of potential riches and possible disturbance. It is a commonplace that nearly all her chief cities lie exposed to bombardment. Everything points to the necessity of an alliance, and, if possible, an alliance with a leading Naval Power.

If sentiment were to guide the Turks in the choice of an ally, their choice might be embarrassed between Germany and Britain. Tradition speaks for us, and recent ties for our rival. If interest were to weigh alone with them, they would certainly wish to turn to the Triple Entente. To them the advantages of that connection are overwhelming. We alone, if we cared to do it, could adequately guarantee their position at sea both in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf. France alone is both able and willing to give them the financial help they need. Russia, by her naval control of the Black Sea, her military position in the Caucasus and Persia, and her hold on Montenegro and Serbia, is their gravest military danger. To secure at once the services of a friendly fleet, the use of friendly capital, and the neutrality (if nothing better) of a dreaded adversary would be an ideal rarely attainable in any diplomatic combination. The remaining risks would still, it is true, be considerable. Italy and Austria (if they should by miracle unite) would still be formidable on the Adriatic side, while Austria and Bulgaria might together dominate Macedonia. But the Turks would never despair of meeting any military danger on land alone, and, at the worst, the Triple Alliance can assail them only in Europe. Driven back to Asia their Empire might still survive and in Asia they need reckon in a military and naval sense only with Russia and Britain.

On a short view, if the Turks were thinking only of the momentary risk of Balkan complications, it might pay them better to enter the Triple Alliance. On a long view, with their eyes fixed on the real centre of their power, it is the Triple Entente which can help them best. But we question whether they will ever find themselves in a position to make a choice. Emphatically we hope that no such overtures, if they should be made, will even be considered on our side. Nor can the Turks expect that either group would admit them on any terms which they could afford to pay. The governing axiom in any such bargain would be, we take it, that the allied group would secure for itself as the price of friendship all or nearly all that it may hope eventually to acquire amid the chances and accidents of untrammelled intercourse. Would Austria conclude a final pact unless she could secure the reversion of Salonica? Would Russia take less than the right of way through the Dardanelles and a privileged position in the Armenian provinces? Should we be content with the *status quo* on the Persian Gulf? Would any one or three of these Powers seriously guarantee the integrity and security of an Empire menaced by every conceivable internal peril from local rebellion to bankruptcy and revolution, without some form of control? To none of the great Powers, save to ourselves, has Turkey anything appreciable to offer for such a guarantee, unless it were territory or a commercial monopoly amounting to a sphere of influence. To us, indeed, she could offer the use of her army. But we are also the Power which would incur the chief odium from public opinion by concluding an alliance with a Government which may to-morrow find itself preying over massacres, rebellions, and repressions.

We question, in short, whether any single Power, or either group of Powers, dare venture to give Turkey the sort of aid she requires, save on terms which would in the end sap her independence. When a country has reached the point at which she can save herself only by an alliance, she has postponed her salvation too long. The near future, we imagine, will repeat the recent past. Turkey will sway now to one group and now to the other as the Committee and the Opposition happen to be in the ascendant. She may approach one Power without quite embracing its two partners. She may secure some limited and conditional guarantees only to discover herself assailed in the quarter left unprotected. A constant rivalry for influence, conducted with the usual alternation of menaces and favours, will distract her policy. The process may well go on until it becomes intolerable alike to her and to the peace of Europe. It will continue until risk, if not reason, forces on the two groups the necessity of an understanding. Turkey isolated means, under existing conditions, Europe distracted. Nothing but the restoration of a Concert can make for her the security she desires, and nothing less can guarantee her integrity on terms compatible at once with her survival and with the exercise of any moral control by public opinion over her Government. If Turkey is to continue in Europe, it is imperative to re-create a Europe.

The "Spectator."

THE Triple Alliance may continue in name for some time. In fact it has ceased to exist. That is the first consequence of Italy's acquisition of Tripoli. When we say that the Triple Alliance has been destroyed by the war we are not thinking of any special estrangement of interests between Italy and her late allies. What has killed the Alliance is, not a quarrel between the parties, but the emergence of certain physical facts which cannot be got rid of by any diplomacy however skilful. Through the occupation of Tripoli, Italy has ceased automatically to be in a position to ally herself with Germany and Austria-Hungary, or to join with them should a war arise with the Powers that form the Triple Entente. Very little reflection will show that this is the case. Suppose, owing to some new and unfortunate development, Germany became engaged in a war with the Triple Entente. In that case the German Government would apply to the Italians to carry out their obligations. What would be the answer of the Italian Government? As things now exist they could only make one answer, and it must be to the following effect: "Italy, of course, desires to carry out every pledge made by her to her partners in the Triple Alliance. Unhappily, however, she is not able to do so unless, of course, Germany and Austria-Hungary can show her that they possess the command of the sea, or at any rate the command of the Mediterranean, and can clear that sea of the French and British fleets. Unless they can do that Italy's hands are tied, and she can take no part in the war and give no assistance to her former allies. The fact that she has the flower of her army in Tripoli and that her troops there can only for the present and probably for some considerable time be fed by sea makes it impossible for Italy to be at war with any Power or group of Powers which possess the command of the sea in the Mediterranean. If the sea communications between Italy and her new provinces were cut, the Italian army would perish of starvation or have to surrender to the Triple Entente. It is not a question of good faith or bad faith. Italy is physically unable to carry out her obligations. It would be idle for her to begin a war by sacrificing some 30,000 men and her whole fleet." It is clear that the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary would have no answer to make to the considerations thus presented to them. They could not guarantee her communications with Tripoli, and therefore Italy's case against joining them must of necessity be acquiesced in. Therefore, for the time at any rate, Italy has automatically ceased to be in effective alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Triple Alliance has become a Dual Alliance.

If we consider the further consequences of this fact they will be seen to be of no small importance. It is sometimes said that the German General Staff have never considered that the Italian army would be of very much use to them or would be able to play any great part in a war with France and her allies. Possibly this may be true so far as aggressive action on the part of Italy is concerned. Yet as a matter of fact the Italian alliance was of great military value to Germany. It meant, to begin with, that the French would have to keep at least ten divisions and probably a good deal larger force on their Alpine frontier and also along the coasts of the Mediterranean in order to prevent Italian raids by land and sea. With Italy out of the Triple Alliance there would be no need for these precautions, and some 150,000 to 200,000 men would be set free for use at the principal danger points on the Eastern frontier of France. No doubt 150,000 to 200,000 men does not sound a very large number, but with things so nearly balanced as they will be on the line between Basle and the Belgian frontier, the setting free of such a force might very well turn the scale in favour of France. But these are not by any means the only military consequences that flow from Italy ceasing to belong to the Triple Alliance. If Italy were rendering military aid to Austria-Hungary, that Power need feel no anxiety as to her southern frontier, that is, as to Italian Tyrol and Istria and Trieste. If, however, Italy were not a party to the war, then Austria-Hungary as a precaution must keep quite a considerable part of her army to guard these provinces, which are included under the term *Italia Irredenta*. She must take into consideration the fact that there is a large part of the Italian population which considers that the Trentino, the Dolomite Mountains, Trieste, and Istria "ought of right" to belong to Italy, and that if the arms of the Dual Monarchy and of Germany met with a reverse, the Italian Government would be practically forced by public opinion to seize the opportunity of redeeming the Italian-speaking provinces from the Austrian yoke. This means that Austria-Hungary must keep a very large force—probably not less than 200,000 men—to watch and prevent an "Irredentist" outbreak. But the sterilizing of such a force would to a very considerable extent diminish the aid which Austria-Hungary could bring to her German ally in a conflict with Russia. Here, again, a difference of 150,000 men might turn the scale. Nor would the matter end here. The forward party in Italy has aspirations in regard to Dalmatia as well as Tyrol and Trieste, and Austria-Hungary might therefore be obliged to keep her fleet in readiness to protect Dalmatia, and also strong garrisons in all the seaboard towns from Pola to Cattaro. In other words, Austria-

Hungary would have to fight, not with a secure, but with an exposed flank—a matter of the gravest concern to her military commanders.

All these consequences of the automatic withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance may be regarded by the friends of peace with sincere satisfaction. While the Triple Alliance was firm and strong there was always a danger of its immense power being misused. Anything, therefore, which neutralizes that power must make for peace. Germany, we may feel sure, will not want to bring on a war at a moment when it is quite impossible for Italy to render her any assistance. Another consequential loss to Germany from the war is the estrangement of Turkey. Up till the beginning of this month it seemed more and more likely that Turkey would become a satellite of Germany, and so virtually a member of the Triple Alliance. That Germany had every right from a military point of view to congratulate herself upon the acquisition of such an ally is obvious. With the aid of Turkey, Germany might have made a very disagreeable counter-stroke against Britain by means of an invasion of Egypt. A Turkish force, inspired and partially equipped by Germany, could undoubtedly have got across the desert and it would have been by no means an easy task for us to destroy such a force before it entered the Delta. What Napoleon did and Ibrahim Pasha did could certainly be done to-day by the Turkish army. In the present temper of the Turkish people towards Germany there is little prospect of Turkey being absorbed in the German system. In all probability the consequences of the war as regards Germany extend a good deal beyond the impossibility of the Turkish army being any longer at the disposal of the German Government in case of war with the Triple Alliance. Unless we are very much mistaken we shall find the Turks in the future exceedingly shy of German patronage. They will begin to wonder whether the encouragement of German enterprise in Asia Minor and so forth may not in the end lead to the virtual loss of those provinces. "Put no trust in any European Power" will become, we expect, for a very considerable time the order of the day at Constantinople.

Another probable consequence of the war is foreshadowed in the statement as to Turkish policy made by the Grand Vizier in the Chamber last Wednesday. In that statement Said Pasha declared that Turkey desired to maintain and strengthen her normal sincere relations with the Balkan States "on a basis of mutual confidence and the reconciliation of our common interests." The advantages which Turkey would obtain by encouraging the huffer States of the Balkans are obvious, and it is by no means unlikely that the Balkan States might think it well worth while, for the time being at any rate, to fall in with Turkey's views and form something in the nature of an alliance for maintaining the *status quo* in South-eastern Europe. It is true that the Balkan States are all jealous of each other, and that they all, should Turkey break up, hope to get the best pieces of the Turkish heritage for themselves. But their dislike and jealousy of each other are outweighed by their jealousy and dread of Austria-Hungary and her partner Germany. If they can agree upon nothing else they are all agreed in wishing to say "Hands off!" to Austria-Hungary. They know that if Austria-Hungary were once to grasp Macedonia and Salonika, their prospects of aggrandisement would vanish, and the successor to Turkey at Constantinople would be not one of them but the Hapsburg monarchy. They would far rather go on as they are for the next ten or twelve years, and so keep the door open to the aspirations of "poor honest men," than place themselves at the mercy of Austria-Hungary. For the moment, then, they may be expected to fall in with Turkish proposals for an alliance to preserve the *status quo* in the Balkans. Certainly Britain could have no objection to such an alliance, for it would probably make for peace, and now, as always, peace is the greatest of British interests. We say "probably" advisedly, for we of course cannot leave out of account the fact that if Austria-Hungary saw the prospect of a firm alliance being concluded between Turkey and Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece she might be inclined to declare that the alliance was in effect aimed against her and that she must strike before it was too late. Striking in that case would, of course, mean the movement of her troops through the Sanjak of Novibazar to Salonika, a movement which would almost certainly bring on a general war in the Balkans. If, however, instead of a formal alliance only a general understanding were to be arrived at it would be much more difficult for Austria-Hungary, though aggrieved, to take the field.

In thinking out the consequences of the new arrangement of the Powers which must follow, or to speak more correctly, which has automatically followed, Italian action in Tripoli, the conclusion reached is thus distinctly pacific. No doubt the disturbance caused by a new trimming of the boat always produces some danger, but on the whole the cause of peace has been strengthened, not weakened. The reason is a very simple one. In the present temper of the Great Powers what is to be dreaded most of all is, as we have stated above, that one Power or group of Powers should possess a great predominance of physical force. If and when that occurs the Power or group of Powers in question is under a tremendous temptation to say, "We can certainly win if the great

war comes now. Who can tell whether we shall be in so favourable a position a year or two hence? Had we not better strike while the iron is hot? If we do not the balance of military power may incline to one of our rivals, and we may be quite sure that they will not be so foolish as to let the lucky moment pass. By not availing ourselves of our opportunity we shall not really prevent war, but only postpone it till we fight at a disadvantage." If this is the temper of the Great Continental Powers, as we judge it to be, it is a great advantage that they should be so evenly balanced that no one is really able to tell what the consequences of a war would be and therefore that no Power should feel too confident of success. The automatic withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance has most certainly weakened the military power of that alliance, and made it impossible for Germany and Austria-Hungary to say, "Now is the time to get the war over with the least risk to ourselves."

It may perhaps be said that, though this is true of Germany, the consequent increase in the relative power of France may encourage her to adopt the policy of "Now or never." That is sound in theory, but fortunately not sound in practice. The French though determined to defend themselves, are not now an aggressive or war-loving people, and we may be quite sure that they will do nothing to provoke war, especially when they know that if they did deliberately bring on a war on the grounds we have just stated they would not have the support of Russia or Britain. The more evenly balanced the rival groups are the less the danger of an outbreak and undoubtedly the balance has become more even owing to the Triple having faded into a Dual Alliance.

The "Bystander."

THE nation which has broken the "peace" gives us also the phrase with which to console ourselves. War is an actuality, no longer a dreaded possibility. Let us bury our platitudes and look to the facts. What is to be is to be—whichever is the strongest will prevail. Is Italy really to be condemned for the one decisive act by which Europe has suddenly been brought face to face with the doctrine of the Right to Fight? Italy wanted Tripoli. Instead of creating a "situation," and then entering on "conversations," and for months and months keeping Europe in a state of hysteria, she has acted. If Turkey wants to keep Tripoli, she has to prove herself stronger than Italy. If she does not, then, by the doctrine Right is Might (re-made in Germany from an ancient model), she is not entitled to keep it. Similarly with the rest of the Turkish Empire. If Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and the others decide once for all to try how war will solve the eternal question of their claims in Macedonia, is it the dreadful disaster which the *quidnuncs* say it is? Which is better—one good stand-up fight to a finish, or a Peace which is based by the will of the Tsars and Kaisers on the upkeep of vast armaments?

Of course, we are all pretending to be very angry with Italy. In one sentence we heap upon her head the vials of our righteous wrath, in the next we admit that we can do nothing because Italy may be useful to us at Armageddon. Sometimes we wonder why the Continent calls us hypocrites. Perhaps some of us know now. Not that our Press Pecksniffs (who sniff yet are afraid to peck) are wrong in their denunciations of Italy's conduct. Judged by the prevailing standard, it is, no doubt, bad. But there is more than one standard in all conduct. There is, for instance, the farmer who shoots foxes. Whether he is a wrong-doer or not depends entirely whether you judge him by the code of sport or of husbandry. Italy's offence is a breach of the "Peace" of the Near East, but is this particular Peace worth preserving? It rests on what? On the so-called integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey's lands, no matter how atrociously governed, are holy ground. You may pilfer from Morocco, or China, or Persia, but not one square foot may you take from the Turk. Why? Simply because if one starts the pillage, the others may not be able to restrain themselves from joining in, not even those great virtuous humbugs—the Powers themselves. Suppose Italy has grown tired of the sight of the straight-jacket round the waist of her neighbours across the Adriatic, and suppose, by firing this Tripolitan pistol in the air (it is nothing more) she has given the signal to the smaller States to rid themselves and Europe of the Turk. A war of brigandage they call it. Methinks history will call it a war of emancipation.

Let the little Balkan States try their hand against the Turk. If the Turk wins, then let him reign by the right of might. If he loses, let the small States reign by the might of right. Let us not question the right to fight. The time to step in is when the best man has proved himself, and our only hope is that he will not be too long in doing so. If the Turk steps in Europe, then we shall bow to Kismet; if he goes, then, as professing Christians, we should not be too vexed that the Cross has, after a thousand years, at last sent the Crescent back to Asia out of which it should never have been allowed to come.



BEATI POSSIDENTES!

THE BURGLAR (Shouting, to Dame Europa): "Police! Police! Stop senseless bloodshed!
I have annexed this house!"

REUTER wires — "Italy has circularised the Powers notifying them that Tripoli (Cyrenaica) has been definitely annexed and suggesting mediatory efforts on the part of the powers to induce Turkey to come without delay to the wise decision of acquiescing in the accomplished facts, and so avoiding senseless bloodshed."

The PIONEER'S Correspondent writes — Macaulay, in his Essay on Machiavelli says that while ruder nations usually attained their ends by hard blows, among the polished Italians everything was done by superiority of intelligence. Their very wars, more pacific than the peace of their neighbours, required rather civil than military qualifications. Hence, while courage was the point of honour in other countries, ingenuity became the point of honour in Italy. The conduct of the present war is an exemplification of the truth of this passage. Italy's management of it is considered to have been very ingenious. Where territorial designs on an international scale are concerned, past experience shows that possession invariably carries with it not mere merely but all the points of the law. Italy is in possession of Tripoli. She has formally notified her annexation to the Powers. *Beati possidentes.*

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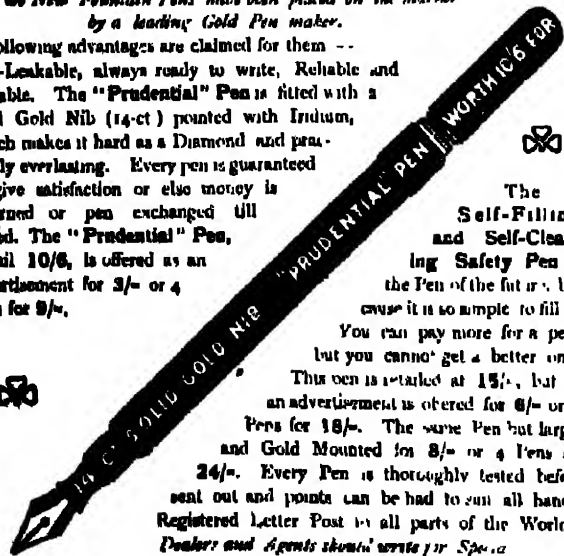
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بار بار گانے لگائیں۔ کاموں ریکارڈ
نمبر ۱۳۳۶۷-۸ تم دیر دیر لکرو۔ کھماچ
ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۳۶۸-۸ بہاری رے میں
تولا کہ جتن گڑھاری۔ کھماچ ریکارڈ
نمبر ۱۳۵۱۳-۸ موہے نیکی لگے صورت
تہاری۔ بہاگ۔ ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۵۱۴-۸
پیدا کاوشن میں کیسے پاؤنتی۔ راگیا
ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۵۲۹-۸ گوہر کیا تلاتا لاجی
تہت تہاڑوہی والہ بھجن سورداں۔
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مشہور دہلی کی گانے والی ہے۔
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کافی بہر دین۔ ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۰۶۳-۳
سکھی سائول راد۔ پلہ غارا جہومرا
ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۲۰۳-۶ لگی موری
تھک پلنگ ٹال۔ مالکوس۔ ریکارڈ
نمبر ۱۳۲۰۴-۶ نی میں پیا سنگ
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۱۳۱۷۸-۶ جہوی یار کر گئے سائول پھار
کر گئے۔ بہر دین۔ ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۱۸۳-۶
راتن کالریاں۔ سورگہ۔

(مارواڑی ریکارڈ)

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گانے والی ہے برے پیارے مارواڑی
گانے۔ بہت فروغ ہوئے ہیں۔
ریکارڈ نمبر ۱۳۶۵۶-۸ سونگیاں تہارے
بول موہے سولہ جائے۔ مائو ریکارڈ
نمبر ۱۳۶۵۷-۸ برہمرا توری تارہ کوری
ہوچ آئیں رے۔ مائو۔

۱۱۔ از عاق علی۔ یہ نہایت
خوش الحان گویا ہے۔ ریکارڈ نمبر
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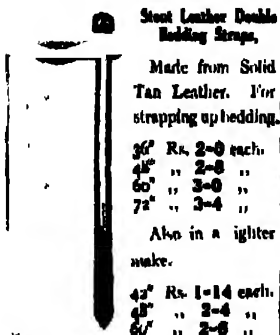
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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly inform whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is a little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of November at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

The Royal Visit.

REUTER wired from Alexandria:—Zia-ed-Din, eldest son of the Sultan, who is to greet the King and Queen, arrived here yesterday, and was received by British and Egyptian guards-of-honour. Reuter wired from Port Said, 20th November:—The *Medina* arrived at Port Said yesterday. Lord Kitchener went on board the vessel to welcome their Majesties. The Khedive, the brother of Mohamed Ali, Zia-ed-Din and Kiamil Pasha, the Turkish ex-Vizier, arrived on board the yacht *Mahroussa*. When the *Medina* opened, the yacht's band played "God Save the King," while the crowds on the sea front broke out into enthusiastic cheering.

Reuter wired from Port Said on the 22nd instant.—Royal salutes were fired yesterday morning. Lord Kitchener, Sir Francis Wingate, General Maxwell and respective staffs, went on board the *Medina*. The King then received the Khedive and afterwards H. I. H. Prince, Zia-ed-Din, the eldest son of the Sultan, and Mohamed Ali. H. I. H. Prince, Zia-ed-Din presented a letter from the Sultan wishing the King a happy and prosperous voyage. His Majesty expressed his thanks and handed Prince Zia-ed-Din a sealed letter for the Sultan and asked that his good wishes be conveyed to the Sultan. Lord Kitchener presented Kiamil Pasha, Said Bey and Ruchdi Pasha and the principal English and Egyptian officials. The King later went on board the Khedive's yacht to return His Highness' visit and afterwards landed and inspected the Guard-of-Honour. The Khedive, Prince Zia-ed-Din, Mohamed Ali, Lord Kitchener, Sir Francis Wingate, General Maxwell, Kiamil Pasha, Said Pasha and Ruchdi Pasha were among the guests at the King's luncheon. The King left Port Said in the morning.

Reuter wired from Cairo.—The Sultan in his letter to King George says, that he profits by the occasion of His Majesty's departure for India to send his son to present his salutations and good wishes, as a token of his heartfelt friendship for His Majesty and for England's greatness. He desires that Anglo-Turkish relations may ever remain friendly, and begs the acceptance of his entire devotion to the King and Queen.

King George replying to Zia-ed-Din said, he was touched by the attention of Zia-ed-Din's august father and thanked him for the compliments to the Queen. He trusted that the good and friendly relations would ever endure. The King then handed to Zia-ed-Din an autograph letter to the Sultan.

In the Palace of Kubbek in the presence of the Khedive, Lord Kitchener, on behalf of King George handed to Prince Zia-ed-Din the eldest son of the Sultan, the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Victorian Order.

The Turkish Commander at Bab-el-Mandeb has been instructed to arrange for a parade of troops and firing of salutes as the *Medina* passes.

The Congo Convention.

REUTER wired from Berlin.—An additional clause in the Franco-German Treaty on Morocco provides that in the event of Germany desiring to acquire Spanish Guinea and the islands of Corisco and Elobey, France will waive in favour of Germany her rights of pre-emption under the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1900. Germany, in return, renounces participation in the eventual special Franco-Spanish Agreements on the subject of Morocco. A message from Madrid to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in spite of official denial, asserts that the Spanish Foreign Minister and the German Ambassador discussed on the 13th instant a proposal for the acquisition by Germany of Spanish Guinea.

Reuter wired from Paris:—Great Britain and Russia have assented to the recent Treaty concluded between France and Germany on the subject of Morocco.

Herr von Kiderlen Waechter has been making statements at a secret sitting of the Committee of the Reichstag concerning his attitude in connection with Mr. Lloyd George's speech. The German newspapers which have hitherto been hostile to the Government now agree that the Chancellor displayed all the needful firmness in dealing with Great Britain. The papers are full of

disclosures respecting the critical periods marked by the dates 4th July, 18th August, and 11th September. The first occasion was Mr. Lloyd George's speech, the second was the outbreak of the railway strike. The disclosures imply that the international crisis was nearly connected with the speedy conclusion of the strike the initiation of the latter being marked by an immediate hitch in Franco-German negotiations. The general effect of the disclosures is to show that the measures which were taken by Great Britain, such as preparing the Navy for immediate action, also the despatch of an expedition, betokened the gravest anxiety. Consequently Sir Edward Grey's statement on foreign affairs is eagerly awaited. Reuter wired from Berlin:—The Budget Committee of the Reichstag resumed the confidential discussion of the Morocco Treaty. Several members complained of the erroneous statements made in the semi-official Press to the effect that Herr von Kiderlen Waechter's explanations had satisfied the Committee. The Chancellor replied that none of the statements referred to had emanated from the Foreign Office. The Committee discussed the possibility of France employing black troops in the event of war in Europe when the Chancellor said that the military aspect of the French occupation of Morocco had been thoroughly threshed out prior to the Agreement of 1909. Referring to the allusion of certain speakers to Sikhs and Gurkhas in India, the Chancellor said that the Mutiny of 1857 must not be forgotten.

Reuter wired from Paris:—M. Messimy, Minister for War, speaking at a banquet to the Gymnastic Societies, said the result of the negotiations enabling France to place her hand on North Africa was due not only to the firmness of the Government, but also to the firmness of the French nation, whose heart the Government felt to be with them.

Mr. Asquith announces that the Government is anxious for a discussion on Foreign affairs and will introduce a motion enabling Sir Edward Grey to open a debate with an explanatory statement.

The *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Morning Leader* publish articles to-day dwelling on the perils of secret diplomacy and demanding to know the full extent of our obligation to France and whether their fulfilment has involved disregard of the points of view of the other Powers. The *Daily News* says that British policy to-day is to support France whatever happens even when she acts contrary to the Treaties of British commercial interests. The paper adds that we must here seek the cause of prolonged hostility between British and German diplomacy. The *Daily Chronicle* says that the country is profoundly concerned at the state of the unofficial relations between Great Britain and Germany. Though the Liberals are proud of Sir Edward Grey's integrity and ability, nevertheless there is widespread disappointment that he has not succeeded during his six years at the Foreign Office in putting Anglo-German relations on a more amicable footing. We ought to aim at a policy that will facilitate, not resist, Germany's natural desire for expansion capacity.

A sensation has been caused by a communication from Reuter's correspondent in Berlin giving official publication of the confidential speech made by Herr von Kiderlen Waechter, to the Budget Committee recently. Herr von Kiderlen Waechter said that the signatures to the Algeiras Act were informed on 30th June of the despatch of a warship to Agadir. In addition Great Britain was informed on 1st July, that Germany felt herself compelled to comply with the appeal of business houses and undertake the protection of the lives and property of German subjects and *protégés* in Southern Morocco till order had been restored in the country but recognising that France might be unable to return to the *status quo*, Germany was prepared directly to negotiate with France with a view to reaching a final understanding on the subject of Morocco. Herr von Kiderlen Waechter continued:—"During the Franco-German negotiations England made no enquiry either of our Ambassador in London or of the Government in Berlin respecting the foregoing communication. Not till 21st July, the day of Mr. Lloyd George's speech did an interview take place between Sir Edward Grey and the German Ambassador at the instance of the former. Sir Edward Grey then expressed an opinion as to our attitude based on the statements of the French and British press. Sir Edward Grey said that as the German demands were so far-reaching that they were unacceptable to France, there was risk that the negotiations might be without result and then the question would arise what is Germany doing in the closed harbour of Agadir which is suitable for the construction of a war port and in the hinterland. Sir Edward Grey also said that Agadir involved British interests. Therefore the time had come when England must take part in the negotiations." Herr von Kiderlen Waechter said that Sir Edward Grey had declared at the interview that he wished to emphasise that he desired a meeting because he did not desire to be confronted with facts which might compel him to take up an attitude as a result of which the political situation which was already sufficiently complicated would assume a decidedly more difficult and more serious form. The Ambassador replied denying that Germany's demands were unacceptable and said it would be more correct for England to wait till she was able to prove that

any British interests were affected by Germany's action. If France did not consider that recognition of her claims in Morocco was equivalent to German demands in another field, then France must put up with the presence of a warship off Morocco as part of the bargain. England, said the Ambassador, had been compensated in Egypt but Germany had not been compensated anywhere. The Ambassador knew nothing of the supposition that Germany would build a naval station at Agadir. Sir Edward Grey replied that he in no wise opposed German extension in the heart of Africa, but English interests might be most seriously affected by the Morocco question. He, therefore, hoped an agreement would be reached between France and Germany, not only in the undesired event of failure to reach an agreement, but he be obliged to say plainly that the *démarche* at Agadir would lead to explanations between England and Germany. Sir Edward Grey believed that the situation would lose its acuteness if there were such a discussion before events occurred at Agadir with respect to which England would be obliged to take up a position. Herr von Kiderlen Waechter declared that the foregoing conversation showed that Sir Edward Grey assumed that Germany meant to establish herself in Morocco, despite the communication of 1st July. The Ambassador's account of the conversation was received in Berlin on 22nd July and an answer was immediately despatched instructing the Ambassador to tell Sir Edward Grey that the German ship was merely intended to protect German interests at Agadir. "We regretted," Herr von Kiderlen Waechter continued, "that England credited insinuations emanating from an anti-German source. We never thought of the establishment of a naval port in Morocco. That was a hallucination; nor had we designs on Moroccan territory. But we must demand that France adhere strictly to the Algeiras Treaty or enter into explanations with us. France broke the pledge of secrecy in regard to the negotiations and supplied her friends with inexact information. We, therefore, ceased to negotiate until secrecy was guaranteed. If the negotiations failed we must demand with all emphasis the restoration of the *status quo* in Morocco. The text of Mr. Lloyd George's speech then became known in Berlin. It was unnecessary to comply with the suggestion made by the British Minister, which we afterwards received, that he should be authorised to announce to Parliament our declaration that we had no designs on Morocco. To have done so would have given the impression that our declaration was the result of Mr. Lloyd George's speech. The Ambassador in London was instructed on 24th July to point out that Mr. Lloyd George's speech had furnished the British and French press with an occasion for violent attacks on Germany. It is unnecessary to enter into the question of how far this effect was intended by Mr. Lloyd George, but the British Government was bound to perceive this effect—the speech must occasion dissatisfaction in Germany to a high degree. The Ambassador was instructed to point out that a friendly agreement between France and Germany would not be prompted thereby. If Great Britain had intended bringing things to a violent outbreak, she could have chosen no better means. The Ambassador reported that Sir Edward Grey had consented not to make Parliamentary use of Germany's declaration that she had no designs on Morocco, but Sir Edward Grey remarked that he was thus unable to allay public disquiet with regard to these alleged designs. Sir Edward Grey defended Mr. Lloyd George's speech as being moderate and declared that it was quite right to deliver the speech. The Ambassador then pointed out that the British and French press represented the speech as an anti-German threat. Sir Edward Grey declared that Germany's intention to undertake the restoration of the *status quo* in Morocco was alone calculated to tend to the Morocco problem a still graver significance, and pointed out that as British interests were touched, Britain must defend them. The Ambassador said that Germany never intended to dispose of British interests or rights. If occasion arose, Germany would welcome the co-operation of the Powers signatory to the Algeiras Act in restoring the *status quo*. Only if co-operation were wanting she would assert the right herself. Menacing warnings would only encourage her to hold fast to her right. The Ambassador on 26th July was instructed to inform Sir Edward Grey that we expected that he would announce in Parliament that British interests were not affected by the Franco-German negotiations. We gladly noted the assurance that Sir Edward Grey desired a Franco-German understanding, though it was difficult to reconcile this with the assertion that our demands were inadmissible demands of which Great Britain was not aware. Herr von Kiderlen Waechter then read a statement issued by Reuter on 22nd July saying:—"From this point on our negotiations with France made better progress." Herr von Kiderlen Waechter reviewed the Morocco question from 1880. He mentioned "that Mr. Chamberlain in 1899 had a scheme for the partition of Morocco, England taking Tangier and Germany a part on the Atlantic Coast, but the matter never came to formal negotiations. He referred to French attempts to negotiate after the Emperor's visit to Tangier. They were without result, as the concrete proposals demanded by Germany were not forthcoming." Herr von Kiderlen Waechter went on:—"When the Sultan protested against the occupation of a village in Shawia, Germany considered the position seriously and might have sent an ultimatum, but what would have been the impression if war

had been declared, because of a village with an unpronounceable name? We decided that the best policy was to wait and claim full freedom of action. Germany stood alone in opposition to France's claims that she was the mandatory of Europe. Meanwhile France had been establishing herself with ever diminishing ceremoniousness in Morocco. When Germans complained of oppression, Germany decided to send a warship." Herr von Kiderlen Waechter concluded by explaining "why Germany did not desire territory in Morocco, as a Colony would be a great burden, and recounting the advantages Germany had gained and said that "Germany awaited negotiations between France and Spain with great tranquility."

Sir Edward Grey in reply to Lord Ronaldsday in the Commons said that the unpublished articles attached to the Anglo-French declaration of 1904 were of subsidiary importance to the published articles, and that they would now be published.

Reuter wired from Paris:—M. Dehelves, Foreign Minister, announced to the Foreign Affairs Committee, that Tangier would probably later be internationalised.

Sir Edward Grey's motion on Monday will be "that the foreign policy of the Government be now considered."

The form of Sir Edward Grey's motion, with reference to the foreign policy to be moved on Monday, is unusual. It enables him to speak first and to discuss the whole realm of foreign policy, not merely the situation with regard to Morocco. It does not raise the question of confidence, and no vote is necessary. The papers unanimously ridicule the rumour that Sir Edward Grey may possibly resign. They point out that though the extremist Radicals are suspicious of the government's foreign policy, there is an overwhelming sense that Sir Edward should be supported by Parliament in his action at the time of a trying crisis. Any other attitude, it is declared, would be construed into a triumph for Germany.

Persia.

The inaugural banquet of the Persia Society was held on the evening of the 15th instant, Lord Lamington presided. The Persian Minister, Lord Curzon, Mr. Ameer Ali, and a number of Anglo-Persians were present. Lord Lamington proposed the toast of the Shah. The Persian Minister replying said that the chief aim of the Society was the promotion of sympathy between England and Persia. Mr. Ameer Ali proposed "The Guests." He said that Muhammadans and Indians especially were especially interested in Persia. He, therefore, hoped that the people of Great Britain would re-double their interest in the regeneration of Persia. Lord Curzon, replying, recalled the great past of Persia which was still capable, under favourable circumstances, of reproducing that past. He dwelt on the strength of national spirit in Persia which was still working towards the realisation of an independent autonomous Government. The people of Persia were loyal to the new *regime*. Therefore it was our duty to encourage this spirit by every means in our power. He felt most deeply the position of the Persian Government in the present extraordinary difficulties. Speaking of the Russian *ultimatum* he remarked that Persian statesmen may have been over-sensitive but the diplomacy of the Powers was not altogether wise. It was for Persia to work out her own salvation but the first condition that Persia wanted was tranquillity and confidence. He, therefore, watched with the warmest sympathy the efforts to reorganise Persian finance. If it was the belief that there was any hostility in England against Persia such belief was most mistaken. A constitution and a strong native Government in Persia was the one thing that all Englishmen desired. The Muhammadan countries of the world were fully entitled to the benefit of the law of nations and with them the treaties ought to be kept. When they sought their own salvation we ought to give them all assistance. "The loyalty and contentment of Moslems," Lord Curzon concluded, "was one of the strongest things of our rule in India. So we would like the Moslems of the world to feel that in England they had their true friend who was prepared to make every effort and to make sacrifice on their behalf with none of whom we ought to have more sympathy than with Persia."

According to a message to the *Times* from Teheran, Lord Curzon's speech on Persian autonomy is the principal topic of conversation in the English Colony. The general opinion may be expressed in the phrase, "at last some one has spoken."

According to information received from Russian sources, the *ultimatum* which Russia presented to Persia, expired on Monday night. Russia is despatching another battalion to Tabriz, also failing satisfaction, two hundred Cossacks to Astrabad to reinforce the Consular Guard. Russia has also sent troops to the provinces of Gilan and Talish where Russia asserts Persia is unable to maintain order. The statement adds that any Russian expedition goes to secure peace and maintain order, not for the purpose of occupation in the broad sense of the words. A message from St. Petersburg to the *Daily News* states that as soon as the responsible Ministry is formed at Teheran, M. Poklevsky Kazell, Russian Minister in Teheran, will present a despatch to the Persian Government declaring the practical exercise of any authority by Mr. Shuster in the Russian name will be regarded as an unfriendly act. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—It is authoritatively stated that unless the Persian Gov-

ernment completely satisfies the demands contained in the Russian Note, troops will be sent to Kazvin. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—A telegram from Teheran states that the Russian Note has hitherto not been answered. The Premier in conjunction with the Foreign Minister is endeavouring to meet the Russian wishes and has ordered Mr. Shuster to withdraw the Gendarmes from Shua-es-Sultaneh's premises. Mr. Shuster, however, has replied that the order for the confiscation bears the signatures of the Ministers and he is unable to comply with the Premier's counter order. The telegram adds that the Ministerial crisis is solely due to internal troubles and is not connected with the Russian Note. Persia does not at present show any disposition to comply with the second part of the Russian demand, *viz.*, satisfaction for insult to Consular Officers.

The Regent has persuaded the ex-Premier to form a new Cabinet.

Diplomatic relations with Russia have ceased.

Ala-ed-Dowleh has resigned the Governorship of Fars to which post he was appointed on 20th October. Reuter wired from Teheran:—It is reported that Samsam-es-Sultaneh will be the new Premier. Reuter states that Persia has asked Great Britain for advice as to the course she should follow with regard to Russian demands.

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—Orders have been given for the immediate despatch of troops to Kazvin. The Kazvin expedition, which numbers 4,000, is assembling at Baku whence it will be shipped to Enzeli. Reuter is informed that the despatch of a Russian force to Kazvin is intended as a demonstration. It is hoped that the measure is only temporary, pending Persian compliance with the Russian Note. Two hundred Russian Cossacks have started for Astrabad. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—A battalion of Caucasian Rifles has left Julfa for Tabriz, to relieve the battalion now at Tabriz. The Kurds recently attacked a Russian Cossack patrol twelve miles from Julfa and severely wounded an officer.

Replying in the House of Commons to questions from Mr. Dillon regarding Major Stokes, who was appointed to reorganise the Persian Gendarmerie, Sir Edward Grey said:—"I understand that Major Stokes has been appointed to the General Staff at Simla and has been requested to join his post as soon as possible. Whatever may be the practice in the Army, I do not think it right or reasonable to permit an Officer to resign at a particular moment in order to enable him to do something politically undesirable. I am ready to take full responsibility for the general line taken in regard to Major Stokes. In this case, Major Stokes was told in the first instance that he would have to resign his Indian commission before accepting the command of the Gendarmerie. I was not aware then that Major Stokes had given an actual pledge to accept the appointment. He may have done so after receiving that reply. It subsequently became quite clear that the appointment was not only undesirable but impossible. Had I been aware of all the circumstances, I should have said so in the first instance."

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—According to the papers M. Poklevsky, the Russian Minister in Teheran will be replaced almost immediately and probably transferred to Lisbon. M. Klemm, Director of Central Asian Department, is mentioned as his probable successor. M. Poklevsky is reproached with having inadequately defended Russian interests, his methods, it is declared, having resulted in the diminution of Russian prestige. The *Novoye Vremya*, in a leader headed "Dissolution of Persia," refers to "the adventurer Shuster who is stronger than the whole Persian Government." The paper demands the expulsion of Mr. Shuster. The Liberal paper, *Reich*, says Persia is a defenceless prey and that Russia and England, especially Russia, are resolved to complete the task in which the ex-Shah failed. According to Russian newspaper the Russian demands made to Persia include the dismissal of Mr. Shuster and payment of £300,000 sterling.

Seven more Swedish officers have been permitted to place themselves at the disposal of Persia for the re-organisation of the Gendarmerie. No more will be sent from Sweden to Persia at present.

Reuter wired from Teheran:—Salar-ed-Dowleh, the ex-Shah's brother, who resumed the offensive with 2,400 men and two guns, has been defeated near Burujird, losing 500 men killed and wounded. The Government losses are reported to be fifty. The ex-Shah has returned to Gumeshtepa, after several unsuccessful attempts to force an entrance into Astrabad, the townspeople repulsing the Royalist troops.

An article in the *Times* deeply regrets that when the international situation affords grave anxiety a serious Russo-Persian crisis should be added. While not questioning Russian assurances that the troops will be withdrawn after compliance with her demands, the *Times* emphasises the significance of Russian action, which it does not consider altogether justified. The paper, however, accuses Persia of lack of judgment in giving Russia the slightest excuse for intervention. It does not see how the request for British

mediation can be usefully entertained until a regular Government is constituted, or the condition of Southern Persia is calculated to encourage British intervention. The article concludes that a solution would certainly not be assisted by sentimental expressions of sympathy for Persia, which ignore sterner realities.

Persia has taken Great Britain's advice and agreed to comply with the demands of the Russian ultimatum.

A message from St. Petersburg states that the first detachment of Russians has arrived at Enzeli.

Reuter writes from Baku.—The Third Battalion of the Caucasian Engineers has passed through on their way to Persia.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg.—A telegram from Resht states that three battalions of Salijan Regiments have arrived at Enzeli.

Sir Edward Grey, replying in the House of Commons to Mr. Ponsonby, said that Russian demands of Persia had not been conceded. Sir Edward understood that the intention to comply with them now existed, but was not likely to be carried out for a few days. Meanwhile Russian troops had started, and some had arrived at Resht. Sir Edward announced that the British Government had been in communication with the Russian Government, and had been assured that the despatch of troops was only a temporary measure to secure satisfaction.

China.

Reuter wired from Peking.—An Edict commands Yuan Shi Kai to accept the Premiership and orders all Viceroy and Governors of all Provinces to select from three to four representatives who are to come to Peking to confer on the situation. The Edict appoints delegates who are to visit sixteen disturbed areas and pacify the population. Reuter wired from St. Petersburg.—Manchuria has declared itself autonomous. The Administration is actually in the hands of deliberative committees at Mukden, Kirin and Tsitsihar. A reign of terror exists at Nanking. Massacre of Chinese who have cut off their pigtails continues. An English missionary visited General Chang with a view to obtaining suspension of hostilities. General Chang refused to listen and declared that he intended to lead 20,000 troops to Chinkiang, Soochow and Shanghai to regain them. Nearly all the foreigners have left Nanking. The situation at Nanking is a remarkable one. General Chang, an energetic and courageous soldier, is at the head of 20,000 devoted troops and refuses to listen to suggestions of a compromise, being determined to fight for the Throne, while respecting foreigners.

Reuter wired from New York.—Transports are being held in readiness at Manila, presumably to carry troops to China. There is a large body ready to move at twenty-four hours' notice. A message to the *New York World* from Washington says that at the first indication that foreigners need protection, the United States will interfere in China. She is ready to land ten thousand soldiers and anchor the whole Atlantic Fleet in Chinese waters.

Reuter wired from Washington.—Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, announces that all Powers signatory to the Boxer protocol are agreed as to the necessity for the landing of troops in order to protect Peking and the Tientsin Railway. Reuter wired from Tokio.—It is officially stated that Japan has landed a party of marines at Chifu.

Yuan-Shi-Kai's Cabinet has been formed. It includes a few Manchus but no nobles. Reuter wired from Peking.—At the invitation of Li-Yuan-Heng, the representatives of the provinces met at Shanghai. Subsequently Li-Yuan-Heng notified the Consuls that the republican states had elected representatives to a central Government which, he says, is being established at Wuchang. Li-Yuan-Heng urged the recognition of this Government. Yuan-Shi-Kai announces that the rebels of Hankow attacked the Imperial troops in the rear and heavy fighting took place yesterday. The rebels were repulsed with considerable loss. A telegram from Shanghai states that a strong and well-equipped force of revolutionists has gone to attack General Chang at Nanking to avenge the victims of the ferocities of his troops. A fight is expected to-day. An article has appeared, written by Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, who is authorised by the revolutionary leaders to state that Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen will shortly arrive in Shanghai to direct affairs. His first act will be to establish a Military Government.

Reuter wired from Berlin.—The German cruiser *Emden* has arrived at Chifu. The American and Japanese warships there have landed eighty men altogether, but will immediately withdraw them.

The Paris *Matin* states that the Government has received advices from Indo-China, according to which Surgeon-Major Legendre and two other officers who were conducting a scientific expedition in a little known part of Southern China have been massacred by the Lolos. Reuter wired from Peking.—The Swedish missionaries who arrived at Tientsin last evening from Shensi confirm the Chinese reports of a massacre of foreigners at Sianfu. Madame Beckman, a schoolmistress, five foreign children, many Chinese girls in another school, also a German named Philip Manners, in the postal service, were murdered. The missionaries have been robbed by highwaymen in Honan. The Legations are considering what action is to be taken.

TETE À TETE



ALTHOUGH no official announcement has yet been made, we have reason to believe that the Hon. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda will be appointed to one of the seats recently added to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. We are sure the appointment will be in entire accord with public opinion. No better choice can be made, whether from the standpoint of the Indian or of the Mussalman, than the one now awaiting His Majesty's approval. We reserve our congratulations to the Hon. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda till his appointment has been publicly announced, and for this, we are sure, we shall not have long to wait.

THE spontaneous outburst of sympathy amongst the Indian Mussalmans for their brethren in Turkey and Turkish Relief Fund Tripoli has rightly taken the form of material help to relieve the unfortunate sufferers from a wanton and wicked war. After the wholesale and cowardly slaughter of the Arabs, irrespective of age and sex, the gruesome details of which have been read with horror throughout the civilised world, the natural desire of the Mussalmans to mitigate the sufferings of those who have yet escaped Italian atrocities or of the helpless widows and orphans left behind by the martyrs in a righteous cause, has become an obvious and imperative duty. Funds are being collected in every district and town in India and even the poorest of the poor are offering their humble mite for this great work of charity. In fact the enthusiasm for raising relief funds has been so great, that money has been collected without the least organisation. From certain quarters complaints are received that those who used to rush forward as leaders of the community are now skulking. Many inquiries have reached us as to the manner in which collections made by the people themselves should be despatched. In the absence of any definite information we are not in a position to say how much money has so far been collected throughout India. Roughly speaking, the collections must have well nigh exceeded 3 lakhs, to put them at the lowest computation. Bombay alone has collected funds to the extent of three quarters of a lakh. And they are daily growing with the growing enthusiasm for the work. It seems, therefore, very desirable that there should be some method to bring together all information about the work of collections throughout the country up to date every week. It will not only keep all isolated centres of work in touch with one another and stimulate greater zeal and effort by example, but furnish a summary of the week's work and give the whole movement a unity of purpose and achievement. Besides, it will be the surest and most effective way of dissipating the foolish notions, still persisting in some quarters, that the Italian aggression in Tripoli has caused no "excitement and interest" amongst the Mussalmans. We had referred in our last issue to the efforts of "Scrutator" in *Truth*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Cairo Correspondent* of the *Near East*, and the Tripoli Correspondent of the *Times*, to ignore or belittle the significance of the intense Moslem feeling aroused by the war. Recently again the *Cairo Correspondent* of the *Near East*, which calls itself "the recognised organ of Moslem interests in England," has been pleased to opine, in spite of riots in Alexandria, that "there has been no circumstance to warrant the belief that the people of Egypt are deeply interested in the war." It is both the interest of the Mussalmans and their duty to the Government that such misrepresentations should be exposed. And if large collections of money are a true measure of the real strength of feeling, it is obviously necessary that the Indian Moslem contribution to the Turkish Relief Fund should find a weekly and up-to-date announcement through some agency. For this purpose, we place our columns at the disposal of the Moslem public and shall undertake with pleasure the duty of collecting and publishing the necessary information on the subject. We have already opened the War Sufferers' Fund and we shall gladly receive all contributions that may be sent to us. We

at the same time request those who have made separate arrangements for collection to furnish us the necessary information every week by sending the subjoined form duly filled. We will thus be in a position to announce every week the entire amount collected throughout the country. The weekly returns ending Saturday should be sent, preferably on Sunday, but in all cases so as to reach us at the latest on Wednesday morning. They will then be published on the following Saturday. Those who feel any difficulty in forwarding their collections to Constantinople may send us a cheque on some Indian Bank and it will be sent to the Turkish authorities and the receipt will be forwarded to the collectors in due course. We hope our suggestion will meet with the approval of the societies or individuals that are engaged in the task of collections and, we trust, the information requested by us will be supplied regularly.

Form for sending information relative to the War Sufferers' Fund.

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.			PROGRESS UP TO DATE.		REMARKS.
		Amount collected.	Amount forwarded to Turkey.	To whom forwarded, and through what agency.	Amount collected.	Amount forwarded.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

WE HAD published in our issue of the 18th instant an appeal from a number of Moslem students in Edinburgh, exhorting the Mussalmans of the world to raise funds for the Turkish Navy in every mosque after the Eid-ud-Duha Prayers. As we had remarked then, the despatch of funds for strengthening the Ottoman Navy will be an act against neutrality while the war lasts. But the idea of a collection on the Eid day is magnificent, and we are sure the Mussalmans throughout India will take it up with enthusiasm and collect money for the relief of the sufferers from the war. Thousands are given away in charity on these occasions, and surely, no charity can be more appropriate and well-directed than to help those who are undergoing untold misery and suffering in defending their land and liberties and their faith. Thousands of well-to-do Mussalmans will offer the usual animal sacrifices, and while the meat goes to feed the poor, the skins of the sacrificed animals are also given away for charitable objects. Let these skins be collected for the relief of the war sufferers on this occasion. In addition to cash collections, the collections of skins also should be taken in hand by influential men in every locality, for these too will bring in a handsome amount. We are sure no Mussalman in whom the pulse of spiritual kinship and unity is yet throbbing can view unmoved the trials and misfortunes of his brethren in Tripoli, or will hesitate to extend to them all the sympathy and help he can give. He has only to read the account of Italian atrocity which we publish elsewhere—given by Mr. Francis McCullagh the well-known journalist who went to Tripoli to represent the *New York World*,—to awaken his sense of duty even if it slumbers.

IN no other matter perhaps does modern science hold its head higher than in having revolutionised the means of communication. The Overland Mail, the Telegraph and the Wireless have brought the nations of the world as close to each other as the residents of a small village, each of whom knows the affairs and the most intimate concerns of his neighbours. As a London paper says, what cries of exultation are raised when a fugitive criminal is arrested on the high seas by means of wireless telegraphy! What a hubbub over the miracle of human flight. And yet a war—a sort of war—takes place in the second decade of the twentieth century, and, for all that we know of the way it has been going on since the ruthless barbarism of a month ago, we may still be in the Middle Ages. The War Correspondent's occupation is gone, and were it not for the fact that it is only Italy that is fighting, we would have suspected that after an eventful career of nearly 60 years the War Correspondent had at last expired. But then we must remember it is only Italy. The War Correspondent must wait till Italy secures a victory, like those heroic achievements of the Fleet in bombarding the deserted forts of Tripoli. But like the history of Viola's supposed sister, the chronicle of Italian achievements during the last month would have been a blank, were it not for the shambles of Tripoli. Italy may have to wait till the Greek Kalends for a victory, and in the meantime the War Correspondent must chronicle small beer or fall back on that never failing topic of discussion, the weather. So, no news is good news, and we hope we shall have nothing to record except the Second Adowa. Already the news received by the English Mail confirms not only the Turkish accounts of Italian savagery, but also of Italian cowardice and incompetence, of the Moslem victory and of the Italian losses. About 6,000 officers and men were killed or wounded and captured, besides large quantities of arms and ammunitions, which fell into the hands of the Turks. But the real Adowa has yet to come!

WE HAVE at last succeeded, and the Central Committee of the Moslem University Fund has published a statement of donations promised and collected till 31st October. A glance at the figures, which we reprint elsewhere, would show that up to that date Rs. 30,46,050-10-4 were promised and that Rs. 16,08,683-9-5½ had been realized. The payment bears a proportion of 52·8 per cent. to the promises. Since then another lakh has been realized and the funds collected reach the approximate total of Rs. 17,01,000, which raises the payments to an average of 55·8 per cent if we are to assume that no promises have been registered during the first half of this month. Roughly speaking, only about a half of the promises have materialized, and this is not a result on which the community and the collectors of the fund can be heartily congratulated. It must be remembered that it is the bigger cheques that have been the first to come, so that half the battle is yet by no means over. We do not, however, take a despondent view of the matter and we are confident that a new life would be put in the workers by the announcement of the donation of 5 lakhs by His Highness the Nizam, which, we now see, we were the first to publish. As there seems to be only a feeble echo of our announcement in the Press, we feel it necessary to state that our information was absolutely correct, that it came to us from an authoritative source, and that it has been fully confirmed by one of the most influential and ardent friends of Aligarh.

What is more, there is every hope that our desire to have the Hyderabad annual grant doubled is likely to be realized before long in the establishment of some Chairs at the Moslem University. If we could bespeak the generosity of His Highness the Nizam we would like to have an Asafiah Chair of Modern History and a Nizamiah Chair of Moslem History. His Highness will place the future generations of Indian Mussalmans under a deep obligation especially by the creation of a Professorship of Moslem History to be held by savants of European reputation. It is not by cheapening its degrees that the Moslem University would prove that it was absolutely necessary but by raising their value. But raising the standard does not mean ruthlessly "ploughing" hundreds of promising young men and having a heretofore of Undergraduates each year as so many of our Universities of to-day seem to think. We must distinguish between a rise in values and a rise in prices. Values can be raised only by appointing real scholars to teach the collegians, instead of leaving them to cram the notes prepared in hurry and dictated as a drudgery by raw Graduates of English Universities impatient for a game of Polo at the Gymkhana or a rubber of Bridge at the Club. Many people in India are inclined to think that the cost of a savant is as a rule prohibitive, and this fiction is laboriously created and confirmed by some people who have the best means of knowing the truth. Education is the worst paid profession all the world over, and this is so, not because education is not cared for as it should be, but because "filthy lucre" is not the chief consideration with the real scholar. Savants are not at the bottom of their hearts jockeys or gamblers. The "Tutors' Grind" at Oxford is only a pleasant and somewhat long walk, and has nothing to do with racing horses and Polo ponies. And though he does not altogether imitate the "British Workman", whose apparel loudly proclaims the man from a distance, the Oxford Don is by no means a fop in the matter of dress. Many an uncrowned king of Oxford and Cambridge has an income which is beneath the contempt of a Joint Magistrate, and he has to resort to many a shift to eke out a fair livelihood. And it is no exaggeration to say that he has to work twice as hard as an ordinary Professor in an Indian College. It is not money, therefore, that would attract the best men to Aligarh but the company of equally learned colleagues, a well-filled Library or a well-equipped Laboratory, and the reputation of the place. So far Aligarh can boast of nothing in this line and money alone will have to form the great attraction, unless it is the fertile character of the soil which in the matter of scholarship is also unfortunately quite virgin. The two Hyderabad Chairs which we have suggested would, we believe, attract true scholarship, and we hope we shall not have to wait longer than a month to announce the supplementary gift of a veritable prince among givers. But that is a matter for the future. The past has not, however, been wholly satisfactory and the publication of Provincial figures, for which we had been clamouring for the better part of a year, confirms our early belief that their non-publication in the past has been materially responsible for the delay in collection. The general complaint of slow realization must have been wholly unjust for a place like the Bahawalpur State which, thanks to its President of Council, Maulvi Rahim Baksh Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., and his energetic co-workers, promised nearly a lakh and twenty thousand, and paid it. Similarly, Kashmir and the Central Provinces, and the territories beyond India have paid their contributions in full. Such general complaints must have been at least harsh in the cases of Bhopal, Central India, the Frontier, Oudh, Rampur, Bombay, and Rajputana, which have paid 88, 88, 77, 67, 67, 65 and 64 per cent, respectively, of their contributions. Perhaps they were not altogether unjust in the cases of Behar, Hyderabad, Agra (East), Madras, and the Punjab that had respectively collected 57, 55, 51, 48, and 45 per cent. of their subscriptions. But they were fully deserved by Sindh, Western Bengal (Alas for poor Bengal!), Baluchistan and Agra (West), which had paid only 20, 23, 34, and 36 per cent., respectively, of what

they had promised. But no language that has yet been used can be within a hundred mile radius of adequate for the apathy of Eastern Bengal and Burma. The former promised Rs. 65,348-8-0 and had paid till the 31st October only Rs. 3,189-8-0. Perhaps the shining orbs of the orient are busy circling round the suns of their Provincial bureaucrats and moving heaven and earth for a new University and a new High Court. But people who can only pay 5 per cent of what they promise evidently need only certain branches of the High Court of Judicature. We are confident that the Hon. Khwaja Sir Salimullah, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, whose generosity and energy so well impressed the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference in 1906, and his worthy lieutenant, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab Ali Chowdhry, will not rest on their oars. But what of business-like Burma? We trust its commercial instinct has not played it false in regarding its promises in the light of Promissory Notes, for as it is the collections bear to the subscriptions the ratio of interest on Government paper—exactly 3½ per cent. We hope Burma is equally safe. As for Western Bengal, we are inclined to make some excuses for it, but can find none except this, that as Bengal has not yet been true to itself it is hardly just to accuse it of being false to others. Practically the whole of the Rs. 76,628 promised is the subscription of Calcutta itself, and it is no secret that even that is due to the generosity of the prosperous merchants of Delhi and Surat, or the people of Behar who have settled down in Calcutta. There is still one more chance of testing the liberality of Bengal, and we hope all those parochial patriots who decline to pay for educational enterprises not started at their very doorsteps, will come in their thousands to fill the coffers of the Calcutta Madrasah when subscriptions are asked to raise it to the status of a first grade College. We hope the glibly used phrase, "local needs", will not then be substituted by the honest, though at the same time franker, phrase, "domestic requirements". It is some consolation to know that within this month more than Rs. 35,000 have been realized and the percentage of Western Bengal's payment is, thanks to the persistence of Mr. Sultan Ahmad, as high as 70. But the sugar merchants who had postponed their promises till a rise in the price of sugar ought to come forward now that sugar is extra sweet to them and make up the balance needed to raise Bengal's contribution to at least a lakh. For more reasons than one we heartily wish for a further rise in the price of sugar. The one Province that has done remarkably well is Bombay. It promised Rs. 6,10,539-12-0 and has paid Rs. 3,93,812-8-0. But that is not all. Subscriptions are still coming in, and we hear that the Memons, who had been somewhat cold, are at last thawing under the heat of attentions paid to them by a number of Bombay stalwarts, chief among whom is the worthy son of our worthy Baronet, the Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim. Bravo, Bombay! *Capital's* Bombay correspondent had published the base insinuation that a boy out of Italian was likely to prove useful to its Advocate-in-Chief, the Baronet. Though it would be impertinent even to deny the knavish reports of such motives, for once we are inclined to wish that the report may prove correct. Moslem India is bound to boycott Italy, and if that brings additional gains to the Currimbhoy, we know it means more grief to the Aligarh mill. We are sorry to note that Rampur has still half a lakh to pay and trust the debt will soon be wiped off. But apart from His Highness's donation, it seems, only Rs. 500 have been raised. Oh, fie, Rampur! Oudh too, has many small cheques to collect and we hope the Hon. Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad is not going to let the year close with a pie unrealized. H. H. the Nizam's donation means not only an addition of 5 lakhs and the creation of two Chans, but a rapid increase in the contributions of Deccan's great nobles. We hope that at the end of 1911 we shall have the pleasure of recording promises of half a crore, and the payment of at least 75 per cent. We suppose our reforming contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, can afford to wait all then, and will not press its highly moral—not to say politic—request to the Government of India to break faith with seventy millions of its subjects as a Coronation boon. We hope we do not misunderstand the *J.S.R.* "If the Government of India would assert itself at this juncture, and give a little wholesome advice to the promoters of sectarian Universities, the country may yet be saved from a serious danger and Government from possibilities of grave embarrassment." As if we in India were not already too much ruled, our reforming contemporary, tired of converting its clients, appeals to the "Patriot Kings" of Nankai to crush independent Universities under their iron heel, and to pass Mr. Basu's Bill at the point of the bayonet! Such is Reform!

WHETHER the Anglo-Russian Convention will survive the recent developments in the Persian situation or drift to an ignominious end, it has secured an unenviable niche in history. The whole world was called to witness and admire the purpose for which this double-edged instrument was forged, and Sir Edward Grey in particular loved to dangle it as a great achievement of Liberal statesmanship which would ensure the free and undisturbed development of the constitutional régime in Persia. Wiser and more experienced Liberals, however, shook their heads in doubt and considered it to be an

ill-starred political *mesalliance*. These apprehensions have proved out to be literally true. Could any confession be more explicit than that of the *Times* which says that "Russian action has caused unbounded surprise." If we could but believe it! Who could have known the drift of the Convention better than the *Times*, unless perhaps it was—Sir Edward Grey? The practical results of the Convention ever since it began to shape Anglo-Russian diplomacy at Teheran will stand out for all ages as a warning and a prophecy. There is no greater danger to the freedom of young nationalities than the irresolution and shuffling of a British Liberal like Sir Edward Grey tempered with Muscovitism. If Persia has escaped partition to-day, it is because the Muscovite is confident that the prey is within his grasp and that he can well bide his time. Thanks to the advice of England, he has secured all that he wants for the present. He will receive an apology from the Persian Government for not having patiently submitted to the interference of the Russian Cossacks in the administration of its laws. He will have driven out the one independent and able man, the American Finance Minister, who could be trusted to fearlessly carry out reforms and organise the finances of the country. Above all he will exact £300,000 as a fine for disobedience. In this ruthless blackmailing of a poor, helpless people, already groaning under the weight of intolerable financial burdens, there is a touch of the brigand as well as of the irate schoolmaster who loves to impose heavy penalties for all boyish freaks in the interests of discipline. Even the *Times* has been led to feel that the dragging of a defenceless nation, which, as the blatant champion of Jingo Imperialism it is ever ready to justify as "sterner realities," has in this case reached its limits. Indeed, the "sterner realities" of the situation must be ugly beyond redemption when even the grand inconsequence of this journal gathers enough point to emphasise "the significance of Russian action which it does not consider altogether justified." Russian methods are simply disreputable and there is a grave and distinct danger to England's prestige and reputation in the East by her association with an unscrupulous ally. Let us for argument's sake set aside all considerations about the preservation of the freedom of a fine and gifted race, although these considerations ought to be present in the councils of British statesmen. Putting it at the lowest plane of self-interest, the existence of Persia as an independent Power is a matter of supreme importance to British position in the East. Is there, then, no British statesman of enough courage and resource to emancipate the foreign policy of his country from the evil dominance of Russia? The dread of Germany seems to have got on the nerves of Sir Edward Grey, and recent disclosures by the German Foreign Minister lend weight to the belief that Russia is freely exploiting Germanophile leanings of British diplomacy for her own designs in the Middle East. Sir Edward Grey was prepared to go to war against Germany for the sake of France over a dispute about an insignificant and forsaken port in Morocco. Yet he could not restrain Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, nor could he tolerate the humanitarian protests against Italian atrocities in the House of Commons. His Persian policy has been one of absolute surrender to Russian demands. He has patiently acquiesced in the systematic campaign of coercion, threats and bullying with which Russia is trying to reduce Persian freedom to nullity and law and administration to chaos. Surely the might and prestige of the great British Empire could be put to nobler and worthier and more profitable ends! Of course, the papers publish denials of the rumour that Sir Edward Grey was going to resign. But who ever believed that he had even this much vestige of conscience left in him? No! not Sir Edward!

THE Dragon Empire is in the travails of a new birth. The only danger is that the nurses in attendance may not kill it in mutual jealousy before it has been safely delivered of the new Republic.

The danger is chronic in all such cases, and the symptoms of its existence in China are developing with alarming rapidity. "Foreign interests," which in common parlance mean ambitions of the European Powers, are a formidable rock on which many a progressive movement and many an effort for self-improvement in Eastern lands have come to grief. These "interests" are as vague as nebulae and elude all efforts at patient analysis. But they are supposed to be omnipresent and are felt to act in everything invisibly but implacably like the atmospheric pressure. There exists a shrewd suspicion in well-informed quarters that, when firmly tackled, these interests begin to evaporate and leave behind as residue a proselytising missionary or at worst a peddler in fancy goods. As ill-luck would have it, a report of the murder of a missionary in China has been duly supplied by Reuter, and one shudders to think of the consequences of this grave catastrophe. Foreign warships are already patrolling the coasts, in some places foreign troops have been landed, and more are being sent or held in readiness for eventualities. Almost every great Power has declared its desire to abstain from intervention and almost every Power has sent warships and troops to strengthen its consular guards! As the *Times* would say, all of them are awaiting developments, i.e., carefully watching opportunities to create new "spheres of influence" or convert the existing ones into "protectorates" in order to avert the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire and preserve its integrity! O, tremendous *Times*!

25th November.

The Comrade.

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The Comrade.

"Lest We Forget."

RUSSIA'S designs on Persia, France's *coup* in Morocco, and Italy's brigandage in Tripoli have all emphasised the solidarity of Islam even now that Mussalmans and Islam have fallen on evil days and evil tongues. But each incident that accentuates this characteristic of the Faith of Mohamed bears witness to the fact that this creed is in one respect wholly peculiar. Islam has been a riddle to the rest of the world for more than thirteen centuries, and it is still a riddle to-day.

No country and race were perhaps so exclusive and clannish as Arabia and the Arabians. Their pride of place was the one theme of their poets, and the long stretch of the desert sand that had cut off this people from the rest of humanity had given to the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula an extreme insularity. They were intensely jealous of their purity of blood and purity of speech. But that was more than thirteen hundred years ago, and although the Arab still holds his head high, there is more purity of blood and speech in the rude dweller of the desert to-day than in the *elite* of Arab society. It is only in the Najd that the Beduin and his horse can still boast of unalloyed pedigree. For the Last of the Prophets wrought a great miracle, and Providence chose to cast the seed of the purest democracy on the apparently barren soil of an intensely aristocratic desert, so that the wilderness may blossom as a garden and justify the ways of God to men. Islam changed the whole face of the peninsula, but no change was so stupendous as the substitution of a brotherhood of all believers for the claims of Arabia's warring tribes to social superiority. The glory of Rome that it made the orb of the world an *urbis* seems by comparison an empty boast, for Islam can claim far more truly that it made of all the faithful a single family.

We do not wish to shut our eyes to the innumerable internecine wars of Moslem dynasties or the narrow jealousies of its reputed seventy-two sects. Nor shall we lightly pass over the later racial prejudices of Arab and Ajam, Turk and Tajik. But there is no ideal of humanity which it has yet fully achieved, and the loftier the ideal is the more difficult is its achievement. The millennium is not yet and perfection—which is the surest enemy of progress—is still distant. The full realization of the ideal of Islam is in the womb of futurity, but the history of that Golden Age of Islam—the times of the Prophet and his theocratic successors known as the *Khalifa-i-Rashideen*—has shown to every subsequent generation of Mussalmans a glimpse of human perfection which went far to convince it that the ideal of Islam was not unattainable. After recounting every failure, large or small, in the pursuit of the Islamic ideal of equality and fraternity, there still remains a solid residuum of achievement which no other system of political philosophy or social ethics has yet paralleled. A little known poet of our own generation has painted for us a distant scene with a simplicity and directness that bring the past so vividly before us. He writes—

سے بہت اقدس رج کاروان ہے
سر قافلہ ال معزز جوان ہے
تعجب ہے خود پاپیادہ (روان ہے *)
اور اوسکی عوض اونٹ پر ساربان ہے
احوت کا دم درنوں آپس میں بہرے
چلے جاتے ہیں بوسے چرمتے اوٹرے

(The Caravan is travelling towards the Holy City. At its head is a warrior of great dignity. But it is strange that he himself is on foot and in his stead the camel driver rides on the camel. They travel on thus, riding and walking by turns, both practising the brotherhood of Islam). This was the journey to Jerusalem of Omar, Commander of the Faithful and the Conqueror of Syria, Persia and Egypt. "It was the same Omar who, though he had without the least hesitation deprived Khalid, the generalissimo, the Sword of Islam, of his command, could do nothing against the Prophet's Muezzin, a Nubian manumitted slave, but pray like a woman that God may secure him from the mischief of Bilal. There may not be an Omar to-day nor a Bilal; but those who see the relations of master and man in Moslem countries can yet bear testimony to the singular freedom of Islam from the conventions and prejudices of caste and class. "Verily all Moslems are brothers," and the ideal of social democracy and fraternity makes it possible for the three hundred million Mussalmans of the world, scattered as they are over three continents, and subject to different rulers, mostly holding an alien creed, to laugh at distance and breathe and pray a unique mutual sympathy.

It is not the identity of ethnic origin, nor the bond of a common geographical situation that binds thus a sixth of the whole human race. Professor Oman, speaking of the efforts

of Christian Missions in the Dark Ages, wrote that "the Saracen alone it was impossible to convert," and Kaiser Wilhelm II. is said to have lamented similar missionary failures in the Dark Continent to-day. But who was the Saracen, and why is Islam so successful even to-day when it has reached its political nadir? Scratch the Saracen, of history—and dig your nails deep enough. When you have done that you will find him to be a converted Jew, or Christian, Copt or Hindu. It was Islam's universal brotherhood that threw the Aryan and the Semite, Arab and Ajam, Turk and Tajik, white, yellow and black, all into one melting pot and made the amalgam the unconvertible Saracen. It is the same practical everyday Brotherhood of Man that succeeds to-day in Africa when the shadowy and impalpable Fatherhood of God fails to impress the simple Negro. Truth may doubt, and the *Times* may sneer at the "big drum of Islam," yet the universal feeling of rage that has stirred the Mussalmans of the world at the present moment as they had never been stirred before within living memory goes to prove, if proof was necessary, that the fraternity of Islam is not an empty boast.

But it is not our present purpose to "beat the big drum of Islam." In fact it is the duty of all responsible persons—a duty that they owe to themselves and their co-religionists much more than to their rulers of an alien creed—to prevent the deep and surging resentment of the Mussalmans from running into dangerous channels, and we appeal to them all to be extremely vigilant at this extremely critical period. It is clear that the Mussalmans have not forgotten the fraternity of Islam, but we must ask them frankly if they have not forgotten Islam itself. This is a question that forcibly intrudes itself on our attention and it must be answered. Islam in its origin was neither a race nor a nationality. But what is it to-day? That it exists as a separate entity it will be sheer imbecility to doubt. But what with its Moslem Leagues and its Red Crescent Societies, is there not a manifest danger of its degenerating into a political war-cry? We need hardly say that we mean no disrespect to Leagues and Red Crescent Societies. But we hold that Islam transcends in its importance all political associations and all organisations for the relief of war's sufferers. It is not in politics that lies the salvation of the Moslem world.

What was the essence of the Islamic civilisation? It was not Art, though Art formed the basis of Greek culture. It was not Metaphysics, though Metaphysics supplied a substratum to Hindu civilisation. And it was not Politics, though Politics is the foundation of modern European Society. It was Social Ethics. Islam was a *mashab*—a pathway—and neither contemplation nor conquest can be the true *mashab* of humanity. If the puritanic character of that faith had discouraged music, if its idealism had checked the growth of sculpture and painting; if its *taqwa* or "God-fearingness" had choked the channel of Arab poetry of the Days of Ignorance, with its free loves and wars of vengeance, if its horror of subtleties had made it unattractive for the abstruse thinker, it had at least supplied the Moslem with a simple guide of conduct. Not that the flow of Art or Music could be checked for ever, for in calligraphy, in carpet weaving, and in architecture the Moslem found outlets for his genius, and, as in architecture so in music, the Moslem graft on the original Aryan plant improved the fruit beyond recognition. Not that in Literature, Philosophy or Science thirteen centuries of Islam have been barren; for the names of Firdausi and Sa'di, Hafiz and Khayyam, Abu Nawas and Mutanabbi, Mir and Ghalib, Averroes and Avicenna, Ghazzali and Razi, Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmad Khan are proof enough that the Lamp of Letters was kept alight. But more than all these, the glory of Islam has been that not a soul in the philosopher's closet or the kitchen has been left without the consolation of religion in its adversities and its perplexities, and that no human being could fail to find readily an easily intelligible rule of conduct in the Qur'an, that most practical of all codes of ethics for all aspects of life, for all the functions of father or son, husband or wife, neighbour or friend, citizen or subject, king or conqueror.

Not so very long ago, Iqbal, the passionate poet of our youth, burst out into a "Complaint." It is difficult to quote from that impassioned remonstrance with Allah, and we must ask our readers to read the *شکوہ* for themselves. But we must indicate the general argument, although the language must perforce appear by comparison altogether tame and tasteless. He justly suggests that he is the plaintive Nightingale and not the Rose that is silent, and he says he has a Complaint against Allah which he cannot contain with himself.

ہے بجا شکوہ تسلیم میں مشہور ہیں ہم
قصہ درد سنائے ہیں نہ مجبور ہیں ہم
ساز خاصوش ہیں نریاد سے معمور ہیں ہم
نالہ آگ ہے اگر لب پہ تو معذور ہیں ہم
اے خدا شکوہ ادب اب رہا ہی سن لے
خوگر حمد سے لہوڑا سا گلا ہی سن لے

He owns that the Creator was the Flower in the Garden even before He created the Breeze. But it was the Breeze that spread the fragrance of the Flower, and he claims that the Breeze was the Moslem. He paints a vivid picture of the earlier modes of worship and then of the "process" of Mussalmans who cleared the way for the advance of Unity. They did not fight for mere glory, for glory does not last. They did not shed blood for the sake of wealth, for that was vanity. They did not unsheath the sword for the advancement of trade, for they were not mercenary. Their sword was the key that unlocked the dark and deep dungeons of the world which the Message of Unity flooded with divine light. Then he turns to the fate of the Moslems of to-day and compares it with the far happier lot of others.

اعتن ادر ہی میں ادر میں گنہگار ہی میں *
عجز والے ہی میں مسست مئے پندار ہی میں
اونمیں کامل ہی میں غافل ہی میں مہیا رہی میں *
سبکدوش میں کہ قرے نام سے ہزار ہی میں
رحمتیں میں قری اغیار کے کاشالوں پر
برق کرتی ہے تو بہارے مسلمانوں پر

He goes on:—"The idols in the temples rejoice that the defenders of the Ka'ba shall be no more and that the singers of the camel drivers' song in the caravan shall be silenced. Art Thou aware that Infidelity laughs at Faith? Hast Thou no concern even for Thy Unity? Thou, who givest without reckoning or limit, why hast Thou denied Thy blessings to Moslems? If Thou wiltest bubbles may form themselves in the sand and a flood may rise from the mirage beating its waves on the thirsty traveller. But all that we receive is the scorn of unbelievers, humiliation and penury. Is shame the only return of death for Thy name? The world now loves others and to us remains nought but a world of fancy. We depart and others take over the control of the world to-day. Say not, then, that the world was left without the Oneness of God. We only live to keep alive Thy name; may be that the Cup may remain, and the Cup-bearer may be no more! Thy assemblage is over and Thy lovers have departed. The sighs of the dusk and the walls of the dawn are hushed. We gave over our hearts to Thee and took away its meagre price. Hardly had we sat down when the order was given to go. Thy lovers came and then departed—with the promise of the morrow! Search them now if Thou wilt with the light of Thy face. The Love-Pangs for Leillah's and the Side of Qais are the same. The Hills and the Desert of Najd and the Leaping of the Gazelle are the same. The Heart of Love and the Charm of Beauty are the same. The Following of Thy Messenger is the same and Thou art the same. Then why this causeless estrangement and the eye of wrath?"

تجہ کو چہرہ! کہ رسول عربی کو چہرہ؟ *
بہت گری پیشہ کیا بہت شکلی کو چہرہ؟ *
عشق کو عشق کی آشنہ سری کو چہرہ؟ *
رسم سلمان رادیس قری کو چہرہ؟ *
آگ نکیر کی سنوں میں دبی رکبتے میں! *
زلہ کی مثل لال حبیبی رکبتے میں!

Iqbal's is an impassioned plea, but it is nevertheless a bit of special pleading, and none knows it better than the poet himself. In educational, social and even political gatherings of the Moslems the theme of the orator and the poet is religion. But it is time they avoided all juggling and platform tricks about religion. It is not the rhetoric of the orator, the rhyme of the poet, or the nimble activity of the touch-and-go philosopher that can supply an answer to the question, "Have not Moslems forgotten Islam?" The problem of religion must be dealt with as a snake-catcher deals with a cobra or a gardener with an undergrowth of nettles. No gingerly touch, but a quick grasp, determined and firm. Is it not that in the annals of the world the name of Mussalmans is recorded in virtue of the creed that inspired them in war as it moved them in peace? Is it not that they owed their glory of yesterday to that, and owe their degradation of to-day only to themselves? Was it not only when their wars and politics and domestic life were divorced from their faith that they declined, and now that they are face to face with a tremendous crisis, is it not that their religion has but little hold on their lives and but little influence on their actions? The ritualists who pretended piety have been lashed viciously enough till they are bent and bleeding and hck the feet of the men of "New Light" who alone command fame and power to-day. The ritualists who pretended piety no doubt richly deserved the castigation. But what of the spiritualists who dissemble sincerity? Are we so sure that the fire of *taqwa* still burns in the privacy of their hearts? Would the burnt Nubian Muezzin of the Prophet appreciate the Poet's glowing simile quite as much as his admirers? It is related that only once, on the occasion of a great battle, Bilal was induced to proclaim the hour of prayer after the death of the Prophet. And it is stated that it brought tears to the eyes of stern warriors and old men wept like children. Are we sure that even if a Bilal were to mount the steps of the minaret and call

the faithful to prayer, they would hear his voice and hasten to salvation? Would not a tear-drop be too maudlin an exhibition and stain a well-earned reputation for "rationalism"? Iqbal has well described the peaceful array which taught his ancestors how to form a solid phalanx in the hour of battle

آگاہ میں لڑائی میں اگر وقت نماز *
قبلہ رو ہوئے زمین ہوس ہوئی قوم حجاز
ایک ہی صف میں کھڑے ہو گئے محمود و ایاز *
نہ کوئی بندہ رہا اور نہ کوئی بندہ نوا
بندہ صاحب محتاج و غنی ایک ہوئے
قہری سرکار میں پہنچے تو سبھی ایک ہوئے

Few of the Moslems in India have a chance of ignoring the bayonets and the bullets of the enemy on occasions like those described in Iqbal's verse which, however, were the commonplace occurrences of those days. But we ask whether even a few among their leaders to-day would brave the smiles of surprise that would play round the bureaucratic mouths of some of their friends if they knelt down at the setting of the sun on the lawns of the Government House in a Garden Party? The stricter for religious ceremonial is laughed at, and laughed at justly. But we submit that the spiritual Pharisee, who talks transcendental philosophy and the higher criticism, who is so full of ethics and culture, is the wretch who has not yet had his deserts. The *futwas* of infidelity of the old bigot are not so dangerous to-day as the subtle influence of the young unbeliever's honeyed phrases and facile faiths. Prayer is a drudgery, fasting is against all medical canons; to give *zakat* is to encourage sturdy beggars, the pilgrimage to Mecca is idolatry. Islamic rules of cleanliness were framed before the microbe was discovered; the reading of the Quran in a foreign tongue serves no purpose and translations are not good literature; Islamic laws of matrimony, divorce and *purdah* are relics of barbarism, Islamic rules of succession are arithmetical puzzles, and, of course, the prohibition of intoxicants applies only to drunkenness, which, *absit omen*, is not to be dreamt of in the case of moderate drinkers! And yet, when Morocco is "protected," Tripoli is "annexed" and Persia is "strengthened," Europe and Christendom are vehemently abused and the cry is raised on all sides that "Islam is in danger." As if Islam could ever be in greater danger through the belief of Infidels than through the beliefs and actions of such among the Faithful.

Iqbal knows all this and his "Complaint" is not so much against Allah as against his so-called worshippers.

کاش گلشن میں سمجھتا کوئی فریاد ارسی
We echo his plaintive wail and his prayer.
رادی نجد میں رہ شور سائل نہ رہا *
قبس دیوانہ لظارء محفل نہ رہا
حوسلہ رہ نہ رہے ہم نہ رہے دل نہ رہا *
کہر بہہ ارجرا ہے کہ تو رونق محفل نہ رہا
اے خوش آن درز کہ آئے ربصہ ناز آئی
بے حجابانہ سوئے مدخل ما باز آئی
مفلکین امف مرحوم کی آسان کر دے *
مور بے مایہ کو ہمدوش سلیمان کر دے
جنس نایاب محبت کو پہرا رزان کر دے *
یعنی ہم دیر نشینوں کو مسلمان کر دے
جوہ خون می چکد از حسرت دیرینہ ما
می تہہ نالہ بہ لہتر کہہ سینہ ما

Illusions.

THE most awful and intolerable tragedy for the human mind is to cease to feel enthusiasm, to lose its faculty of fresh and virgin astonishment. There are indeed occasions when even the most virile and capacious minds are bored by the fatigue of effort and turn in sheer disgust from the flat, incurable monotony of things. These are, however, recuperative pauses in the incessant mental toil, when hope and faith are in the throes of a new birth and are gathering ampler energy and will for fresh joys of creation. The passing cloud rolls away, the spirit rejoices in the glory of the recovered heavens and moves in the light of the stars. But there is another kind of fatigue that altogether dries up the sources of energy, a weight of monotony that never lifts, a doubt that endures for ever, an utter paralysis of the will, an eclipse that blot out the heavens, and robs the earth of its light. This grievous malady of the spirit is called by various names—Satiety, Pessimism, Disillusionment, Derangement of the Stomach are some of them. Whatever its origin, the affliction ends in the mental and spiritual death of the unfortunate sufferer. The shades of the prison-house close around him. The note of joy dies out of human things, and

the oracle is dumb for ever more. He vainly interrogates life and cries with Hafiz.

کرکب بخت مرا هیچ بنجم لفظ نیست
یارب از مادر گیتی بجه طالع زادم

(No astrologer has discovered the star of my destiny. O God! what was the planet that presided when mother earth gave me birth?)

This death of hope, this paralysis of effort, this gradual ending of faith and aspiration in an individual is, as we have said, perhaps the most awful tragedy of the human mind. We would not say with the cynic that without illusions life is not only insupportable but impossible and that the only reality ever known to man is what a person feels just before committing suicide. It would be a quite interminable process to enter into a discussion of the nature and importance of "illusions" that inspire human efforts,—the hopes, the ideals and the aspirations that have moved the human heart since the birth of creation. They have changed with the change of purpose in human life. Some of them are dead, and create no enthusiasm and offer no guidance in the diverse problems that confront mankind to-day. There is, however, an underlying spirit of kinship in all the various ideals and watchwords that have moved the heart and mind of man in his ceaseless march through the ages. There is a unity in difference. And although the faith of to-day may sink into a mere superstition of to-morrow, it serves a distinct function in human development as long as it moves men with genuine enthusiasm. The illusion is, for the time being, the only reality, the faith that inspires all creative energy, the vital fact in the shifting panorama of history.

Every people have their illusions. Without them they cannot live as an organised and progressive human group. There are, for instance, the illusions of motherland, of race, of nationality which have been, in varying degrees, common to the whole human race and have vitally affected the course of human history. They may be ethically offensive and crude, blundering or futile as philosophy. But they are very vital and real and dominate the entire range of human life and affairs to-day. They are not simply forces, they are the atmosphere, the enveloping climate in which motive and purpose and aim are being bred and moulded into definite shapes. A man without "patriotism" is to millions an unthinkable horror. Millions would instinctively feel that such a monster could not exist. Millions, again, quite amiable and virtuous people in private life, would be lashed into a bestial fury and passion at their "patriotism" required them to avenge a "national" wrong. None would suppose a country parson to be fond of plunder, theft, treachery or murder in the daily concerns of life, yet a simple change of motive from the individual to the "racial" or "national" plane would strip him bare of his restraints and conventions and urge him as "patriot" to commit all the deadly sins of the flesh without the slightest remorse or fear of the Lord. Society punishes murder with death. Nations commemorate their war heroes—men who could slaughter and kill most effectively—in marble and bronze. There may be a difference of motive in either case, but there is hardly a difference of value and result. Society may be a compromise and its codes a convention. "Nationality" abhors compromise and is a greater convention still.

"Nationalism" may be a necessary stage in the evolution of a world-state or some other kind of organisation for the federation of humanity. The "illusion" will last as long as it is useful and will ultimately perish as a legend. Is it, however, right or reasonable or even necessary that the evolution of "nationality" should be the end in itself? Are there no higher and better objects that should claim the efforts and devotion of public men and patriots? To teach every new generation to reverence and worship the fetish and burn life-long incense at the shrine of a temporary divinity is to lose entire sense of proportion and to raise the acquisition of means into an end in itself. Such miscarriages of aim occur with painful frequency in some of the most tragic chapters in history. "Nationalism" as an ideal, for the practical realisation of which some of the worst passions of young humanity are roused by a direct appeal to some of the most brutal and unworthy achievements of its ancestors—their self-assertion, lust of power and dominion, their murderous energy, even their prejudices, savage usages and superstitions—must have some relation to the ultimate end and purpose of human life, even though it be a necessary "illusion" at the present stage of human development.

It is, in some ways, a curious phenomenon that, while strong, healthy and virile nations have their "illusions" about the future, the decadent races invariably turn to the past and console themselves with the golden visions that sit in the twilight of legend or in the softened glamour of history. The one may be a pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp, but it has all the zest of adventure, the inspiration of effort, the charm of novelty. But the other is a sheer debauchery of the senses, the lazy movements of a jaded spirit through that museum of curios, the wide and sweeping picture-galleries of Memory stuffed with the ghosts and images of the past. Like old men, decadent races suffer from a paralysis of will and deadened aspiration. In India the experience of every earnest reformer, social, political, or religious, is a record of strenuous fight to dethrone the images of

the past and replace them by the more vigorous and fresh images about the future. The innate passion for change and novelty is a great motive power in all human endeavours, but habit is an equally great conservative force. That is perhaps why every successful social or political adaptation has been achieved on the strength of the illusion that every new departure in human thought or action is a mere revival of the past—a redelivery, so to speak, of an earlier inspiration. Every effective reformer knows and loves to play upon the paradox that change is in reality no change but a "re-formation." In fact by a wise perception of the psychology of habit he calls himself a "re-former" and not an innovator. This is, however, a great popular illusion and has done immense mischief in many directions.

Indian society is, in the main, hopelessly wedded to the past. Even many of its so-called "emancipated" reformers have hardly a true conception of the nature of their work and mission. They forget the fundamental postulate of their self-imposed task, that the thing that once has been can never be again. History never repeats itself. Social "re-formations" are as meaningless as "re-formations" in morals or theologies. While therefore all assertions about recreating the past faithfully in every detail are unscientific cant, they are no less mischievous in their effect on the popular conceptions of social duty and of the purpose of human life. To perpetually live in a dream of social blessedness that never was, not only produces the habit of a slavish adherence to dead forms and decaying customs, but absolutely reverses the standard of values in social achievement. Not only "re-formations" are impossible but undesirable. The resurrection of 5th century India would be a calamity that would drive every "re-former" and lover of the golden past to seek refuge in anarchism. It is, however, an infinite consolation to think that what has been done cannot be done again, nor can it be undone for the matter of that. The moving finger writes and, having writ, moves on.

It should not, however, be inferred that such an attitude lands one in the hopeless quagmire of the doctrine which the Nietzsche cult has popularised among modern cynics, i.e., what is, is right. In spite of the Determinism of ancient Metaphysics and the thorough-going fatalism of modern evolutionary Philosophy, man believes in his heart of hearts to be the master of his fate and acts in the confident belief that his world is not the best of all possible worlds. He has his illusions and he strives to make them a reality. But all the illusions of the nations that are alive with hope and vitality are about the future, and this makes all the difference. India wants not "re-formers" but revolutionaries who would release the heart and mind of the people from the thralldom of a dead past and turn them confidently ahead. The nature of the appeal has got to be completely changed. They should be roused to activity, not for the sake of what they were but what they can be. In the first case they would sink into a static calm, which is another name for death. In the second case they would feel the joy of unmeasured freedom and, as the rightful heir of all the ages, would inherit the whole Universe as their legitimate possession.

Water Wireless Telegraphy.

WE HAVE received with extreme satisfaction the news of Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan's election as a Member of the Royal Institution in recognition of his discovery of Water Wireless Telegraphy more than a year ago, about which we wrote in some detail very early in the year. We believe the Royal Institution is the premier scientific society of the world and admits only scientists of recognised standing as its members, and it is stated that there is not a single member of the Institution in India, whether English or Indian, and perhaps none in the rest of Asia either. Lord Rayleigh proposed Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan for membership and Sir James Dewar, Sir William Crookes, and the Duke of Northumberland seconded. This is an honour of which we must all be proud and we trust that Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan will not be like the prophet who is without honour in his own country. The Deutsche Mathematische Vereinigung of Leipzig, the chief scientific society of Germany, has also nominated him as a member on the proposal of its President, and some forty other scientific societies of England, Germany, France, America, Australia and Africa have offered fellowships and memberships. The Trustees of the Gunning Victoria Jubilee Prize, which is of the value of Rs 60,000 and is awarded for the best original work of Physics, have informed Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan that the pamphlet in which he has described his discovery will be considered when the Trustees meet in 1913 to award the Prize. Only recently he received a communication from the Manager of a firm in Columbia, who said that, having read of the discovery, his firm wanted to establish communication by water for 70 miles, and were prepared to pay handsomely for the same.

Some months ago a lecture was delivered at the Royal Institution by Professor Baker, one of the best English authorities on Telegraphy, on "Progress in Wireless Telegraphy," and subsequently published in the *Times*. In the course of his lecture, Professor Baker said that "there are very remarkable future possibilities in the system

devised by Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, and it is very notable that he has worked very long distances through river with the small power available from the ordinary Cardew Vibrator." It is noteworthy that Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman Khan is a Superintendent of Telegraphs at Allahabad and is now placed on special duty at the Delhi Durbar Camp. Obviously the proper thing to do was to place the discoverer of a system with such remarkable possibilities on special duty to make further experiments on behalf of the Government, and to supply him with the necessary apparatus and power. We believe such a request was made to the Department, but the Director-General very much regretted that owing to the exigencies of the Service he could not accede to his request. No outsider can so well judge of the exigencies of the Service, but it appears to us that if the discovery has all the possibilities that it is credited with by the most competent scientists, including the highest officers of the Department itself, and if the discoverer deserves all the honours which some of the most exclusive societies have offered to him, then the cheese-paring policy of saving a few thousand rupees of a relieving officer's salary can hardly be commended. Mr Habib-ur-Rahman Khan has already established communication over a distance of 67 miles. Yet Signior Marconi was given £20,000 for patent rights and supplied with the necessary apparatus after establishing communication over a distance of 300 feet only. Evidently the British Post Office had different ideas on the subject of "exigencies of the Service."



Verse.

Cupid's Complaint.

'Twas Summer time. The days were long,
And Cupid found them trying.
Despite his Art things went awry
And many folks were sighing.
He thought of days long since gone by
When love was not old fashioned;
But modern maids and modern men
His wiles left unimpassioned.
Then Cupid cried:—"Alas 'tis true
Poor Cupid's days are over,
Men do not look for sweethearts now,
Nor maidens need a lover."
Poor homeless Cupid almost wept.
His eyes with tear-drops glistened;
In vain he sought to kindle love.
But no one even listened.
Whilst seeking wealth, mankind and love
Have drifted far asunder;
But Cupid vows the day will come
When man shall own his blunder.

W. K. G.



GHALIB'S GRAVE FUND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Syed Abul Aas, Esq., Bankipore	..	1	0 0
Mirza Saeeduddin Ahmed, Esq., Delhi	...	25	0 0
S. M. A. Rasul, Esq., Calcutta	...	10	0 0
Amount received during the fortnight	...	36	0 0
Amount previously acknowledged	541	0 0
Total	...	577	0 0

MOSLEM UNIVERSITY FUND.

UP TO 31ST OCTOBER, 1911.

Name of Province, State or Circle.	Amount promised.			Amount collected.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Burma	2,24,223	0	0	8,157	4	0
Eastern Bengal	65,347	8	0	3,189	8	0
Western Bengal	76,628	0	0	17,799	7	0
Behar	75,493	13	6	42,534	8	6
Oudh	4,05,940	2	9	2,71,861	2	5
Agra—Eastern Circle...	1,41,131	10	3	72,985	8	0
Agra—Western Circle...	2,85,075	0	2	1,04,615	2	6
Rampur State	1,50,500	0	0	1,00,500	0	0
Punjab	3,49,504	7	9	1,58,361	5	5
Bahawalpur State	1,19,460	15	0	1,19,460	15	0
Kashmir State	11,687	7	6	11,687	7	6
Frontier Province	10,311	6	6	7,780	15	0
Baluchistan	50,784	10	0	17,083	12	6
Sind	1,37,932	15	0	27,804	3	0
Bombay	6,10,539	12	0	3,93,812	8	0
Madras	78,199	4	6	37,632	12	3
Hyderabad (Deccan)	39,685	5	10*	21,590	2	7
Central Provinces	22,483	0	9	22,483	0	9
Central India	8,577	4	7	7,079	0	3
Rhopal State	1,66,744	14	3½	1,46,049	11	3½
Rajputana	5,201	4	6	3,100	8	6
Outside India	7,670	13	4	7,670	13	4
Unlocated	5,472	5	11	5,472	5	11
Total	30,46,050	10	4	16,08,683	9	5½†

* Does not include the donation of His Highness the Nizam, which is 5 lakhs.

† Some more money has been collected since the 31st October last and the latest weekly bulletin issued from Aligarh, on the 22nd November, shows the total amount collected to be Rs. 17,01,000, of which Rs. 16,61,000 is in the Agra Branch of the Bank of Bengal.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Abdur Rahman Adhami, Esq	...	10	0 0
Peare Sahib	...	1	0 0
Ahadi Khatoon	...	1	0 0
A Lady	...	1	0 0
Anonymous	...	1	0 0
Through Nasiruddin Ahmed, Esq., Shahzadpur, Pabna	...	20	0 0
P. Mohamed Zakiuddin Razavi, Esq., Amroha	...	25	0 0
Mozzam Ali Khan, Esq., Pabna	...	78	4 0
Mrs. A. Mohamed Ali, Rudauli	...	30	0 0
Messrs. S. A. Majeed & Co., Opticians, Dacca	...	5	0 0
Mohamed Ismail Khan, Esq	...	2	0 0
Nawab Ali Esq., Barabanki	...	25	0 0
Syed Abul Aas, Esq., Bankipore	...	5	0 0
The Mosalmans of Sylhet, through the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Abdul Majid, Sylhet (first half of currency notes)	...	300	0 0
Through M. Fazley Haque Khan, Esq., Bassi,—A Harrier (first instalment)	...	100	0 0
Mohamed Akbar Khan Esq., (first instalment)	...	2	0 0
Nar Mohammed Khan, Esq.,	...	2	0 0
Anwar ul-Haque Khan, Esq., (Student)	...	1	0 0
Kaloo Mistri Sahab	...	1	0 0
Rahim Raksh Sahab (a servant of the Bar)	...	1	0 0
Amount received during the week	...	611	0 0
Amount previously acknowledged	483	6 0
Total	...	1,034	6 0



The Royal Visit.

WE HAVE received from the Additional Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, a hand-book which we publish below giving particulars of the arrangements made in connection with the assembling of 20,000 school children to welcome Their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, on their arrival in Calcutta on the 30th December 1911. It appears that when the present King came to Calcutta as Prince of Wales, there was some confusion along the Red Road where schools had been assembled. This time, however, every effort has been made and every precaution taken for the safety of the children. We hope, therefore, that the parents will be reassured and allow their children to join their schools in coming down to the stands.

After being proclaimed, at Delhi, Emperor and Empress of India, His Imperial Majesty, King George V., and Her Imperial Majesty, Queen Mary, will visit Calcutta, the capital City of Their Indian Empire.

They will arrive on the 30th December 1911, and the Government of Bengal have been pleased to invite 20,000 school children to witness the Royal progress to Government House. To this end stands have been erected for them along the eastern side of the Red Road, and the portion of the maidan between the Mayo, Dufferin, and Red Roads has been reserved for their exclusive use.

In order to ensure the happiness and the safety of the children, and that each child may share in the high privilege of welcoming Their Majesties, the arrangements of the day have been carefully thought out in every detail, and are explained in the following pages.

That success may attend the arrangements that have been made, there are three essentials—

- (1) Strict observance of all the instructions given in this hand-book;
- (2) Strict punctuality; and
- (3) Strict supervision.

SECTION I.—ORGANIZATION.

Schools have been organized into divisions.

Each stand on the Red Road will exhibit a white disc upon which will be printed in large figures its number.

Each school will have the same number as the stand which it will occupy.

SECTION II.—CONTROL.

Each division will be under the charge of a Superintendent and two Deputy Superintendents. Previous to the day of the arrival in Calcutta of Their Imperial Majesties, the duties of these officers will be to visit the schools in their divisions; instruct and exercise the children and teachers in the directions laid down in this hand-book, supervise the preparation of school banners, etc. On the day of the King's arrival, they will take charge of a stand.

A barrier will separate the stands from the rest of the portion of the maidan which has been reserved for schools. It will be set with 14 entrances, one for each stand. These entrances will exhibit the number of the stand to which they lead through roped-in passages. At one end of the passage there will be two Stewards, who will give each child a flag that has been supplied by the Reception Committee. At the other end of each passage there will be two Stewards, who will give each child a Commemoration Medal.

The following are the badges to be worn by Controlling Officers—

Superintendents—Sash, rosette with streamers.

Deputy Superintendents. Sash, rosette without streamer.

Conductors.—Rosette.

Stewards—Sash.

Medical Officers—Red cross on left arm.

SECTION III.—IDENTIFICATION.

Linen badges are being supplied to the schools, and are to be carefully sewn on to the left breast of the coat or *sari* of each child. The badge will bear the serial number of the stand reserved for its wearer. The badge is the official passport for the child. No child coming without his or her badge carefully sewn on will be allowed admission to the stands.

On the back of the badge there is a space for the child's name, private address, and school address. These particulars must be written clearly on the badge by the school teachers before it is sewn on to a garment.

A badge similar to the one supplied to the children is being issued also to each teacher accompanying them, and is to be sewn to the left breast of his coat or her *sari*. The teacher's name in full, his private address, and school address shall be written on the reverse of the badge by the officer who issues the badge.

Every teacher on duty with the children admitted to the stands will be provided with a copy of this hand-book, and must bring it with him to serve as his passport. He will exhibit it to the Stewards as he passes the barrier. No hand-book is transferable.

SECTION IV.—ASSEMBLING.

Children should assemble at their school at the hour fixed by their teacher on the morning of the 30th December 1911. Each school should arrive on the portion of the maidan reserved for school children by 10 A.M. of the 30th December. Boys must approach this area from the Dufferin Road, and girls from the Mayo Road. No school will be admitted after 10-30 o'clock.

SECTION V.—FORMATION.

At all times when school groups are in movement the children should march two abreast. They must march briskly: but whatever be the occasion, *on no account may they run*. If there be congestion, they must not push, but must come to a *halt*. Children must not hold hands, nor interlock arms, when they are marching. It is to be the rule of the day to *keep to the left*.

SECTION VI.—ENTERING THE STANDS.

Schools should arrive on the triangular portion of the Maidan, bounded by the Red Road, the Dufferin Road, and the Mayo Road (*see Plan*). They will assemble on the east side of the barrier, and group in front of the entrance over which the number on their badge is exhibited. Every school will form a distinct unit, *i.e.*, the children of a school must form a separate group by themselves. The children will face the stands and form a *queue*, two by two.

One teacher shall stand at their head, another teacher behind each eighth row of children. On entering the barrier each child will receive a flag, and, as he passes out of the barrier, he will receive a Commemoration Medal. On arriving at a point a few paces from the steps of their stand, the children will come to a halt. When ordered to do so by a Deputy Superintendent, they shall from that point move in single file preceded by their teacher—first, the left, file, then the right file. The children will ascend the steps of the stands slowly, and take their seats under the direction of the Conductor. On arriving at the top of the steps the teacher in charge will deliver to the Deputy Superintendent a card on which has been written the name of the school. Each teacher will retain his position in the procession, and take his seat, as his turn comes, along with the children of his school. A lower tier of benches must be completely filled before a higher tier can be occupied. Children will, therefore, on arrival, occupy the lowest row of benches that is available. Overcrowding must be avoided. Not more than 20 persons should occupy each bench. Once seated, no one is to stand, until such time as the Emperor and the Empress are passing the stand. A teacher of each school will hold up the school banner from his seat on the stand.

SECTION VII.—ROYAL WELCOME.

When the Royal Carriages are approaching, on a given signal from the Superintendent the children shall spring to their feet, wave their flags over their heads, and cheer.

Hindu children should acclaim: "Raja Chirajibi Howun!" "Rani Chirajibi Howun!"

Muhammadian children, *with their caps on*, should acclaim: "Tala barqa-ul Malik!" "Tala barqa-ul Malika!"

European children should acclaim: "Long live the King-Emperor!" "Long live the Queen-Empress!" Boys should wave their hats.

While acclaiming, all children should wave the small flags with which they have been provided by the Reception Committee.

After the Royal Procession has passed, the Superintendent will cause the children and teachers to resume their seats on the stands.

SECTION VIII.—FRESHENING.

Refreshments will not be served till after the Royal Progress. It will, therefore, be advisable for children, before they leave their homes, to take a substantial breakfast.

Only light refreshments will be supplied. Those for Hindu children will be provided and served by Brahmans under the supervision of the Hon'ble Babu Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, a member of the Organizing Committee. Those for Muhammadian children will be provided and served by Muhammadans under the supervision of the Hon'ble Maulvi Shams ul Huda, a member of the Organizing Committee.

Suitable refreshments will be provided for European and Brahma children.

[Fuller details will be announced later on.]

SECTION IX.—LEAVING THE STANDS.

On the word of command given by the Superintendent, the children will leave the stands in the reverse order to that in which they arrived. The children of a higher tier must leave before the children of a lower tier. They will descend the steps in single file, form two, and march through the roped-in passages to the open space beyond the barrier, where their teachers will resume charge of them. When a child reaches the barrier, he will receive a metal box as a memento of the day.

SECTION X.—LAVATORIES.

Behind each stand there is a latrine and an urinal. Should a child while on the stand require to use either of these conveniences, he should hold up his right hand when his teacher will conduct him to the provision behind the stand, and bring him back to his seat.

Teachers should advise children to attend to themselves before they leave their school for the Maidan.

SECTION XI.—DRINKING WATER.

Behind each stand there is a hydrant from which children may obtain drinking water. If any child be desirous to drink water while on the stand, he should raise his right hand, when his teacher will accompany him to the hydrant, and see him back to his seat.

SECTION XII.—AMBULANCE.

Careful and ample provision has been made for dealing with ailing and injured children. In a tent in the grove behind the Lansdowne Statue is a fully-equipped hospital station under the direction of the St. John Ambulance Association. It will be recognized by a red cross flying over it. A duly qualified physician and surgeon will be in medical charge of each stand. He will render first-aid, and superintendent the removal of patients to the ambulance hospital station already mentioned.

SECTION XIII.—LOST CHILDREN.

Children who have become separated from their school parties should make their way to one of the two tents pitched in the area behind the stands, and over which there flies a red flag. The officers there on duty will take them back to the stand which has been assigned to their school. But, further, to recover lost children there will be the Stewards, and lost children should seek their help. If lost children are recovered after their school party has left, they will be taken to their school by a responsible official.

The War Supplement.

News of the War.

REUTER wired from Vienna:—The Berlin correspondent of *Die Zeit* states that as the result of the protest of the Powers, Italy has given assurances that she will not take any action in the Aegean Sea for the present.

Drenching rains have caused serious floods around Tripoli, washing the Turks and Italians alike from their trenches. The Italian men-of-war were forced by stormy weather to quit their moorings off Tripoli.

It is officially stated that the Turkish lights in the Red Sea will be relighted from the 22nd to 27th instant for the passage of the *Medina*.

A special Turkish mission has gone to Lavadin, the Tsar's summer residence, bearing an autograph letter from the Sultan and presents for the Tsar and Tsaritsa.

Meetings of the Council of Ministers lately, and conferences with various Ambassadors, have given the impression that Italian naval action will not be longer delayed. It is thought that the objective will be the blockade of the Dardanelles, or even the forcing of the Dardanelles in order to dictate peace at Constantinople.

Commenting on the statement, emanating from Paris to the effect that Italy had postponed naval action in the Red Sea for six days while the *Medina* was passing, the *Tribuna* says, Italy received no communication on the subject but acted spontaneously as an act of courtesy.

News by the English Mail.

From the Seat of War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Benghazi, 23rd October.

WHEN the Berka Barracks were taken on, October 19th everybody believed that the day's operations were over. Suddenly, towards 7 o'clock in the evening, a furious cannonade began, and for 20 minutes the guns rained shells upon the town, which they had hitherto respected. In the morning I learnt that the bombardment had caused serious damage to the European quarter, affecting both the Italian and the English Consulates as well as the church of the Roman Catholic Mission. Admiral Aubry at once gave me permission to go on shore. The first European house I saw was the Hotel Cyrenaica, the first floor of which had been entirely destroyed. A little further on was the Italian Consulate, equally damaged. At the French Consulate, still further along, I learnt that four Frenchmen and 1,200 French subjects—Algerian and Tunisian—were safe.

Unfortunately the same could not be said for the English colony. The British Consulate is not situated, like the others, on the sea side of the great square, but behind it and separated from it by a row of houses. It was not easy to reach the first floor, as the staircase had been destroyed, and I had to climb a rough ladder. At the front of the house, looking out towards the sea, were a sitting room and a dining room. A shell had penetrated the walls of the sitting room, smashing everything, the Consul and a guest, who were in the dining room, had been only grazed by flying fragments of plaster and wood. Nobody at the Consulate was killed. Most of the wounded were in the corridor of the Roman Catholic Mission. As far as can be ascertained ten altogether were killed and a good many more wounded.

I found the principal European residents still a prey to the emotions of the night before, and indignant against the Italian fleet. They asserted that an Italian officer, when giving notice of the bombardment, had assured them that Consulates, hospitals, and houses protected by foreign flags would be respected. The bombardment, they said, was uncalled for, and there was no reason whatever to turn the guns against the European quarter. I therefore spent the whole of that day and the next in making careful inquiries, both on the ships and in the town, with the following result.

The *Parlementaire* who entered Benghazi on the 18th was Captain Capomazza, chief of the staff to Admiral Aubry. When the demand for surrender had been made and refused the Governor sent for the British and French Consuls, and to them Captain Capomazza declared that Consulates and houses protected by their national flags would be respected on condition that no shots were fired from them. The Consuls guaranteed that nothing of the kind would happen, and Captain Capomazza returned to his ship. But next morning, as I have already related, shots were fired at a launch

which entered the port to reconnoitre, from two lines of trenches dug in the great square; and the British Consulate and Roman Catholic church were exactly in the line of fire. Moreover, in the evening of the 19th an Italian outpost between the Berka Barracks and the town came under rifle fire from the furthestmost houses of Benghazi, and had two men killed and two wounded. The General then asked the Admiral to support his advance with the ships' guns, and the Admiral very unwillingly gave the order to open fire. When the bombardment ceased, the firing from the houses had also come to an end; and a little before 10 P.M. the Turkish Governor hoisted a white sheet over the ruins of the Custom House, taking the precaution to hand a lighted lantern on the mast so as to show the character of the flag. This capitulation was genuine, as next day Benghazi was found empty of the enemy, and the Italians met no resistance on entering.

It is therefore impossible to deny that the bombardment was of service. There seems to have been some misunderstanding about the conversation of the 18th. It would, perhaps, have been better if the *Parlementaire* had entered into no engagement at all, for in wartime events often prove too strong for the best will in the world. It might also have been better if the Consuls on their side had given no guarantee. Still, each party acted undoubtedly in good faith, and no blame can be attached to either. It was impossible to reach, or even threaten, the Arab sharpshooters without great risk to the European quarter. But the first duty of a general in command is to ensure the safety of his troops, and the Italians have applied this principle at Benghazi in its full rigour.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, 25th October.

It is now certain that the Arab rising on Monday was a premature miscarriage of a concerted plan. This, with the extraordinary weather, was most fortunate for the Italians. The casualties among the Bersaglieri and the 88th Regiment were nearly 100, including three officers killed and ten wounded, majority as the result of fire from armed Arabs in their rear. Disarmament and house-to-house searching are now systematically in progress. These measures, and summary execution, should be sufficient to cow the hostile residents.

At present I find no sign of definite preparations for any forward move. Camels are not to be procured in sufficient numbers.

I wish again to put on record from ocular demonstration the splendid manner in which the young Italian Infantry in the danger zone on Monday coped with a situation which would have tried the oldest soldiers.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Malta, 27th October.

On Thursday some thousands of Turks and Arabs attacked the Italian outposts, especially those at the Romellane Wells. The Italians, bidden in their trenches, waited until the enemy was within 50 yards and then made a magnificent bayonet charge. This, combined with the fire from the warships and mountain artillery, checked the Turkish advance. Three shells from the *Scyllia* fell among the Turkish Cavalry. The enemy was defeated with heavy loss and pursued into the desert. The guns which were captured were immediately utilized by the Italians.

The Italian casualties are said to have reached 200, including two officers. The oasis was cleared and some villages burned.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, 28th October.

The severity with which the Italian Army has exacted retribution upon the suburban Arabs who rose last Monday might justly be described as indiscriminate slaughter. The two quarters from which the Arabs assailed the Bersaglieri in the rear have been turned into human abattoirs. It has been a miserable business, but, in the circumstances, I presume the General ~~will not regret~~ ^{will not regret} but to give this horrid lesson.

The considerations were these. The Turks had succeeded in enlisting the active sympathies of a greater number of Arabs than was anticipated, and the Staff, therefore, felt anxiety concerning the strength of their own line of resistance. It was known that the Turks, before the evacuation of the town, distributed 10,000 stand of magazine rifles and ammunition to the local Arabs. Of these only 3,000 were collected. The Italians, therefore, were faced with the possibility of a sudden rising by 5,000 armed Arabs in the rear of their line of defence in a country the intricacy of which beggars description. On ordinary grounds of military prudence immediate measures were necessary, especially as a Turkish attack on a large scale was believed to be imminent.

Although I cannot commend the ruthless measures employed, yet I cannot deny the necessity of a drastic quelling of the insurrection. The Italians having set themselves to cow the Arabs, the flood-gates of blood and lust were opened, and in many instances the men got beyond control and the innocent suffered with the guilty. The tale of retribution has been shockingly heavy, but nothing to what the indiscriminate carnage would have been if the rising had not been premature and had occurred at the same time as the Turkish attack of the 26th.

The memory of this awful retribution will take long to live down. Even making allowances for the exigencies of the military situation, there is every possibility that the hideous severity of this retribution will give rise to a war of sanguinary and pitiless reprisals upon unfortunates who fall by the way. War is merciless. I have witnessed one of its most merciless phases. One hardly knows to what limits the elasticity of the phrase "military exigencies" will be stretched in the 20th century.

Telegrams from the correspondents at Tripoli of the news agencies confirm the statements of the *Times*' Special Correspondent as to the severe measures employed by the Italians. In particular a Reuter despatch says,—"Orders were given by the authorities to exterminate all Arabs found in the oases and to make a systematic house-to-house search for arms and ammunition. For three days this dread task continued. Parties of soldiers penetrated every portion of the oasis, shooting indiscriminately all women they met without trial, without appeal. For three days the popping of rifles marked the progress of the troops. Innocent and guilty were wiped out; many of those killed were quite young, and many women also perished in the confusion."

The *Times* has received the following telegram from Hahl Halid Bey, dated Paris, 30th October.—We learn that the Italians execute in Tripoli Arab prisoners of war as rebels. This outrageous pretext requires a humanitarian protest. If such atrocities are continued the Italians in Turkey will be treated as members of a barbarous nation, while the enraged world of Islam will religiously and everlastingly boycott everything Italian.

From Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, 27th October.

DESPATCHES received by the Central Committee from their colleagues in Tripoli and duly republished in the local Press describe desperate fighting in the vicinity of Derna, where the Italians are stated to have been repulsed with a loss of at least 5,000 killed and wounded. The Committee leaders themselves seem honestly to consider that things are going on very well.

The war, they say, is largely a trial of financial strength. The cost to the Italian Government has been calculated to a nicety, down to such details as wear and tear of the rifling of expensive large-calibre guns. When to naval and military expenditure is added a rough estimate of indirect and commercial losses the weekly total becomes so overwhelming that Italy will very soon be bankrupt or be driven to seek peace on any terms obtainable. Turkey, meanwhile, is losing next to nothing, for the operations in Tripoli are being conducted mostly by Volunteers—3,000 odd Regulars cost little more than they would in times of peace. Moreover, subscriptions towards a Holy War are pouring in from all Islamic centres.

Meanwhile competition is keen, we are told, among the Great Powers of Europe for the acquisition of Turkey as an ally. The pendulum is at present inclined to swing towards the Triple Entente—to the intense anxiety and indignation of the Central Powers. Incidentally it is pointed out Turkey would be more likely seriously to consider an invitation to join the Entente if the approaches came from London or Paris rather than from St. Petersburg. It is realized that an understanding with the Balkan States might be a necessary preliminary, but this could easily be arranged, for Bulgaria and Greece are only too ready to acquiesce. Altogether, the Committee policy of a war *à outrance* is meeting with the best possible results, and the chances of sweeping successes at the prospective elections are looking may.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, 27th October.

The War Office publishes a telegram, dated 23rd October, from Neshat Bey, commandant of the Ottoman troops in Tripoli, who reports that a detachment of Turkish troops, aided by coast Arabs, engaged the Italians. The fight lasted ten hours. "The losses were 400 killed and some wounded." The Turks captured 100 mules, with some rifles and stores. The result of the engagement is not reported. On the same day a collision occurred at Merkeb, near Homs; the Italians retired, leaving an officer and several men killed. The Turks lost three killed and four wounded and four Arab auxiliaries wounded.

Constantinople, 29th October.

On Friday night the second official version of Neshat Bey's telegram relative to the action of the 23rd at Tripoli was published. It differs from the first only in estimating the Italian losses in the action at over 400 killed and a few wounded. The Ottoman losses are described as slight. There are reports of the capture of the outlying Italian positions, and of the infliction of heavy losses upon the invaders during the last two or three days amounting, according to the *Agence Ottomane*, to over 1,400 men. These reports have greatly encouraged the more militant Young Turks, and the *Jeune Turc* to-day prophesies the expulsion of the enemy from Tripoli. In an article entitled "A Turn for the Better" the *Osmanscher Lloyd* to-day encourages these hopes of ultimate success.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, 30th October.

The popular elation caused by the reports of a successful Ottoman attack on the Italian positions at Tripoli has been more than doubled to-day by rumours of another astonishing success. This afternoon Ahmed Riza Bey informed the Chamber that unofficial information had reached Constantinople according to which the Italians had been utterly routed with the loss of 7,000 killed and 5,000 prisoners. Ninety-five guns and 35 machine guns, together with great quantities of war material, had been captured. This prodigious news is spreading everywhere like wildfire and has aroused the utmost enthusiasm. Several small processions are now marching through the streets waving banners to the sound of music. The War Office is, however, unable to confirm the report, and only knows that fighting is continuing in the neighbourhood of Tripoli.

The deputation which is to visit the principal European capitals with the object of arousing public opinion in favour of a settlement of the Italo-Turkish dispute was elected by ballot to-day. It will be composed of Damad Ferid Pasha, Süleiman Bostani, and Mavrogordato Effendis—all three of whom are Senators—and six Deputies—namely, Talaat and Ghani Beys, and Zohrah, Rohiel, Khalid, Doreff, and Sassoon Effendis. It is believed that the Grand Vizier has, to some extent, changed his attitude with regard to the deputation on the ground of its unofficial character.

Constantinople, 30th October.

There seems to be little doubt that Rahmi Bey, Deputy for Salonika, Ali Haidar and Mumtaz Beys, and Obaidullah Effendi have been sent on a mission to Tripoli by the Central Committee. Obaidullah, who was doubtless selected on account of his knowledge of Arabic and the zeal he has shown in the organization of Pan-Islamic meetings, is to enter into negotiations with the Sheikh Es Senussi. According to the *Agence Ottomane*, which, however, is not always a trustworthy medium of information, he and Enver Bey have left Alexandria for the Hinterland of Cyrenaica. However that may be, it is certain that Felhi Bey, the very capable Turkish Military Attaché in Paris, has reached the Ottoman headquarters from Tunis.

Some doubt exists regarding the nature of the mission confided to Rahmi Bey and his other two companions. According to some accounts, they have been sent to organize Arab resistance, though their knowledge of Arabic is not believed to be considerable; according to others, their rôle is the same as that assigned by the Committee of Public Safety to its "representatives on mission" attached to the French revolutionary armies in 1793.

Constantinople, 31st October.

The following is the text of an official *communiqué* issued by the Ministry of War this afternoon:—

On the night of the 26th the Ottoman forces attacked Tripoli, and, pushing through the oasis, penetrated the Italian lines and drove the enemy back into the town. On the night of the 28th the forts of Hanni and Saidel-Makri were occupied. The Italians poured in a heavy fire from quick-firing machine-guns and small arms upon our troops, who replied with a steady fusillade which spread destruction in the enemy's ranks. The Italian losses must have been heavy, but I cannot make an estimate thereof. The attack continues."

The *Tanin* has received a telegram from Rahmi Bey announcing the capture of two forts, several guns, and a considerable quantity of ammunition by the Ottoman troops. The Arabs, "who are devoted to the Khalifate," are giving them all the assistance in their power.

Constantinople, 1st November.

Obviously inspired by the recent rumours of Turkish triumphs, the *Jeune Turc* to-day, in a leading article, discusses the amount of the war indemnity payable by Italy after her inevitable defeat, and suggests that the other Powers, which have not taken steps to prevent Italian attacks upon the Ottoman Empire, must be requested to renounce their capitulatory rights. Austria-Hungary and Germany have already given promises to this effect, and it is suggested that the Entente Powers should immediately be approached by the Porte on this subject.

Constantinople, 2nd November.

The British naval officers in the Ottoman service have resumed their duties, which, however, are limited to the shore, and are in no wise connected with the war.

The *Times* received the following statement from the Turkish Embassy:—Notwithstanding the denial given by the Italian Premier and published in the papers of yesterday morning, official news received by the Ottoman Government confirms the truth of the statements made by foreign newspaper correspondents that there has been a systematic slaughter of Arabs, and that hundreds of them, including women and persons of very tender age of both sexes, have been shot mercilessly by the Italian troops, acting under the orders of their superiors, without the slightest pretence of a trial. The facts are also established by the numerous photographs which have been reproduced in most of the London papers. As for the allegation of "treachery" on the part of the Arab population, it is obvious that the surrender of arms had been carried on by force, and that the Arabs, who could not have submitted to the rule of the invaders, were in their natural right to take up all arms available to defend their native territory. The Italian Premier also states, in order to countercharge the Arabs and the Turkish troops with infamy, that two companies of Bersaglieri, of about 400 men, lost more than 300 killed, which would have been impossible unless the wounded had been massacred during the combat. But there has not been an atom of evidence or proof of any sort or kind to support the purely hypothetical statement of the Italian Premier, while there has been overwhelming evidence in the shape of photographs, reports by English newspaper correspondents, and independent eye witnesses to support the truth of the wholesale massacre of Arabs in Tripoli. The Italian Premier's statement cannot be considered eulogious of the conduct of the Bersaglieri, because it can be interpreted as a denial that the gallant Bersaglieri fought to death.

The *Times* received from the Ottoman Embassy the following statement:—According to reports which for some time past have been current in certain quarters in London the hasty expedition to Tripoli was caused by fear of the realization of a scheme whereby Turkey had consented to allow Germany to hold Benghazi on lease. This report is absolutely false, and must have been deliberately invented like other news *d'une nature tendancieuse*.

The *Times* received from the Agence Télégraphique Ottomane a telegram expressing the gratitude of the Ottoman people for the sympathy exhibited by the English Press and people with the Arab sufferings in Tripoli. The telegram adds that on Wednesday, being All Saints' Day, Emir Arslan, an Arab Deputy in the Turkish Parliament, laid a magnificent wreath on the tomb of the Italian soldiers who were killed in the Crimean War. The tomb, which is every year covered with flowers by the officers of the Italian *stationnaire*, had remained this year without flowers.

*From Italy.**Rome, 28th October*

The Ministers of War and Marine have addressed the following despatch to the soldiers and sailors fighting in Tripoli and Cyrenaica:—"The King sends to the land and sea forces which have fought and are fighting in Tripoli and Cyrenaica an expression of his satisfaction and great admiration for the courage and coolness repeatedly displayed by the Army and Navy, henceforth for ever united still more closely by the most sacred ties. They have once again deserved well of their King and country."—*Reuter*.

Rome, 28th October.

The following telegram of to-day's date has been received here from Tripoli:—"Shortly before 2 o'clock this morning an unimportant attack, directed chiefly against the Bomellane Wells, was made on our southern front, but was repulsed. The attack was repeated about 4 o'clock and again at 6, but it met with no better success than before. At dawn the military aeroplanes were sent up, but they were obliged to confine their operations within a radius of 10 or 15 kilometres on account of the strong wind which was blowing at the time. The officers reconnoitring from the aeroplanes reported that the oasis to the left of the Italian position was still occupied by forces the strength of which it was impossible to estimate owing to the cover afforded by the vegetation. They also saw several parties, composed of some hundred men mounted and on foot, occupying posts of observation between the oasis and Ain Zara. The attacks during the night are attributed by our aeroplane scouts to these parties. It is stated that the leader killed on the 26th instant, was the commander of the Turkish troops in Tripoli, but according to other reports it was his chief of staff and not the General himself who fell.

"One thing is certain, the attitude of the Arabs since the fight on Thursday has become submissive, a sure sign of the severity of the punishment inflicted upon them."

A wireless telegram from Tobruk, which was despatched to-day, reports that an Italian party which was sent out to examine the telegraph line was attacked by 200 Arab horsemen. The troops of

the garrison, reinforced by two companies landed from the warships *Piemont* and *Etna*, went out and, supported by the warships' fire, succeeded in driving off the Arabs. The Italians lost a lieutenant, a doctor, and a bluejacket slightly wounded. The telegraph line was found to have been cut and otherwise damaged in several places.

29th October.

It is semi-officially announced here that Homs was attacked yesterday and that the enemy was repulsed with remarkable losses, the extent of which has not yet been ascertained. The Italian losses were two killed and two wounded. The hospital-ship *Regina Elena* left Tripoli to-day carrying wounded and injured. The steamer *Romania* arrived off the island of Ustica to-day, having on board 920 Arabs. A further 595 Arabs were landed to-day on the island of Trimiti from the steamer *Serbie*. The steamer *Bosnia* has reached Benghazi with Military and Naval Attachés.—*Reuter*.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, 30th October.

The Commander-in-Chief at Tripoli reports that between the dates of 23rd and 26th October, inclusive, the following casualties were suffered by the Army of Occupation—Officers killed, 13; wounded, 16; soldiers killed, 361; wounded, 42. The enormous disproportion between the killed and wounded is attributed to the fact that several of the regiments which suffered most heavily, notably the 11th Bersaglieri, were fired on at short range by the Arabs, who took them unexpectedly in the rear.

Yesterday seems to have passed quietly at Tripoli. At Homs, however, the Arabs and Turks renewed the attack in some force, but were beaten back with heavy loss. Only four casualties are reported on the Italian side—two wounded and two killed.

Rome, 1st November.

An attempt was made yesterday by Turkish troops hiding in the oasis of Tripoli to bring cannon to bear on the advanced Italian trenches towards Hanni. The Turkish position, however, was shelled by the ship *Carlo Alberto*, and afterwards carried by the Italian forces on land, who captured five cannon, others being rendered useless by snells. The Turks are believed to have suffered heavy losses. The town is to-day reported quiet.

Rome, 2nd November.

Signor Giolitti, the Prime Minister, has made the following statement to Reuter's representative on the subject of the conduct of the Italian troops during the recent Arab rising at Tripoli:—

If we can be reproached with anything it is with having carried our humanitarian feelings to excess, with having, through scruples which may be qualified as exaggerated, exposed ourselves to grave risks in order to save the lives and property of the enemy. What is certain is that our soldiers, trained in a school of loyalty and accustomed to the uprightness of the Abyssinians, who are either open enemies or steadfast friends, did not expect that the Arabs, after they had sworn fealty and received barley, wheat, flour, and other gifts, would break their oaths and treacherously point their arms against those who had benefited them, and were about to reorganize the country in their interest. In no report has General Caneva made the least allusion to women and children having even been wounded, much less killed. He who asserts that an Italian soldier will offend a woman or a child shows ignorance of our country and our race. The repeated acts of treachery are proved to have been greatly due to the incursion of about 15,000 Beduin, who emigrate at this season every year from the interior to the coast for the date crop. They formed a kind of conspiracy with the Turks and succeeded in persuading the Arabs, who were ready to take arms against those they considered the weakest at the moment. Many of the dwellings in the oasis when set on fire exploded like powder magazines, so large were the stores of arms and ammunition hidden in them. In dealing with the open attacks, as well as in treacherous ambushes, the courage and humanitarian sentiments of the Italian Army and Navy have been above all praise and are generally admired. Their behaviour will render this war an example of generous and chivalrous civilization.

Reuter.

The Italian Embassy in London received the following telegram from the Italian Premier:—

Rome, 1st November 1911, 11 a.m.

I have given a categorical denial through "Stefani" to the callumnious reports on the subject of our action in Tripoli published by foreign papers. The facts are as follows:—On 23rd October a sudden rising of the Arabs who had made their submission to Italy occurred in Tripoli, and more particularly in the oasis of Tripoli. These Arabs armed themselves with rifles concealed in their houses, notwithstanding the rigorous ordinance of disarmament, and attacked our troops in the rear, at the same time as other Arabs, joined with Turks, were assailing them in front. Evidently that was the outcome of a plan of preconcerted treachery. Our troops, although some detachments incurred severe losses, offered resistance on both fronts, and the double attack was repulsed. It became in

consequence an imperative necessity to purge the oasis of the traitors, and to punish those of them who had committed some special criminal acts. Those who during the fighting or immediately after were found with arms in hand were shot. Those who were after regular trial found guilty of murder or of other criminal acts of the kind were shot. Other Arabs arrested, to the number of about 2,200, because they had connived at the treachery or because they had contravened the order of the Governor for the surrender of all arms, were transported to the Italian islands. On the days following the 23rd some fresh partial outbreaks of revolt occurred and were repressed in the same way. Therefore there was no systematic slaughter of unarmed people, of women or children. There was no indiscriminate repression. As the attacks on the rear on our advanced posts did not cease, all the walls of the gardens, plantations, and everything which in the oasis might offer a shelter to rebels had, as I have already telegraphed, to be demolished, but this was not done until all inoffensive Arabs, the women and the children, had been removed from the oasis and brought in towards Tripoli.

On the other hand, the reports of our wounded show that the enemy perpetrated upon them acts of atrocious inhumanity, as is proved by figures.—Two companies of Bersaglieri, of about 400 men, lost more than 300 killed and had only 14 wounded. This happened on the spot where we know that the attack on the rear took place. And if one considers that on the 23rd and 26th our troops lost altogether 374 killed and a little more than 150 wounded, it will be evident that such a result would have been impossible unless our wounded had been massacred in the unfair fight.

Giolitti

In contradiction of the Turkish reports of victories published during the last two days, the Italian Embassy sent to the *Times* the following official communication—"No battle has taken place since our victory at Tripoli and Homs of 26th October. We have been victorious in every battle by land and sea without exception. We have occupied, after overcoming the enemy's resistance and putting them to flight, Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna, Homs and Tobruk. We have since then repulsed the attacks of the enemy, inflicting upon them heavy losses and capturing flags and guns."

The *Times* was authoritatively informed that there is no foundation whatever for the report, circulated during the last few days, that a number of Italian soldiers had been made prisoners by the Turks during the recent fighting at Benghazi and Tripoli.

From Other Sources.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, 27th October.

IN VIEW of telegrams from Constantinople indicating that he is blamed there for advising the Turks in the first instance to withdraw into the interior of Tripoli, Field-Marshal von der Goltz writes to the *Kreuz Zeitung* to-night that, although he has expressed his opinion, both in conversations and in his article in the *Neue Freie Presse* of 8th October his advice was not asked by, and has not been given to, the Turkish General Staff. The Turks, he remarks, have enough officers of rank and intelligence to estimate without his help "such simple situations as the situation in Tripoli."

Vienna, 29th October.

The unofficial Austrian Press does not cease to lend support to the Committee in the form of misleading and malicious comment upon the position and performances of the Italians in Tripoli. Since it is difficult to represent the sanguinary repulse of the Turco-Arab attack of the 26th instant as an Ottoman victory, a military expert in the *Neue Freie Presse* describes it as "an Italian mishap," and terms the modification of the Italian line of defence an Italian retreat. Had they been successful, argues this writer, the Italians would have advanced their outworks so as to place the battlefield with its decomposing corpses in their rear.

Had faith can no further go. For the Italians it is manifestly more advantageous that the Turco-Arab forces should come and learn a salutary lesson near the coast than that Italy should be obliged to inflict it upon them by means of an expedition separated from its base and exposed to the risks of desert warfare. From this point of view the more numerous and vigorous the attacks upon the Italian position at Tripoli the better for Italy.

The *Zeit* is attempting to organize a symposium of European opinion against Italy. It receives support from the German Socialist Eduard Bernstein, Lord Avebury, and Mr. Walter Crane. Herr Georg Brandes makes gentle fun of its endeavour, and Mr. Bernard Shaw concludes a whimsical contribution by suggesting that, if Italy is to be scolded, Austria should be the last country to do the scolding. The German writer Wedekind warns Austrian public opinion "not to run into the sentimental blind alley in which the German Philistine public stuck fast during the Boer War"—excellent advice, by which the *Zeit* and its contemporaries might profit were their attitude dictated either by patriotism or common sense.

Paris, 31st October.

No Turkish troops have crossed the frontier from Tripoli into Tunis, but as a measure of precaution half a company of the 4th Spahis have been sent from Sfax to reinforce the *gum* at Delibat, the most southern French post in the Protectorate.

London, 1st November.

Authentic reports make it clear that there was nothing in the movements of Turkish troops that need have alarmed the Greeks; but the enemies of M. Venizelos are attempting to injure him by exciting public feeling in Greece against the pacific policy he has pledged himself to follow. The murder of the Metropolitan of Grevena has supplied them with a useful weapon, and they are exploiting to the full the natural indignation provoked everywhere among Greeks by this outrage. The indignation is not confined to the Greeks, and to all who know the bitter feud that has long separated the Bulgarians and the Greeks, few things could be more significant than the demonstrations of sympathy received by the Ecumenical Patriarch from his rival the Bulgarian Exarch and the Bulgarian clergy in general. The Cretan statesman who has taken over the heavy task of guiding Greece along the path of peaceful reform also finds himself embarrassed by the action of his fellow-islanders. The Cretans cannot rid themselves of the notion that the present is a favourable moment to realise their long cherished dream of union with Greece, a dream which M. Venizelos knows is for the moment, incapable of fulfilment. The efforts of the Cretan Chamber to force the Executive Council into action in this direction has caused the latter body to resign, and, at the time of writing, the Chamber is still discussing the matter in secret session. (*The 'Near East'*)

London, 1st November.

Prince Ahmed Fuad, the founder of the National University in Cairo, who is fighting hard for the educational advancement of Egypt, was brought up and educated at the Italian Court. His father, the late Khedive Ismail, sought refuge in Italy when he was deposed in the year 1879. This fact is, perhaps, responsible for an absurd rumour that King Victor Emmanuel wished to appoint him Viceroy of Tripoli, and that when he left Berlin last week he was on his way to the Italian capital in order to secure the appointment. Interviewed by a correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, his Highness ridiculed the suggestion, and announced that his sympathies were entirely on the side of the Turks in the present struggle. As a matter of fact, he is, in spite of his Italian training, one of the most active Egyptian patriots of his time. (*The 'Near East'*)

London, November 1st.

Difficult as it is to get trustworthy news from Tripoli, there would seem to be no doubt that although the earlier stories of brilliant Turkish victories were amazingly exaggerated, the Italian situation is becoming extremely critical. It is now admitted that the first combined attack of Turks and Arabs on the Italian position was followed by something like a panic in the Italian army, which was followed by a series of indiscriminate reprisals. After a full of three days, the Arabs and Turks made a second attack, in which the Italians sustained severe reverses. Accounts which have reached London state that the acting party consisted of 8,000 Turks and 6,000 Arabs selected from the the most warlike tribes. It was with difficulty that they were restrained from attacking the Italian outposts before the plan of investing the Italian army had been completely matured on the part of the Turkish officers. The Arabs fought desperately. They were greatly influenced by the speeches of Fu'ad Bey and Neshiat Pasha, who urged them to remember that the victory of the Italians would be the beginning of the dismemberment of the Khalifate and of the downfall of Islam. The news of the shooting down of the Arab prisoners taken by the Italians in the previous battle, and of the assaults on the women and children on the part of the Italian soldiers, increased their ardour. The attack was quite unexpected by the Italians.

A SUCCESSFUL RUSE.

The first movement of the battle was an attack delivered by a cavalry battalion of 800 Arabs, divided into two sections under the command of El Rakhi. They were received by the Italians with a well-sustained fire. The Arabs following a preconcerted plan wheeled round and galloped off, hoping, as indeed actually happened, that the Italians would pursue and thus leave the way open for the real attack which was to follow by the larger body of Turks and Arabs. Immediately after the first feint had been carried out, an attack was delivered by the main body of the army, and proved so overwhelming that from the beginning the Italians lost ground. The first Italian officer to fall was a major in the front of the Bersaglieri, and the attack of the Arab cavalry was so strong, that it broke up the ranks of the Italian army and separated them from one another. The Arabs took as their mark the officers, whom they shot down in large numbers, and this general loss of officers has had the most disastrous effect on the soldiers. The Italians fought bravely, but were completely disorganised. A large body of Arab cavalry succeeded in surround-

ing the left wing of the Italian army and attacked them from the rear. The Italians believed that the Arabs from the town had again risen in revolt and acting in concert with the Turkish army were attacking them from the rear. Two battalions of the left wing gave themselves up as prisoners. Some part of the regiment to which these battalions belonged, however, continued fighting and were decimated. It is estimated that the Italians lost between 5,000 and 6,000 killed and wounded, and in their retreat they left in the hands of the enemy all their ammunition, guns, etc. On the battlefield a few thousand more rifles were found than accorded with the number of the fallen. Among the officers killed were two Colonels, eight Captains, and a large number of officers of lower rank. During the engagement the Italian cavalry showed itself much weaker than the infantry and very much inferior to the Arab cavalry.

Reuter's special correspondent, who has arrived at Malta from Tripoli, draws a sombre picture of the situation. There is no question at present, he says, of an advance against the Turks. Tripoli is practically besieged. The Italians hold one-fifth of the extensive oasis and the Arabs four-fifths, which are full of fruit-gardens and date trees. The Italian defences have been drawn in and the Turks have pushed forward their artillery. The troops have been much discouraged by their hardships in the trenches and by the retirement. Moreover, cholera is claiming many victims among the civil population and also among the soldiers.

With regard to the slaughter of Arabs the correspondent says that General Caneva must be held responsible, for he gave orders which permitted of all Arabs, being shot who could reasonably be suspected of bearing arms. This led to the worst abuses. Meanwhile it is stated that during the bombardment of Tripoli the Turks succeeded in dropping shells into the interior of the town from a mountain battery placed under cover of a sandhill in the desert. On Monday at a distance of two miles from Tripoli on shell dropped on the terrace of the headquarters of the staff, produced a panic among the officers and caused slight casualties. Skirmishes take place daily with indecisive results. On one day the fleet fired over 200 shots, assisting the outposts in holding trenches, which was accomplished with great difficulty. The Turks are reported to be massing round Tripoli and preparing for a decisive attack. The Italian casualties in the recent engagements, as known locally, are far greater than the official accounts show.

With the Italians in Barbary.

(FROM THE "ENGLISHMAN'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, October 30th

THE narrative of the Italian Army's fourteen days in the Tripoli is one of the most entertaining studies in modern military history. By about the 15th of October an entire division had been put on shore. This was one of the most complete pieces of military machinery that has ever been transported overseas. It only lacked one thing which some people consider to be an essential in armies engaged in invasions. This was a knowledge of how to engage in war. To understand the operations in which the Italian Army has been engaged, it is necessary to give a little detail about the terrain in which the army found itself. Tripoli, as everyone knows by now, is just a little bay, the shores of which produce sufficient sweet waters to have created an oasis. This oasis is a stretch of cultivated and inhabited land along the sea front. It is four or five miles long and averages about a mile and a half in depth. Beyond this belt of date palms there is nothing for miles except the desert. The hinterland is reached by zigzagging across the desert to those fertile spots around such wells as generations of Bedouins have established. When the Italian naval brigade landed at Tripoli at the earnest request of the Consular body to save the town from a probable Arab massacre (so the Consular body said) they took up a rough outpost line at the fringe of the palm trees facing the desert. This was the obvious line of resistance—a child would have selected it before all others. Even though it was a trifle long for the 1,800 stalwart bluejackets to hold properly, they made no particular blunder in the way they distributed their rifles along that portion of the desert front that they could hold. The soldiers landed and figuratively chased the sailors back to their ships. The soldiers then tumbled into the same outpost line that the sailors had planned. This was all right and proper except that in their fear of being attacked the actual force furnishing the night outpost was almost equal to half the entire army. The soldiers set themselves to build trenches and to dig themselves in the approved way that is now set down in all European drill books. Apparently there was no contemplation of offensive warfare. The invading army seemed satisfied to defend Tripoli alone. It was quite impossible with the extravagant views that appertained with regard to night outposts for the one division to do more than hold a portion of the entire strip of oasis. About two to three miles remained unoccupied, the Italians believing that the ordnance from the fleet would be able to keep that clear.

For the first few days there was not much to trouble the army in the trenches. At night a few sniping shots were fired into them

which, of course, entailed the whole force standing to arms until daylight, but there was nothing really "to write home to mother about." The first duty therefore was to deal with the local Arabs. It will be remembered that almost immediately before the ultimatum the Turkish Government sent the ship *Derma* to Tripoli. She had on board over 20,000 mauser rifles and the rest of her hold space was ammunition. Of these arms, over 10,000 were distributed locally among the Arabs of Tripoli. Of the rest they were issued to the locally enlisted Redifs. The Italians when they took over the town issued one of the most weird proclamations that have been evolved from an invading General's brain. They said in this document that every Arab that gave up his mauser on the morrow should receive 5 francs, on the day after that 2 francs, and on the day after that all outstanding arms would be considered as the property of "good Arabs." As may be imagined, the large majority of Arabs preferred to be considered to be "good Arabs" to parting with such a valuable property as a modern magazine rifle. Shortly afterwards, however, at the end of a grandiloquent proclamation, General Caneva stated that the possession of a firearm was punishable with death. Beyond these two proclamations, the Italians did not trouble about the arms, so that really of the 10,000 pieces known to be in the town only 3,000 were surrendered.

THE AFFAIR AT BENGAZI.

In the meantime, the army sat in its trenches and waited for something to develop in the desert. Then happened the affair at Bengazi. General Ameglio's brigade had some opposition when it landed. It appears that the Italians had taken it for granted that the Turks would behave in all the Tripolitan coast towns as they had behaved in Tripoli. In Bengazi they did not do so, and there was some stiff fighting and considerable losses before the Crescent was supplanted by the red, white and green of Italy. Be that as it may, the Italian troops fought bravely and well, and those who were eye-witnesses of the street fighting are full of praise for the reckless bravery that the Bersaglieri displayed in difficult circumstances. But the authorities sought to keep all news from Bengazi a dead secret. Whether they wished to hide the casualty list or whether they were ashamed of a rather wild shelling of the town is not known. The result of this effort to maintain secrecy was to react on the Italians in a way they never imagined. The wildest reports were in circulation in Tripoli. Half truths in the mouths of the Arabs, eagerly watching the trend of events, spread the details of disaster, and in two days men in the bazars were showing relics torn from slaughtered animals as trophies of dismembered Italians. As a matter of fact, the little police of Turks that had marched away into the desert behind Tripoli were engaged in making a desperate effort to plunge the Italians in one great native disaster.

Totally unaware of what was brewing all round them, the army at Tripoli rested secure in its trenches, while magnificent hospitals and wonderful stores were disembarked. Never a mounted man or a real reconnaissance was sent out into the desert. No attempt was made to clear up the situation in front or to hold some advanced posts that would shield the army from being turned out into the trenches every night at midnight. Two aeroplanes were the sole means of reconnaissance that was indulged in. The intrepid officers who carried out this duty in the air did their work with the greatest courage and completeness, but with the best will in the world the aeroplane will not cover a force and the little brigade of Turks, finding that no one was after them, collected their Arab allies and moved down upon the Italian intrenchments.

On 22nd October the aeroplanes reported them to be about 12 miles away at an oasis, and to be several thousands strong. In ordinary circumstances, the advance of this little desperate body of Shaghaid Ottomans should not have been any menace to the great army of intrenched Italians. But the Italians as soldiers have not the self-confidence of some other European armies, and there was also a little tea party that the Turks had prepared in Tripoli itself. Luckily for the Italians, the tea party was a premature affair or there might have been a bad story to write about Tripoli. As has already been explained, the oasis of Tripoli averages about a mile and a half in depth. That is, there is about a mile and a half of very intricate country between the town proper and the outposts. Most of this country is residential gardens of the Arabs; you only have to look at a walled Punjab or Bengal village to see what kind of country this is. Mud walls, cactus hedges, palm trees and gardens. In short a very rabbit warren.

This great area was not even picketted. The Arabs were left to their own sweet wills. They were, of course, now "good Arabs."

On the 23rd the Turks sent a small force to demonstrate against the Italian lines. Presumably they wished to discover the weakest portions in the links. It had already been agreed through the Turkish emissaries, who were constantly in the town, that when the Turks and the Arabs made their real effort against the trenches that all the armed Arabs in the town were to rise and shoot as many Italian soldiers as they could in the back and then take possession of the town driving all Christians into the sea. It was arranged that the Arabs should know when to attack when the Turkish artillery began to fire shells from the desert. What happened was this.

The Arabs, in one particular quarter of the suburbs, mistook the demonstration on the 23rd for the real attack and rose prematurely in hostile opposition to the Italians. A party of Turkish infantry and desert Arabs had established themselves in that part of the oasis that the Italians had not been able to occupy. Under cover of the walls and trees, they first mopped up a half company of the 11th Bersaglieri, who were established there as an outlying picket of sorts. Of these they took no prisoners. The Turks and Arabs then pressed into close quarters with the next company of Bersaglieri on the line. At this very moment the town Arabs rose in revolt and every garden wall and house top, to say nothing of hedges and ditches, seemed to be alive with shooting Arabs. They were firing directly into the rear of the trenches. This sort of thing is more than the best of soldiers can be expected to endure for long. The Bersaglieri, however, did the right thing, or what at the moment seemed to be the right thing; they went for the Turks in the oasis with their bayonets and pushed them out. In the meantime, the reserve of the 82nd Regiment, which was the next in the alignment to the 11th, extended and drove the town Arabs back through the oasis. It was extraordinary, however, how the internal rising spread, and the rapidity with which the entire town became involved. The unfortunate soldiers coming out from the town on convoy duty were mercilessly shot down from behind walls and trees before they could unsling their rifles even. In town even men began to shoot at the bazars.

Then followed one of the most awful scenes of panic imaginable. A large portion of the town population in Tripoli is Jewish, Greek and Levantine. None of these peoples have a great reputation for bravery. The cry went up that the Arabs were in the town. With one accord, the populace began to rush down to the shore to seize boats to take them out to sea. Hundreds poured into the gates of the various Consulates. The streets were blocked with wild-eyed men, shrieking women, and yelling children. Added to the terror bred of uncertainty was the fact that few odd Italian soldiers left in town, not knowing really what was happening, were shooting indiscriminately up and down the streets. There was half an hour of this frenzied *saute qui pent*, and then the Italian Carabinieri, who had just been landed, began to get the town situation in hand. In the suburbs, however, it was some time before tranquillity could be secured, as it is so difficult to locate the actual snipers, especially as the demonstrating Turks having made an impression on the left of the outpost line were busy pushing this advantage until overwhelmed by the arrival of the overpowering Italian reserves.

It was evident when at sunset the Italians had more or less got the situation under control that the army of invasion had suffered a very considerable shock both morally and in the matter of casualties. They had lost nearly four hundred men that day and, from the nature of the fighting, the majority had been killed. A great despondency took this usually gay army. What they felt was that there were still 7,000 stand of modern rifles unsundered in the hands of a treacherous enemy behind their own outpost line and that at any moment the Turks might attack them again in the front, while these seven thousand rose in the rear. It was not a very pleasant reflection from the purely military standpoint. The Italians, however, were taking no further risks with the Arabs. They just turned the soldiery into the affected quarters of the town and washed them out with blood. It was a terrible business, but in the circumstances it is hard to see what else remained for the Italians to do. Weakness towards a possible enemy always results in subsequent barbarity. Moreover the belief that the Turks were about to attack was no empty supposition. They came in gallantly within thirty hours and made for their numbers and conditions a really wonderful effort, but the narrative of this and the butchery of the Arabs in the suburbs must wait for another letter.

The Parliament and the War.

October 24

MR. D. MASON (Coventry, Min.).—May I ask why His Majesty's Government have not offered their good offices to Italy and Turkey with a view to a determination of hostilities?

MR. ASQUITH.—His Majesty's Government do not consider that any public announcement on this subject at the present moment will further the object indicated by my honourable friend. (General cheers.)

October 26.

MR. McCallum Scott (Glasgow, Bridgeton, Min.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he was able to communicate to the House the text of the Circular Note issued by the Italian Government to the Powers last month, notifying the attack upon the Turkish vilayet of Tripoli, and the terms of the reply of His Majesty's Government made to that communication.

SIR E. GREY (Northumberland, Berwick).—Notification of the declaration of war between Italy and Turkey was communicated to us on 30th September. His Majesty's Government duly issued a declaration of neutrality, and it would be undesirable to lay any papers on this subject at the present juncture. (Hear, hear.)

November 2.

MR. M. SYKES (Hull, Central, Opp.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government had any information regarding the resumption of lighthouse services in the Aegean and Red Seas, and, if so, would he state whether the resumption was total or partial.

SIR E. GREY (Northumberland, Berwick).—We have been in constant communication for some time with both the Italian and Turkish Governments on the question, in order to secure the restoration of the lights. Orders were given on 21st October by the Italian Government to relight the Italian Red Sea lights that had been extinguished, but the Turkish Government have not yet seen their way to restore their lights without an understanding as to the neutralization of the Red Sea. I am still in communication with the Government at Constantinople.

SIR G. WHITE (Norfolk, N. W., Min.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if His Majesty's Government had taken, or would take, the opportunity presented by the readjustment of territorial boundaries within the area of Africa covered by the Act of Berlin to recall to the Governments concerned in that readjustment the stipulations of the Berlin Act with regard to freedom of trade between the natives and the outer world, which stipulation had not been adhered to by the French Government.

SIR E. GREY.—It would be undesirable to complicate the negotiations proceeding between other Powers by raising other questions than those now under discussion between them.

MR. BECKETT, on behalf of Mr. Lloyd, asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps were being taken by His Majesty's Government to safeguard British rights in Tripoli?

SIR E. GREY.—His Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that British rights in Tripoli are being jeopardized. The Italian Government have announced their intention to protect foreign subjects in Tripoli by all available means.

MR. M. SYKES.—May I ask whether the stipulations enjoyed by British subjects in the Ottoman Empire are still enjoyed by them in the parts of Tripoli which are occupied by Italian troops?

SIR E. GREY.—There is a state of war at present existing, and it is always difficult when a state of war actually exists to say what the position of treaty rights is. We have not admitted that any treaty rights which we have in Tripoli are impaired by anything which is taking place there at present.

MR. M. SYKES asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Egypto-Tripolitan frontier had been completely delimited, and, if so, would he say when this was done?

SIR E. GREY.—The answer is in the negative.

MR. GRETTON (Rutland, Opp.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he had any official information showing that British subjects were killed and wounded during the bombardment of Benghazi by the Italian fleet, and, if so, how many; if application was made by or on behalf of British subjects at Benghazi for their removal by the British or Italian authorities before the bombardment, and if any of them were removed, and if there was any British ship, either naval or mercantile, at Benghazi to render assistance to British subjects?

SIR E. GREY.—His Majesty's Government are informed that during the bombardment of Benghazi eight Maltese British subjects were killed by falling masonry. A shell struck the British Consulate but the British Consul has telegraphed that commercial interests did not suffer any serious damage in consequence of the bombardment. So far as His Majesty's Government are aware, no application for removal was made by British subjects. No British naval ship was present and so far as we are aware no British mercantile ship.

MR. LEACH (Yorks, Colne Valley, Min.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he would use his good offices and the influence of the United Kingdom to put a stop to the killing of Arabs, men, women, and children, by the Italians at Tripoli.

SIR E. GREY.—The military operations of the Italian Government in Tripoli are a matter in which His Majesty's Government cannot interfere, and any other attitude would not be consistent with the Declaration of Neutrality that they have issued. I understand that the statement implied in the question has been denied on the highest authority, and I must earnestly deprecate the putting of questions on the notice paper of the House of Commons in a form that must be offensive to other Governments. (Cheers.)

MR. GWYNN asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention had been called to the accounts of the sack of Tripoli and the bombardment of Benghazi; whether he had received any official information giving authentic particulars of those transactions, and, if so, whether he would immediately communicate such information to the House; and, if he had not received official accounts of these events, whether he would, telegraph to the British Consuls asking for full and detailed reports.

SIR E. GREY.—His Majesty's Government have received no information to show that since the outbreak of hostilities between

Italy and Turkey any event has occurred that can be described as a sack of Tripoli. With regard to Bengazi, I would refer to the reply returned to the honourable member for Rutland. His Majesty's Government are kept informed of the course of events in Tripoli and Cyrenaica by his Majesty's Consuls in Tripoli and Bengazi, but I cannot undertake to give information except when British subjects are concerned. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gwynn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the Italian Government communicated to the British Government its intention of seizing Tripoli; whether the British Government assented to this enterprise or addressed any remonstrance to the Italian Government; and whether he would lay upon the table any communications which had passed between the two Governments referring to the Italian expedition to Tripoli?

Sir E. Grey.—The first communication of any intention to seize Tripoli which His Majesty's Government received was the notification of the Declaration of War on 30th September. We at once expressed the intention of issuing a declaration of neutrality. As stated last Thursday, I am not prepared to lay papers at the present time.

Mr. D. Mason (Coventry, Mun).—Would the right honourable gentleman explain to the House how that is consistent with the treaty obligations that this country entered into at The Hague? (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. Grey.—We received notification of a state of war. We expressed our intention of issuing a declaration of neutrality, there is nothing in that, so far as I am aware, contrary to any treaty obligation.

Sir W. Byles (Salford, N., Min).—Is it not a violation of treaty obligation on the part of Italy? (Some cheers.)

Sir E. Grey.—Perhaps the honourable member will give me notice of the actual treaty he refers to.

Mr. King (Somerset, N., Min).—Are we under no obligation to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire? (Cheers.)

Sir E. Grey.—I must ask for notice of any question relating to any treaty.

Mr. Lansbury (Bow and Bromley, Lab.).—Have the Government considered the effect upon the poorer population of the various European States by the example of a civilized Government removing its neighbour's land-marks for no other purpose than the exploitation of a peaceful country ("Oh")—a peaceful country—and seizing their possessions?

Sir E. Grey.—The honourable member is inviting me to take comments on a state of things with regard to which we have issued a declaration of neutrality. Having done that, no good purpose would be served by my making comments upon a war with respect to which we have stated our intention of being neutral. (Cheers.)

Mr. D. Mason asked the Prime Minister on private notice what action the Government intended to take to express the horror and detestation which the House felt at the recent reported massacre of Arabs by the Italians in Tripoli?

Mr. Asquith.—I would refer my honourable friend to the answer given by my right honourable friend the Foreign Secretary earlier in the day. To that answer I have nothing to add except this, that questions of such a character ought not to be asked or answered on private notice. (Cheers.)

Mr. D. Mason.—Is the right honourable gentleman aware that that answer referred to this denial by the Italian Embassy which contained the following sentence: "Those who during the fighting or immediately after it, were found with arms in hands were shot, and that according to Article III of The Hague Convention all belligerents—the armed forces of belligerent parties—may consist of combatants and non-combatants? Is the right honourable gentleman aware of that fact?

Mr. Asquith.—I have nothing to add to what I have said except to repeat that I deprecate such questions in the strongest possible way. (Cheers.)

Mr. D. Mason.—May I ask you, Sir, whether I should be in order, having regard to the fact that all the time of the House has been allocated to the Government, in giving notice of a resolution of protest which I wish to propose to the House?

The Speaker.—The honourable member is certainly entitled to give notice of any motion he desires to move and put it on the paper.

Mr. D. Mason.—Having regard to your ruling, Sir, and as I regard this as a matter of very urgent importance, I move the adjournment of the House.

The Speaker.—The honourable member has forgotten the resolution of the House which forbids any motion for the adjournment of the House.

Comment of the Nation

ON THURSDAY night both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary were questioned from the Liberal and Tory benches on the tragic events in Tripoli. The tone of both Ministers was peremptory, and we greatly regret that perfectly proper and urgent question concerning not merely foreign policy, but common humanity and the decent conduct of war, which the Government is pledged under the Hague Convention to uphold, should be answered in this fashion. The mouth of the House of Commons is shut on foreign affairs, and it is really adding insult to injury when Liberal members are addressed as Mr. Leach and Mr. Mason were addressed last night, when they put to the Foreign Secretary the question which nearly every Englishman has it on his lips to ask. Mr. Leach was roughly told that in asking whether the Government would use its good offices to stop the killing of men, women, and children in Tripoli, he was putting question in a form "offensive" to other Governments. Mr. Gwynn, inquiring whether we had remonstrated, was told that we had issued a declaration of neutrality, as if that were a relevant answer, and Mr. Mason, suggesting that the conduct of the Italian troop was an infringement of Article II. of the annex to the Hague Convention, which gives belligerent rights to an extemporised levy of an invaded people—and that the Government might take action to express the House's "horror and detestation" of the massacre, was told that he ought not to ask such questions, and that they were "deprecatd" "in the strongest possible way."

Now Ministers, like other men, are liable to haste, but this is language of a very unusual character. The feeling which the Liberal and Tory members expressed on Thursday night is not merely Parliamentary, it is national, and if the Government are not personally stirred to any kind of humane, though quite peaceful action, they can at least be reminded that international law permits and encourages them to it. Under these circumstances, it becomes the urgent duty of the Liberal party to call for a prompt discussion of the foreign policy of the Government. It is not to be imagined that the tone of the Foreign Secretary on Thursday night represents the deliberate attitude of a Liberal statesman towards matters which concern some of the best and deepest feelings in the human heart, as well as the oldest of British interests, which is that of peace. But we must really have some assurance that we have not acted in the spirit in which Sir Edward Grey has spoken.

The Italian Atrocities.

Reuter's Description of the Slaughter.

London, 6th November.

REUTER'S correspondent in Tripoli reached Malta yesterday and issued a sworn statement, countersigned by the correspondents for the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mirror*, at the request of the British Consul at Tripoli City. In this he declares:—"Until 23rd October the Italians treated the Arabs kindly, and the Bersaglieri rightly shot the Arabs in the southeastern portion of the oasis. Afterwards, however, General Caneva ordered that all Arabs caught with arms in their possession in the oasis should be shot, but on finding that the Arabs were hiding their arms he changed the order to 'shoot all who are reasonably suspected of bearing arms.' Bodies of excited soldiers, often without officers, scoured the oasis for four days and shot the Arabs indiscriminately, regardless of whether or not they had taken part in the treacherous attack upon the Bersaglieri."

"Several parties of 50 and 60 Arabs (men and boys) were collected, with their hands tied behind them, and marched to vacant places, where they were shot without trial. Others were shot down while they were working in their gardens, and more were bayoneted or clubbed to death with the butt ends of rifles."

"On the fourth day after the so-called insurrection an Italian detachment met three unarmed Arabs, obviously men of property, and shot them without a word of explanation."

"The Turks engaged in the battles of 23rd and 26th October did not number more than 2,000, and yet they inflicted upon the Italians losses to the number of at least 1,000 men. The Italian line was broken on the 26th in two places by less than 200 Arabs, who rushed the 84th Regiment at dawn and gained the cover of the oasis. One hundred dismounted Italian cavalry saved the situation by a charge in which they killed the majority of the Arabs. Thirty of the Arabs, however, held a position for three days until they were blown up by mines."

"General Caneva became so alarmed at the turn of events that he abandoned the outer works, including the Turkish fort of Meen, and his army worked feverishly to render the inner positions impregnable by throwing up entrenchments and erecting barbed wire entanglements. The Turks and Arabs are now holding the oasis, where they have ample food and where the orchards and gardens afford natural defences. The position is an ideal one from which to harass the Italian lines. The Turkish advanced artillery on

25th October dropped a shell into General Caneva's headquarters. The Italians have been driven to a point from which they cannot retire except by way of the sea, and they have passed from a state of greatest elation to one of deepest depression. They have to contend against sandstorms in the day time and soaking rains in the night, and many of them are suffering from cholera. If the correspondents in Tripoli attempt to state the facts in their reports they will be immediately expelled."

He asserts that the correspondents for the *New York World* and the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* were so disgusted with the action of the Italians in the oasis that they handed their passes back to General Caneva and refused to have any further dealings with his army.

Other persons recently arrived at Malta from Tripoli state that a reign of terror exists in the city, and that house-to-house searches for Arabs continue. Summary punishment is, they affirm, meted out upon the slightest pretence, and batches of 50 prisoners are frequently executed after a minute's trial before a tribunal of officers.

The *Standard's* correspondent in Tripoli estimates that the attackers in the battle of 26th October numbered 8,000 Turks and 16,000 Arabs and that the Italians lost 5,000 men, including two battalions that surrendered.

Berlin, 2nd November.

The correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* telegraphs from Tripoli under Tuesday's date:—

The suppression of the revolt among the natives is being continued with merciless rigour. The Arabs, thoroughly well-armed, had occupied the whole oasis. They did not shoot any European civilians, but they shot many soldiers, and on this account the panic which arose among the troops was increased. Owing to the helplessness of the officers a wild man hunt began. The troops were even ordered to fire on women and children. Thus far at least 3,000 natives have been executed or shot down. Italian soldiers have conducted an equal number as prisoners to Fantellera. The Italian soldiers shot a Maltese and a Greek, mistaking them for natives. In the execution of the measures I witnessed myself unheard-of atrocities. Hundreds of Arab corpses and also carcasses of animals are still lying about in the oasis. The general insecurity is spreading in the town as well.

The Shambles.

Mr. Francis McCullagh, the well-known American writer, who was sent to Tripoli by the *New York World*, has returned to Malta, declaring that, with other correspondents, he refused to remain in Tripoli any longer, as a protest against Italian barbarities. Mr. McCullagh, telegraphing from Malta, writes: "The Italian Army is an armed band of marauders and a gang of assassins. About 400 women and children and 4,000 men have been shot. Cripples and blind beggars have been deliberately shot, and sick people whose houses were burned were left on the ground and refused even a drop of water. I personally witnessed these scenes of horror and photographed them. The Arab quarter was overrun by crazy soldiers shooting every Arab, man, woman, and child. The officers were worse than the men. The Army is demoralised and the scenes are worse than an American massacre. The Arabs did mutilate corpses, but not until the Italians began the massacre. The Arabs were at first the most courteous of opponents and used to bring in wounded Italians under a flag of truce. I visited the Italian front during the battle of 25th October and found the soldiers paralysed with fear. The Italians frankly admit conducting the war as a war of extermination, and no quarter is ever given to the Arabs, whom General Caneva persists in regarding as non-combatants. He says, he is fighting Turkey, and that the Arabs, therefore, are not regular soldiers in uniform and must be shot if caught with arms in their hands whether under the white flag or not. A small force of Arabs was surrounded in a house where they fought for 12 hours. Their ammunition was then exhausted and they were all butchered despite the white flag. The worst case of barbarity witnessed during the massacre was that of a boy and girl and two aged women lying on the ground among the corpses at the gate of the Italian Red Cross hospital."

TREACHERY AND BRUTALITY.

I begged the military doctors whose only occupation seemed to be photographing the horrible massacre scenes, to help these sick people. The doctors paid no heed, and I begged a Franciscan monk and a high Red Cross official to do something. The latter said "Let them die." Italian soldiers guarded these poor wretches, prevented anyone giving them even a drop of water, and all died. There is hardly any treachery Italians are not employing. They used white flags on tree tops signalling to the fleet the presence of the Arabs. The Arabs have come to regard the white flag as an emblem of the blackest treachery. The principal culprit is General Caneva. He lives in the citadel, which is fortified, and surrounded by bomb-proof shelters, with soldiers crowded in it from roof to eaves. The General of the division does the same and under such absentee leadership any army would degenerate. General Caneva himself is never seen at the front, or outside the bomb-proof shelters.

In a later despatch Mr. McCullagh says the whole oasis was surrounded by soldiers who shot at sight every Arab they could find. The soldiers wandered about, revolvers in their hands, shooting every Arab who showed himself, frequently firing at comrades whom they mistook in the distance for Arabs.

"DRUNK WITH BLOOD."

They were literally drunk with the blood they had spilled. All the symptoms of intoxication characterised their appearance and conduct. I came upon fifty soldiers conducting a dozen prisoners. The soldiers, yelling wildly, swayed to and fro like drunkards. At their head was their captain with a face as flushed, and manner as unsteady, as the worst of his troops. He had lost control of himself, and his followers shoved and jostled him as if he were in the ranks. None of them had tasted wine, and that I am sure, but blood had maddened them. All hands marched to a roadside hut, and, two by two, the prisoners were led to the walls and received volleys of bullets. As each pair of victims fell, the spectators yelled in a frenzy of delight. One captain with a camera snapped the successive scenes and a volley was often delayed to enable him to arrange the focus. There was a mad rush forward when the last victims fell and the air was filled with jeers.

Down the main road towards Bumeiana marched fifty soldiers, in a hollow square. Inside the square were more than fifty Arabs, men of all ages, and children about ten. The soldiers marched towards the huts on the outskirts of the town and drove the prisoners into an empty hut. At the corner of the hut the soldiers drove a bayonet into the heart of an old man and the others were hurried by groups into the hut. Then usual business began, and soon the floor was so encumbered with bodies that those who came last had to climb to their own death over a hillock of their dead friends. Many fell as they climbed. When the work of the firing party was finished, the floor presented an awful spectacle of tangled bodies and limbs intertwined in agony. Despite the great number of bullets poured into the house many Arabs retained some spark of life. As one or another moved, the captain of the escort began revolver practice shooting at the quivering limbs, and when no more movement occurred he fired at visible heads, making horrible jokes, and inducing other officers to join in the abominable work. From the bottom of the pile came a deep hoarse moaning and the officers again emptied revolvers into the tumult of bodies from where the sound seemed to come. Still the plaintive moaning continued, and the officers, with ribald expletives, then ordered up the firing party. Again the bodies were raked with half a dozen volleys and when I listened again the moaning had ceased.

The final volley had torn and lacerated the bodies in a frightful manner, and the pitiful pile was now too ghastly for description.

Moslem Appeal to Christians.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—May I beg you to extend to me once more the courtesy of your columns to ask the nation how long we are to view unmoved and unconcerned the scenes of horror that are being enacted in a part of North Africa which only a few weeks ago enjoyed the blessings of peace? The indiscriminate slaughter, the news of which is telegraphed this morning, the massacre of captives, the killing of women who will not uncover their faces at the bidding of rude soldiers, the "execution" of non-combatants dragged into the streets, without even the pretence of an inquiry as to their complicity with the firing on the invaders, will send a shock, unless I am very much mistaken, through the civilized world. Were even a fraction of these acts committed by the Turks, there would have been a howl of indignation throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Surely the heart of England cannot be dead to the call of humanity at such deeds by a "Christian" nation. An avenging Nemesis dogs the steps of wrong-doing and injustice, the invaders are paving their way into the desert with their bones, for their ferocious methods must in the result recoil on their own heads.

The Indian vernacular newspapers received by the last mail are full of war-news and of meetings of protest; the terrible reports of this morning will add to the fury and excitement. We remember how Moslem India was stirred at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; and we know the feeling that this war—forced on an unoffending people—with its attendant barbarities has aroused among the Mussalman subjects of the British Empire. The masses, as in other lands, can hardly be expected to differentiate between the wrongdoer and the innocent; I pray that the hatred against the one may not extend to the other.

Will not the Christian men and women of England, who cherish the noble ideals of their Faith, raise their voice against this reversion to the barbarism of bygone days?

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

AMEER ALI.

REFORM CLUB, PALI MALL, S. W.

"Military Exigencies" in Tripoli.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Leaving aside the accounts from sources more or less prejudiced against the Italian occupation of Tripoli, it appears from impartial sources not ill disposed to Italy that very terrible events have occurred in the so-called "oasis" round Tripoli town between 23rd and 27th October. The Arabs in the oasis rose unexpectedly in the rear of the Italian outposts, already exposed to an attack from the desert, thus placing them between two fires. The Bersaglieri apparently maintained themselves against a fierce double attack with a courage worthy of the high tradition of their corps, and the honour of the Italian arms was well maintained. But the fighting was followed, unless, indeed, all Europe has been misinformed, by an indiscriminate massacre of Arabs in the oasis, lasting for several days, in which multitudes were shot at sight, the form of trial being in most cases dispensed with.

Now I am not one who consider English methods of warfare to have been always unimpeachable. I have, indeed, in my humble degree, protested publicly against some things done by our military authorities at the time that they occurred. On the other hand, I have never belonged to the class of persons who hold that "military exigencies" are invariably a hypocritical excuse for cruelty. I have no doubt that, in the occupation of a country whose inhabitants are hostile, nasty things have to be done. I admit also that, if the Arabs had won, they would very probably not have given quarter to all the Italians. In fact I do not dispute that, after the rising in the oasis was quelled, some military executions of Arabs must necessarily have ensued. But wholesale massacre, of which the Italians are accused, is very different.

The occupation of Tripoli appears to rest on the same basis as the occupation of other parts of North Africa by other European Powers—*vis*, on the law of force. Some of us wish, for the sake of our friends the Italians, that the Italian State had continued to rest on the stronger, nobler, and more economical basis of a free national union of a single race. But the Italians may know their own affairs best, and in any case we are in no position to scold them for imitating ourselves.

If, however, Italians begin to treat the Arabs who are fighting for their country in the same way as the Austrians treated Brescia, it is advisable to remind our Italian friends that the Arabs have much more *legal* right to resist them than the Italians had to resist the Austrians—to whom Lombardy belonged by law and treaty, though, Heaven knows, not by moral right. Furthermore, if the Italians claim European sympathy because they are destroying the power of the Turk, with its record of massacre and oppression, it is particularly necessary to be careful about these things.

I refuse to believe the report from a Turkish source that the Italians are treating the Arabs theoretically as "rebels." But in the circumstances they ought to take special care not unconsciously to let their practice approach to such a theory. The English love of Italy, which is very sincere and a real factor in European affairs, rests much on sentiment, a sentiment of affection for a people who won freedom at a price and have hitherto not abused it at the expense of others, as the Magyars are held to have done. Of the effects of too great severity upon the ultimate relations of the Italians to the inhabitants of Tripoli, whom they have undertaken to govern, I can only judge *à priori*, but of the effect on English opinion, if a policy of cruel repression is begun and persisted in by the Italians, I can speak from a knowledge of my countrymen.

But I have received too much kindness from Italians, and have seen too much of Italian officers, to be able to believe that cruelty will be allowed to become systematic in their Army. May the better elements in it speedily prevail.

G. M. TRENTMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

SIR,—From day to day stories have appeared in the Press of the shooting of Arabs in or around Tripoli. There comes this morning the narrative, plain and authoritative, of what appears to have been the largest slaughter outside a regular battle in any modern war. Your correspondent speaks of the "two quarters" from which the Arabs assailed the rear of the Bersaglieri being "turned into human abattoirs." Reuter's correspondent says that "orders were given by the authorities to exterminate all Arabs found in the oasis." The process, he goes on to say, took three days, parties of soldiers "shooting indiscriminately all whom they met, without trial, without appeal." Neither youth nor sex, it would seem, were spared, for he goes on, "many of those killed were quite young, and many women perished in the confusion."

A couple of months ago this was a perfectly peaceful population, living quietly under the Government of men of different race, but of the same religion. Now the male population of the oasis is apparently wiped out by soldiers from a land with which these men never had any quarrel and which has come to introduce, as it claims, civilization among them. Can modern history supply a parallel to the wantonness and the cruelty of these proceedings? It was felt as a harsh application of admitted laws of war when the Germans in 1870 burnt French

villages from which they had been attacked. What would have been said then if they had turned out the male population and shot them down without attempting to ask who had and who had not been concerned in the attack? The customs of war have hardened since that time. But to what is Europe committed if the action of the Italians passes without protest? Are we to understand that in future the distinction between combatant and non-combatant can be set aside at the pleasure of an invading army? Is it to be admitted that, in any territory which a foreign Power professes to have annexed, resistance is to pass for rebellion, and that the rebellion of some is to justify, not merely the slaughter of prisoners, but the indiscriminate massacre of all who are capable of bearing arms? If this is to be the rule of the future, the next European war will be a scene of horror far surpassing all present anticipation. "One hardly knows," your Correspondent concludes, "to what limits the elasticity of the phrase 'military exigencies' will be stretched in the 20th century." Indeed if these present practices pass without criticism, there will soon be no limits, for it will be difficult to go beyond.

Yours, etc.,

L. T. HOBHOUSE,

Chairman of the Nationalities and Subject Races Committee.
WIMBLEDON.

The Rules of Civilized Warfare.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Mr. Hobhouse in his letter of 31st October admits that the Arabs inside the Italian lines attacked the Bersaglieri, and asks the questions—(a) "Are we to understand that in future the distinction between combatant and non-combatant can be set aside at the pleasure of an invading army?" and (b) "Is it to be admitted that, in any territory which a foreign Power professes to have annexed, resistance is to pass for rebellion?" The answer to these questions is to be found in The Hague "Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land" of 1907, which was signed at the Hague by the representatives of both Italy and Turkey. Article 2 of the "Regulations" attached to this Convention reads as follows.—"The inhabitants of a territory not under occupation, who on the approach of the enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having had time to organize themselves in accordance with Article 1 shall be regarded as belligerents if they carry arms openly," etc. The Arabs of the oasis of Tripoli did not fulfil these conditions; they waited until the enemy had "occupied" their territory, they concealed arms; and they took a convenient opportunity to attack (not to "resist") the occupying (not "invading") troops. Therefore they had not the rights of "belligerents." They were not, it is true, "rebels," but they were "war rebels," and as such their lives were at the mercy of the occupying army. At such a time there is no doubt, as happens even during a strike, the innocent suffer with the guilty, as the German Field Service Regulations lay down, the safety of the troops must be the first consideration.

Italy's position is legally unassailable. She has fulfilled all the conditions laid down in The Hague "Convention respecting the opening of hostilities," and observed all the regulations annexed to the "Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land."

It is as well that Englishmen should understand the meaning of the rules of civilized warfare recognized at The Hague Conference. Whether such rules should be permitted to stand is another question.

Your obedient servant,

A GENERAL STAFF OFFICER.

Moslem Feeling in India.

A LARGELY attended meeting of Muhammadans was held at Jhalakati (Barisal) on the 19th instant to condemn the unjust war of Italy against Turkey. As a token of condemnation the meeting boycotted Italian goods and expressed hatred for the massacre of innocent Arabs by the Italians. It was proposed to raise subscriptions to help the families of the dead and wounded.

The Muhammadans of Dacca have taken to the boycott of Italian goods with great vigour. Crowds of Muhammadans are seen on Islampur road opposite the ice factory burning Italian goods. Several stationery shop-keepers inform that the boycott has seriously affected the sale of all foreign goods, including even those of Austrian and German manufacture.

The following resolutions have been passed by the Madras Persian Society:—(1) The Society express their deepest sympathy with Persia in her present troubles. (2) They thank Mr. Shuster for his sincere services performed in Persia. (3) They condemn the civilized robbery and hypocritical policy of some Christian Powers towards constitutional Persia. (4) They appeal to the Khalifah and H. M. the Amir of Afghanistan in the present peril to take a keen interest in the holy Islamic cause.

The following is a copy of a telegram sent to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey:—

"Muslims, deeply stirred by details of Italian atrocities, view with grave apprehension further humiliation of Islam in Persia. Appeal to prevent unjust Russian demands and not to wound Muslim feelings unduly when King approaching Indian shores.—Secretary, Indian Red Crescent Society."

A Palma correspondent wired:—The alarming news about Persia has stirred the feeling of Muhammadans in general. About 2,000 Sunni Muhammadans assembled in the Madrassa Mosque and after Jumma prayers prayed for the safety of Persia, as they owe their customs and language to Persian influence. Lord Curzon was thanked for his sympathetic speech.

A mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Kanknara and its neighbourhood was held on 19th November at 2 P.M. at Kanknara. Prayers were offered and then very impressive speeches made regarding the war between Turkey and Italy, and the sufferings of Arabs. Afterwards appeal was made to each Mussalman to contribute towards the Red Crescent Society Fund and subscriptions began to pour in from the assembled people—rich and poor. Italian goods were boycotted. Moulana Syed Agha Jalaluddin Tibrani also spoke. Amongst others the following were present:—Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Clark, Mr. Taylor of Messrs Jardine, Skinner and Co, the Manager of the Kanknara Jute Mills, Rai Syamacharan Bhattacharjee Bahadur, and others. About 3,000 Muhammadans were present.

Telegraphic information reveals the fact that a mob of Mahomedans of Changanachery (Travancore State), having become very excited at reading the telegrams of Turko-Italian war in the vernacular paper *Manorama*, attacked every Christian they saw and committed a series of affrays. One Varghese and a couple of others were attacked on a public thoroughfare. The former was severely stabbed with a knife on the neck and other places, necessitating his immediate removal to the hospital. Joseph Chirayil, a respectable citizen, and a few others were severely assaulted and they were removed to the hospital. After reporting the occurrence to the police and Magistracy, the constable on duty, who was watching the mob, was beaten down from his bike and one more member had to be admitted into the hospital. About a hundred excited men armed with their long knives, cudgels and clubs vociferously challenged the Christians and pelted them with stones. Business in every direction was at a standstill, and the police and Magistrate wired to their heads at Kottayam, and they arrived fully armed. The roads were patrolled on receipt of telegraphic petitions and reports. The Dewan Peishkar has arrived there. The riot has not fully subsided. The Prosecuting Inspector from Trivandrum has arrived and the case against the offenders is reported to be going on.

Moslem Feeling in Egypt.

ANTI-ITALIAN demonstrations at Alexandria resulted in riots on 31st October. Lord Kitchener proceeded to Alexandria and visited the Khedive and the disturbed centres. The Prime Minister and an adviser from the Ministry to the Interior left Cairo by special train.

The Alexandria demonstration was against Europeans in general. The army of occupation and the police intervened, and the shops and business houses were closed by the police.

It is believed that four Italians and two natives were killed and many injured. Martial law was proclaimed at Alexandria, and 200 men from His Majesty's cruiser *Lancaster* were landed on 2nd November.

Disturbances also took place in various districts of Cairo, and forty arrests were made in the Arab quarters.

Alexandria, November 1

The Turkish successes have been received here without question by the native population and remarkable scenes of jubilation were witnessed in the streets last night. The principal roads were packed with Turkish partisans, and it was not long before trouble occurred. Large numbers of shop-fronts in the Rue Sœurs and other thoroughfares were smashed up.

Outside the Cafe d'Alexandrie a Greek fired a revolver, though with what intent it is not known, and this was followed by an attack upon the cafe, which was entirely wrecked. Several arrests were made, and a number of persons were injured. The police acted with commendable restraint, and at length succeeded in quieting the people.

The Premier and the Procureur-General arrived from Cairo by special train at 4.45 this morning, and at once proceeded to hold an inquiry into the rioting of the previous evening. The Governor of Alexandria, the acting commandant, and other officials of the city were summoned before the Premier.

It transpired that the rioting was marked by numerous attacks upon Italians, and two Italian police officers were badly wounded.

The Consulate, however, which has been strongly policed since the outbreak of war, was not attacked.

According to a statement by an official at the Consulate, fifteen Italians were injured in the streets. The attitude of the Muhammadan population became so menacing at one period that the police, fearing a massacre of the Italian residents, cleared the Hamami quarter and made fifty-two arrests. The mob retaliated with stones torn from the roads and other missiles, and many shots were fired, including four from one window.

A native painter was stabbed in the back and killed, and fifteen natives were wounded, four by bullets, four by stabs, and the rest by stones. The Italians are panic-stricken.

Following yesterday's rioting here, the Acting Italian Consul today waited on the Governor, and informed him that he should hold the Egyptian Government responsible for any anti-Italian outbreak or demonstration.

The police contend that the fighting was started by Italian subjects, whose arrests they have not yet been able to effect.

A *Central News* correspondent writes from Alexandria on 1st November:—

I have interviewed a number of prominent police officers with regard to yesterday's rioting and they all agree that so far as revolver shooting was concerned the chief offenders were the Greeks, twelve of whom were arrested. The great majority of the native rioters were juveniles, of whom the police took into custody no fewer than 150.

The rioting began with a series of incidents all of much the same nature. Parties of natives advancing the streets at a run threw stones through windows and shop-fronts, and the Greeks replied with their revolvers.

After a little while however, the trouble degenerated into an anti-Italian riot, which caused great alarm to Europeans generally. Most of the latter armed themselves with revolvers, knives, razors, or other weapons, and the shops were hastily closed.

Patrols of police and military have been established, and the fire brigade has been pressed into the work of maintaining order. The soldiers of the army of occupation are confined to barracks.

No disturbances are reported from the provinces, and the latest news from Cairo says that all is quiet there.

Lord Kitchener is at Victoria College this evening.

Alexandria, November 1.

There was considerable commotion in Alexandria yesterday evening on receipt of false reports of Turkish victories in Tripoli. These reports were spread among the population, which naturally became excited. Some shots were fired by Europeans from a window, causing a tumult, which was, however, promptly suppressed by the police. One native was killed and 14 persons were injured, one of whom was a European. He was slightly hurt. The Prime Minister is here and everything is now calm. The false news apparently emanated from an Egyptian Nationalist at Constantinople.—*Reuter*.

Russia and British Annexation of Egypt.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, October 27.

FROM whencever the report recently emanated that England was about to "regularise" her occupation of the Nile Valley by the formal annexation of Egypt as an integral colonial possession of the British Crown, the official and categorical *démenti* which so quickly followed from Downing Street was, as a matter of course, generally anticipated in all well-informed quarters, but curiously enough, the authoritative disclaimer appears, for reasons that are not easily comprehensible, to have caused no little disappointment to the leading organs of the Russian political Press. The conflict between Italy and Turkey, argue these journals, has undoubtedly rendered England's existent status in Egypt a political as well as a logical impossibility, unless, of course, Turkey's suzerainty, whether it be regarded as *de facto*, *de jure*, or merely nominal, be repudiated, and such repudiation must necessarily involve a British protectorate or a British annexation, and, failing either, a British evacuation of the Nile Valley. The latter solution of what is described as the Anglo-Egyptian *impasse* is admittedly out of the question. Then why does not England take the obviously natural and now imperative course of hoisting her flag at Cairo? If that had not been her latent intention, why, it is asked, was Lord Kitchener sent to Egypt contemporaneously with Italy's seizure of the Tripolitaine and the Cyrenaica? No one imagines, and least of all the political *quidnuncs* of the Russian Press, that the two events were accidentally coincident.

There is, the *Russkoye Slovo* observed the other day, a Gordian knot to be severed in Egypt, and the sword of Kitchener of Khartoum was deliberately chosen for the performance of that simple Alexandrian task, why does his sword remain sheathed? Perhaps

it is from a certain feeling of delicacy or magnanimity that the British Government hesitates for the moment to take a course which might have the appearance of emulating the brigand policy of Italy in Tripoli, and England's action is dictated by no such crooked and pusillanimous motive as to allow it to appear that she was taking a mean advantage of Turkey's temporary difficulties. In certain other quarters it is surmised that the British annexation of Egypt requires the consent of Germany. This presumption the *Muscovite* journal dismisses with the remark that the British Government, which lately put a spoke in the wheel of Germany's arrogant procedure in Morocco, would not dream of consulting the pleasure of the Wilhelmstrasse in any new departure of its policy in Egypt.

Press Opinion.

The "Times."

The events of the last fortnight in Tripoli show that the Italian occupation even of the coast towns is not to be effected by a mere military promenade. When the first detachments of the expeditionary force were landed, we were assured that no resistance was to be expected from the Arabs. They were represented as positively hostile to the Turks, and as ready to welcome the Italians, who would liberate them from the Ottoman yoke. Whether the Italian military authorities on the spot ever shared this delusion, we are unable to say. If they did they have had a rude awakening. It was the Arabs who were most prominent in the determined opposition offered to the invaders at Benghazi on 19th and 20th October, it was the Arabs who rose in Tripoli a few days later, and despite the ruthless severity with which the rising was suppressed, the Arabs again fought fiercely alongside their Turkish comrades in last Thursday's attack at the Bomellane wells. The pleasing theory ventilated in the Italian Press that, when an advance into the interior is begun, the Arab tribesmen will assist the soldiers of General Caneva, or at all events will not aid the Turks, seems to be shattered by this news. The gravity which the Italian military authorities ascribe to it may be inferred from the measures they have taken to cow the spirit of the population. They are described in the telegram from our Special Correspondent which appeared yesterday—the last which will appear from him, as the rigid nature of the censorship makes the transmission of independent news almost impracticable. He has exceptional knowledge of the harsh realities of war, and has been schooled by long and varied experience not to judge them in the spirit of an extravagant humanitarian. Yet he is evidently shocked by what he has seen the Italian soldiers do round Tripoli. He admits to the full the plea of "military exigencies." He acknowledges that the dangerous rising of the Arabs in the rear of the Italian positions imposed upon the Generals answerable for the lives of the troops the duty of drastic repression. But he speaks of the retribution as "awful" and "ruthless." He affirms that the "floodgates of blood and lust were opened," that many of the Italian soldiers got out of control, and that the innocent were made to suffer with the guilty. What he witnessed he describes as one of the most merciless phases of war.

We publish a letter to-day from one of the warmest friends and admirers of modern Italy in this country which comments in measured and weighty language upon our Correspondent's statements. No educated Italian is ignorant of the services which Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan has rendered to the history of Italy, or of the spirit of enthusiastic respect and affection with which he has described her struggle for freedom and for unity. It is the very strength of his love for her which impels him to-day to raise his voice against deeds which he fears may tarnish her good name, and weaken the high regard in which Englishmen hold her. The task must have been painful to him, but we are confident that in performing it, he has added one more to his many claims on the friendship of enlightened and patriotic Italians. Mr. Trevelyan neither preaches nor reprimands. He reasons and advises. Like our Correspondent, he makes ample allowance for the difficulties and the possible dangers to which the rising exposed the Italians. He knows, as our Correspondent knows, that war has its exigencies, to which soldiers, however humane themselves, must sometimes bow. But he cannot bring himself to believe that in this instance they imperatively demanded the pitiless measures which have been taken, and he knows well the impression these are certain to produce on large masses of Englishmen. The presence of large numbers of defenceless Italian subjects in Turkey adds a special reason to the many other grounds of humanity and of expediency which make it particularly incumbent upon Italy to prosecute the war without needless severity. The Turkish Government have not hitherto played any very conspicuous part in the struggle, and indeed their activity has been largely confined to making hopeless appeals and protestations to the Powers. But in one respect they have deserved very highly of Italy and of civilization. They have had the wisdom and the magnanimity to reject the measures pressed upon them from influential Committee circles, to eject the tens of thousands of Italian subjects in the Empire. So far as is known few, if any, of them have been injured or seriously molested since the Italians seized upon the Turkish provinces. It should be the endeavour, as it is the interest, of Italian statesmen to do

nothing which will make this attitude of the Turkish Government harder to maintain than it is. If the war is to end, as they wish it to end, by an amicable arrangement with their present adversaries, they must be careful to refrain from all unnecessary acts calculated to inflame Moslem sensibilities, and to throw power at Constantinople into inexperienced and irresponsible hands.

We cannot tell whether the energy and enterprise displayed of late by Turks and Arabs in the theatre of war is due to the arrival there of Fethi Bey or not. It seems, however, certain that this very intelligent and capable soldier, as he is reputed to be, has made his way from Paris through Tunis to the Turkish headquarters in Tripoli. The tactics which the Turks and their Arab fellow subjects have been following, there are indeed widely different from those which he explained in a French newspaper that he intended to follow. We are not sure that this is any argument that he is not now directing them. It is rarely expedient at the beginning of a campaign to give journalists full explanations of the plan it is intended to pursue. It is sometimes highly advantageous to assure them that operations are contemplated which it is not intended to undertake. Fethi Bey may have been acting upon this principle when he told his French interviewer how he meant to fall back forthwith into the desert and to force the Italians to pursue him. In any event he is now likely to act upon a plan so manifestly dictated by all we know of the situation. Of the Italian plans we are not likely to hear much. They have quite naturally instituted a very strict censorship.

The "Manchester Guardian."

The annexation is bad policy, because it forces the Arabs of the interior to make common cause with the Turks. It is as illegal and invalid as the annexation of Mongolia or Sze-chwan from Downing Street would be. You can only annex a country to any purpose when you are prepared to undertake and exact certain duties to and from its inhabitants, and the Italians, cooped up in a few coast towns, are able to do neither. Moreover, the proclamation is a sign of weakness. It is like the whistling of a traveller benighted on a lonely road to keep up his courage. . . .

The "Graphic."

A COURTEOUS Italian correspondent . . . denies my statement that "Tripoli is as indisputably a part of the Ottoman Empire as Constantinople itself," and argues that as "Tripoli was independent until the year 1835, and was then only taken by the Turks by treachery," it cannot be quite on the same footing as Constantinople. The reasoning is plausible, but I am afraid it will not weigh with the international jurists. Let me assure my correspondent that the view I take is not my own. It was the view of Lord Granville in 1881, when he wrote to Lord Lyons that "the incorporation of Tripoli in the Turkish Empire is unquestioned." It was the view of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, when in the same year he told Lord Lyons that "The French Government regard it (Tripoli) as indisputably a part of the Ottoman Empire." It was the view of Admiral Caneva in 1899 (24th April), when he told the Italian Chamber that French aggression on the hinterland of Tripoli was forbidden by "the integrity of Turkey." It was the view of Signor Prinetti in April 1902, when he said that "Tripoli belonged legitimately to Turkey." Finally, it was the view of Signor Tittoni as late as 4th June 1908, when he said that he held "unshakably to the doctrine of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, without restriction or reserve, excluding any idea of occupation of any fraction whatever of Ottoman territory." My correspondent will, I hope, admit that if I have erred it is in good company.

As for the statement that Tripoli was independent up to 1835, I am afraid that here, again, the authorities do not support my correspondent. . . . The truth is that from the middle of the sixteenth century the suzerainty of Constantinople was unbroken, and it was in virtue of this suzerainty that the Regency was transformed into a Vilayet in 1835. The story was told quite recently in an action brought by the heirs of Ali Caramanli Pasha, the last of the Tripolitan Beys, against the Turkish Ministry of Finance.

—LUCIEN WOLFE

"Truth."

Cherchez le financier become more and more the rule when surprising political adventures are undertaken without any visible cause. A friend in Italy sends me the following information: The Banco di Roma, one of the most important Italian banks, has picked up a great deal of real estate—principally building land—in and round the town of Tripoli. The Italian occupation of the country is expected to cause an enormous rise in the value of such property and with reason, for there is sure to be a rush of Italians to the town as soon as peace is established and order restored. There will be a great demand for houses and shops, and new streets are pretty certain to be run up rapidly. How long this inflation of land values will last is another matter, but speculators in land and other commodities can be trusted to look after themselves against the day of reaction and slump.

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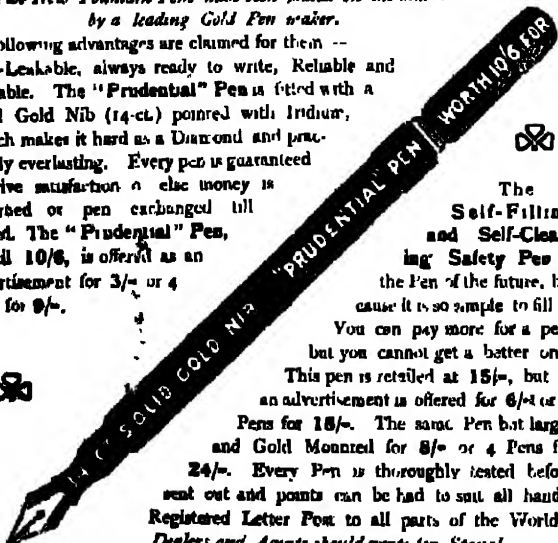


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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is so kind as to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of December at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

The Royal Visit.

In the palace of Kubbek at Cairo on the 24th November, in the presence of the Khedive, Lord Kitchener on behalf of His Majesty King George handed to His Royal Highness Prince Zia-ed-Din, the eldest son of the Sultan, the insignia of the Knight Grand Cross of the Victoria Order.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 24th November:—Commenting on a statement emanating from Paris to the effect that Italy had postponed naval action in the Red Sea for six days, while the *Medina* was passing, the *Tribuna* says that Italy received no communication on the subject, but acted spontaneously as an act of courtesy.

Reuter wired from Perim on the 24th:—The Turkish Commander at Bab-el-Mandeb had been instructed to arrange for a parade of troops and firing of salutes as the *Medina* passed.

Anglo-German Relations.

The House of Commons on 27th November presented a crowded and animated appearance. Many distinguished personages occupied seats in the galleries, including peers, ambassadors and officials.

Sir Edward Grey received an ovation on rising.

He said "Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter has already made not a complete but a large disclosure of what passed in conversation between Count Metternich in London and myself. In diplomatic procedure it is very unusual to make public an account of conversation without first consulting the other party to them. In this case I knew nothing until I read the published account. I understand that the exigencies of the situation in Germany made it impossible for me to be consulted. I am not making complaint as to that, but it has laid upon me the necessity of disclosing what I think it is necessary to put before the House, as to the part which we took.

"Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg and Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter have already disposed of one misapprehension. It was imagined in some quarters that Germany had protested against the French action in going to Fez at all, and that France had persisted in going there in face of the German protest. The German Government have explained what the German view really was, and I have no comment or criticism to make upon it.

"My narrative shall, therefore, date from 1st July. On that day Count Metternich came to the Foreign Office and made the following communication: 'Some German firms established in the south of Morocco, notably in Agadir and in that vicinity, have been alarmed by a certain ferment which has shown itself among the local tribes due, it seems, to recent occurrences in other parts of the country. The firms have applied to the Imperial Government for the protection of the lives of their employees and their property, and at their request the Imperial Government have decided to send a warship to Agadir to lend help and assistance in case of need to their subjects and employees, as well as to protect important German interests in the territory in question. As soon as the state of affairs in Morocco has resumed its former quiet aspect, the ship charged with this protective mission shall leave Agadir.'

"The *Panther* was then on its way to Agadir," Sir Edward Grey continued, "but more was in the Ambassador's explanation than accompanied this statement. This communication was accompanied by an explanation which made it clear that the German Government regarded a return to the *status quo* in Morocco as doubtful, if not impossible, and that what they contemplated was a definite solution of the Moroccan question between Germany, France and Spain. The communication was made on a Saturday. The inference from it was that the real objective contemplated was a definite solution of the whole Morocco question.

"On the following Monday I informed Count Metternich that I had seen Mr. Asquith and that we considered the situation created by the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir so important that it must be discussed by the Cabinet. I would say no more pending a meeting of the Cabinet, but I wished the German Government to learn at once that in our view the situation was serious and important.

"Next day, on 4th July, I saw Count Metternich again, and said I must tell him that our attitude could not be a disinterested one

regarding Morocco. We must take into consideration our treaty obligations to France and our own interests in Morocco. We were of opinion that the new situation created by the despatch of a German ship to Agadir, and future developments, might affect British interests more directly than they had hitherto been affected, and therefore we could not recognise any new arrangement that might be come to without us.

"I made it quite clear that this communication, and the exact words which I used, were those of the Government. After that there was a period of silence. Count Metternich was not instructed to make any comment to me regarding my communication, and we received no intimation from the German Government as to what their aims or desires were or as to what they had in mind when they spoke of the definite solution of the Moroccan problem."

"That was really the important question. Some information reached us leading us to apprehend that the settlement contemplated by Germany might be the partition of Morocco, arrived at by negotiations to which it was not intended that we should be a party. It is quite true that we disinterested ourselves in Morocco politically by the Agreement of 1904 with France, but in making that Agreement the late British Government stipulated for certain economic and strategic conditions. These might have been disturbed by a new settlement regarding Morocco, and that was why we were uneasy as to what might take place. The British Ambassador in Berlin saw Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter on 12th July on minor matters, and put a question respecting the report of a conversation *à trois* between Germany, France and Spain, the inference being that we were excluded."

"Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter replied there has never been any idea of such a conversation, but except this negative communication no further information came from Germany. The newspapers reported little. Later Germany made demands regarding the French Congo of an extent to which it was obvious that neither the French Government nor the Chamber could agree, and I became anxious as to the future development of the Moroccan question."

"I therefore spoke to Count Metternich on 21st July and told him I wished it to be understood that our silence must not be interpreted as meaning that we were not taking in the Moroccan question the interest which had been indicated by our statements of 4th July."

"We knew that the rectification of the frontier of the French Congo had been proposed as a basis for negotiations with France. We thought it possible that a settlement might be come to between Germany and France on this basis without affecting British interests. We should be very glad if this happened, and in the hope that it should happen we had hitherto stood aside, but I had been made anxious by the news which appeared the day before as to the demands which Germany had made, demands which were in effect not the rectification of the frontier, but a cession of the French Congo which it was obviously impossible for the French to concede."

"I heard that negotiations were still in progress and still hoped they might lead to a satisfactory result, but it must be understood that if they were unsuccessful a very embarrassing situation would arise. I pointed out to Count Metternich that the Germans were in the closed port of Agadir, and that according to native rumours they were landing and negotiating with the tribes, so that for all we knew they might be acquiring concessions there, and that even the German flag might have been hoisted at Agadir, which was the most suitable port on that coast for a naval base."

"We could not say to what extent the situation might be altered to our disadvantage, and if the negotiations with France came to nothing we should be obliged to do something to watch over British interests, and to become a party to the discussion of the matter."

"The longer the Germans remained at Agadir the greater was the risk of their developing a state of affairs which would make it more difficult for them to withdraw, and more necessary for us to take some step to protect British interests. I wished to say all this now, while we were still waiting in the hope that the negotiations with France would succeed, for, if I did not say this now, it would cause resentment later if Germany had been led to suppose by our previous silence that we did not take an interest in the matter."

"Count Metternich was unable to give me any information, but deprecated the assumption that what I had sketched as possible damage to British interests was accomplished. Count Metternich was sure his Government had no intention of acquiring commercial monopolies, and unfairly prejudicing our interests. Thereupon I observed that the German continuous occupation of a closed port involved at least a monopoly of commercial opportunities."

"During that day, 21st July Mr. Lloyd George told me he had to make a speech on an occasion of importance at the Mansion House that evening. He consulted with Mr. Asquith and me as to what should be said. It was fourteen days since the last public statement about Morocco was made, namely, a very short statement made by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons."

"We were anxious as to the way things were developing. We all felt that for a Cabinet Minister of first rate importance to make a

speech on a formal occasion, and to say no word about Foreign affairs would be misleading to public opinion everywhere. What I had said to Count Metternich that day was obviously suitable only for diplomatic channels."

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer therefore spoke in more general terms upon the situation. What he said is on record. It claimed no pre-eminence, no predominance for us in International affairs. It contained no menace such as saying 'hand offs' to anyone anywhere. It did not say there was any particular demand or claims on the part of Germany which were inconsistent with British interests. Its purport was that where British interests were affected we must not be treated as if we should cease to exist at any rate as a great Power."

"As a matter of fact the first German comments on the speech I saw were such as might naturally have been expected. One German Conservative newspaper said that if the word Germany had been substituted for England the speech might have been made by a German Minister; but the words of the speech were soon forgotten and a sort of legend has grown up about it."

"Count Metternich three days after that speech came and informed me that the German intentions of sending a ship to Agadir were unchanged. Not a man had been, or was being landed. The Government regretted the credence given to insinuations from hostile quarters regarding the intentions of Germany, who never thought of creating a Naval port on the coast of Morocco, and never would think of it. Such ideas were hallucinations."

"As to the negotiations with France, if the German demands were rather high his Government was ready to make concessions in Moroccan as well as in Colonial matters, but the Chauvinistic tone of the speech and part of the British Press was menacing Germany with the interference of the friends of France. This, Count Metternich added, did not tend towards a settlement."

"I said," Sir E. Grey continued, "that I was likely to be asked in Parliament what was happening at Agadir, and I would like to know whether I might say that the German Government had informed me that not a man had been landed. The Ambassador asked me to make no public statement regarding this conversation until he had time to communicate with his Government. Next day Count Metternich told me that the information which he had given me on the previous day was confidential. Germany could not consent to its being used in Parliament in view of the speech of Mr. Lloyd George."

"He then made me, regarding that speech, a communication which has now been published by Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter. The communication was a strong criticism of the effect of the speech on the Press rather than upon the substance of the speech itself, but it was exceedingly still in tone, and I felt it necessary to say that the speech seemed to me to give no cause for complaint."

"But the fact that it had created surprise in Germany was in itself justification of the speech, for it could not have created surprise unless there had been some tendency to think that we might be disregarded. The speech had not claimed anything except that we were entitled to be considered as one of the great nations. It had claimed no pre-eminence and it had not even indicated that there was a crisis. It had dealt in general terms with remote contingencies. The German Government had said it was not consistent with their dignity, after Mr. Lloyd George's speech, to give explanations regarding what was occurring at Agadir."

"I felt that the tone of their communications made it inconsistent with our dignity to give explanations regarding Mr. Lloyd George's speech. Here I would say to the House that explanations as to what was occurring at Agadir had of course been given me by Count Metternich, and that public explanations were what could not be given."

"I added, in speaking to Count Metternich, that it was not intended by anything that had been said, or would be said, to embroil negotiations between Germany and France. On the contrary we sincerely desired that they should succeed, but the tone of the German communication was very unfavourable with regard to France, as well as to us, and made it more than ever evident that a very difficult situation would arise if the German negotiations with France did not succeed."

"There the matter remained until 27th July. Then Count Metternich made the following communications: "We trust to the Minister's great loyalty which has so often been shown, that he will find it possible to state this fact in Parliament without, however, giving details of our confidential communications."

"We acknowledge," he said, "with pleasure that the Minister has stated that he desires an agreement between Germany and France, and we feel quite convinced that this will prove most helpful to the progress of negotiations. But having in view their wish as expressed by Sir E. Grey we cannot quite see how he, in the present state of the pourparlers, can describe our demands

as obviously impossible without knowing what we, on our side, had the intention of offer to France in the political and colonial territorial field.

"It is not possible having regard to the formal pledge of secrecy which we have given, to enter into details, but as the territories to be eventually exchanged are exclusively German and French we do not believe that special English interests will be touched, and it seems advisable to leave it to the two parties immediately concerned to form an estimate of the value of the objects to be eventually exchanged. Adverse criticism from the English side must obviously render negotiations more difficult. On the other hand a public statement that England will be pleased to see a successful conclusion to the Franco-German pourparlers would have a most beneficial influence on an auspicious result for which we most earnestly hope.

"We most seriously wish to diminish any points of friction with France in the colonial sphere, especially in Africa, and we hope it may be eventually possible to make them disappear entirely. We could not look forward even if this was done, to establishing intimate relations with France, but we believe it would do away with the cause of frequently recurring tension.

"If the wishes of England are in the same direction the best way to help to bring about this result will be by exercising a calming influence on public opinion in France, which just now, by half truths and inaccurate statements, has been brought to considerable excitement."

"The House will observe," Sir E. Grey went on, "that the tone of this communication was friendly all round to France, as well as to ourselves. I expressed appreciation of the friendly tone of the communication of the Ambassador, and I had some further conversation, during which he expressed some regret at the way our public opinion had been misled to adverse conclusions regarding German action. I asked him what else could be expected when the German Government sent a ship to Morocco, to a closed port, which was said to be the most suitable place on the west coast of Morocco for a Naval base. Of course, this action had mobilised British public opinion.

"I pointed out that after I had made him on 4th July a declaration on behalf of the British Government, we had no communication from the German Government until 24th July, even then their denial of any intention to establish a Naval base had been in a form which I could not use to allay the suspicion which had been aroused here. I suggested to the Ambassador, however, that we should not pursue this point. I expressed the hope that this latest German communication might be taken as a new starting place, and that we need not go back upon things which must lead to mutual recrimination.

"The French Government consulted us at every point where it seemed at all likely that British interests might be affected. We are able to say that except perhaps once or twice on subsidiary points of purely economic detail in Morocco itself, British interests were not involved. The proposals and counter proposals made in the course of the negotiations, and everything we said or did, was in the direction of helping, not impeding the negotiations to reach a settlement."

Sir Edward continued: "I now propose to examine the real nature of the tension that existed. An Agreement has now been reached between the French and German Governments. Both sides have made some substantial concessions and made substantial gains. The fact that this has been accomplished in the face of all the excitement that existed reflects great credit on the diplomats conducting the negotiations. But in spite of these facts the present moment has been chosen by some people, both here and in Germany, to excite themselves, and to discuss us to how near we came to war.

"There are some people who seem to take a delight in suggesting or forming an opinion from whatever gossip or information they can get in any quarter that we were near to war and the nearer we were to war the greater satisfaction they seem to get out of the fact. Really, it is as if the world were suffering from a fit of political alcoholism."

Referring to Captain Faber's speech, Sir Edward said: "I only mention the matter because that speech formed the subject of some recent discussion in the Reichstag, and I understand it somewhat intensified the bitterness of the German people. Of course I know it is possible for me to reply that there were one or two speeches made in the Reichstag, not official speeches, to which we ourselves might take reasonable objection, and as far as Captain Faber's speech is concerned he is not an official member.

"Then there were other speeches which had been made in Germany which might also give us reason to feel bitter. But one speech leads to another in these matters, and I can only do my best to alleviate the suspicions which have arisen by examining what was the position during the summer and towards the end of September.

"Naturally there was great anxiety, not constant, but intermittent anxiety as to how negotiations between France and Germany were to be brought to a final solution. We were in communication with France. We knew she desired a settlement. We knew she would

not break off negotiations, neither did we believe Germany would do that. But still there was the possibility. I know, however, that negotiations have been satisfactorily terminated, and I need only deal but briefly with what would have been the position had there been a dead-lock. The next step in such circumstances would have been from some Power which was a party to the Treaty of Algiers to propose a conference.

"At this time of anxiety a reply was received. Germany pointed to the fact that they would not be agreeable to a conference. That was why anxiety was created. But supposing that a conference had been proposed, and Germany had not agreed to it, what would have been the situation? Then you would have had France, Germany and Spain in occupation of parts of Morocco. You would have had three countries making Agreements on questions to which we had not been made a party, and probably making Agreements which we could not recognise in settlement until we had been consulted. Therefore you see that at this time of anxiety negotiations were developing towards a most delicate diplomatic situation.

"I hope that this statement as to events will remove any apprehensions. It is a statement of truth and actual facts as they existed. In view of these facts there is now no prospect of war, and the statement ought to have a quietening influence and ought to act as a sedative to those who have grown alarmed."

Turning to Foreign policy generally Sir Edward thought that the wisest policy for Britain was to expand further as little as possible, especially in Africa. He replied to criticisms of the alleged secrecy of the Foreign Office. Only last week, he said, Secret Articles in the Anglo-French Convention of 1904 had been made public. There were no other Secret Treaties. No British Government could embark on a war without the support of public opinion. (Cheers.)

Sir Edward pointed out that years ago there were plenty of excursions and alarms with France and Russia, but a cordial friendship had now provided mutual tolerance and prevented difficulties which otherwise might arise.

"Germany's strength was of itself a guarantee that none would seek a quarrel with her, but German public opinion ought to remember that a nation having the biggest army in the world, with a very big navy and building a bigger navy, must do all in its power to prevent natural apprehensions in the minds of others. He, however, did not believe that Germany had aggressive designs, and Germany's neighbours merely desire to live on equal terms with her.

Sir Edward declared with emphasis that to trust to a policy of "splendid isolation" was impossible. It would mean that we should have to build warships not against the Two-Power standard, but against the united nations of Europe. If Germany did not wish to be aggressive, then in two or three years all talk of a great European war would have passed away. In future the great matter would be that Morocco would no longer trouble the peoples of Europe now that a solution was found. The part we played was subsidiary. The principals were France and Germany. Had we taken less interest, we should have failed to protect our interest and to fulfil our obligations to France. If the question had been permanently settled the part we had taken had contributed materially to the expectation of peace, and he trusted that that would be the sense of the House. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr Bonar Law said, there was nothing in Sir Edward Grey's statement that he desired to criticise. But he would like to point out that there was no anti-German feeling in this country. A war between Great Britain and Germany would be an inconceivable calamity. He thought the Prime Minister should have made a speech in the House with regard to the negotiations rather than that a statement should have been made outside. We desired every ground for friction between ourselves and Germany to be removed. We did not want more territory. (Cheers.) Our responsibilities were great enough already.

Mr Asquith said, he was heartily in sympathy with the desire for a fuller and clearer disclosure of the Foreign policy of the country, and particularly to the House of Commons. All reasonable men, however, would admit that diplomacy must of necessity be secret. No country could carry on diplomacy with the cards on the table, their doors open, and blinds drawn up. Negotiations must be carried on under the shroud of confidence, with more or less secrecy, which was quite a different thing from negotiation being kept in darkness, or from the representatives of the people. He said, quite frankly, that the Government could not be guilty of such a charge. On general questions the Government were actuated by humane considerations in safeguarding British interests and they were performing Treaty obligations which he believed had been of reciprocal advantage. Our friendship's were neither exclusive nor jealous. We did not desire to stand in the light of any Power wanting to find its place in the sun. We had no such purpose, and no such wish. We believe it to be both our interest and our duty to maintain our friendship, and we shall be all the more glad if we can enlarge them and conclude others. We knew no cause for quarrel with any Powers. Britain's interest were always to maintain the peace of the

world, to the attainment of which her diplomacy and policy was single-mindedly directed. (Loud cheers).

Lord Ronaldshay hoped that the Government would intimate to Italy and Turkey their willingness to mediate.

Mr. Noel Buxton and other Liberals continued the debate. They were confident that Sir Edward Grey's statement would dispel misunderstanding.

Mr. Keir Hardie feared that it would mean unnecessary expenditure on the British and German Navies.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said he had never known such a dramatic condemnation of secret diplomacy as Sir Edward Grey's. The time had come for an enquiry to be undertaken to ascertain which was the best way of keeping the Commons in touch with Foreign affairs. If the Government had wished Mr. Lloyd George's speech to have a pacific effect, it should have followed the speech immediately by a pronouncement from Sir Edward Grey explaining why the speech was made.

The situation in Persia, he continued, had made them suspect there was a secret understanding with Russia. Public opinion was diametrically opposed to a policy involving the partition of Persia, or making England the tool of St. Petersburg.

Mr. Dillon and Mr. Sykes also denounced secrecy in diplomacy.

Sir Edward Grey, in the course of the debate stated that he had no information which could prove or disprove the reports of atrocities in Tripoli. The Government adhered to the policy of non-intervention.

Sir Edward dealt at some length with the question of Persia. He said it was an essential condition of Persian independence that account should be taken both of Russia and Great Britain. The Persian Government, instead of seeing that Russian interests were respected, sought to thrust out Russian influence. That was a perfectly hopeless attitude.

The debate was adjourned, Sir Edward Grey promising to give another day for discussion if the House so desired.

The papers generally chorus the praise of Sir Edward Grey. They consider that his speech was the most masterful and lucid exposition of Foreign policy in the House of Commons for a generation, and that it firmly establishes British policy.

They hope that his conciliatory overtures will be received in Germany in the spirit in which they were made.

The exceptions are the *Daily News* and to a less extent the *Morning Leader*.

The former criticises Sir E. Grey's account of events, and dissents from his suggestion that we have got to take sides in Europe. The paper says that the abandonment of the policy of isolation has meant years of unprecedented anxiety and expense, and that there is no prospect of improvement unless it is sought in a bolder spirit than that of Sir E. Grey. Neither the Cabinet nor the Party are happy with his policy.

The *Morning Leader* thinks there is a great sentiment of downright goodwill towards the Germans among us which was not adequately expressed in Sir E. Grey's cautious cordiality.

Excited crowds were struggling on the 28th to secure special editions of the papers containing Sir Edward Grey's speech.

The *National Zeitung* says that Sir E. Grey placed himself on a pedestal from which he lectured German diplomacy.

The *Lokal Anzeiger* acknowledges that the speech was couched in most tranquil language.

It adds that although recent experiences cannot and will not be forgotten, Germans will rejoice if the assurances of British statesmen have more than a day's duration.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* remarks that according to Sir E. Grey England wants to live on a footing of equality with Germany, but his utterances prove that England, this summer, placed herself on a higher footing, namely that of controller of the world. Germans would not tolerate an unlimited right of veto.

The *Tageblatt Rundschau* says that the speech is a disappointment. All were hoping for a decisive change in the direction of an Anglo-German rapprochement. The German Government must at last recognise what is needful.

The *Vossische Zeitung* thinks that Sir E. Grey's speech alters nothing either in political conditions or feelings.

The *Berliner Courier* is of opinion that Sir E. Grey's utterances are not calculated to inspire overmuch hope of an improvement in Anglo-German relations.

The *Vorwärts* considers that the speech is thoroughly conciliatory.

The French press joins in a chorus of approval of the speech which, it is said, will re-assure Europe and help to maintain peace.

In the House of Lords this evening Lord Courtney attacked the Government's policy in regard to Morocco, complaining that Sir Edward Grey appeared to believe that it was impossible to establish the same cordial friendship with Germany as with France. Lord Morley emphasised that the Anglo-French arrangement of 1904 was in no wise hostile to Germany. Moreover, its essence was that Britain should have a free hand in Egypt and France a free hand in Morocco. It would be intolerable if we, after taking our

share of the profits, in any way refused France her share. Referring to Germany Lord Morley said there was no reason why Germany's naval expansion should impair the desire for cordial friendship which pervaded the whole nation. Germany's great progress in all matters entitled her to national ideals and lofty ambitions. Her desire to find territories for her surplus population, was most natural. Lord Morley declared, in conclusion, that no Cabinet was more determined not to drift into a single unnecessary impolitic antagonism, and that determination had been successfully carried out. Lord Lansdowne eulogised Sir E. Grey's speech as one of the most remarkable ever delivered by a Foreign Secretary. It echoed what he believed to be a general desire for better relations with Germany. China.

REUTER wired from Hongkong on the 23rd.—The pirates of West River stopped and boarded the British steamer *Shannon*. They fired volleys, riddling the cabins of the Captain and the mate. The Captain killed two pirates but Chief Officer Nicholson was afterwards killed. The pirates then ransacked the vessel and mutilated two Chinese passengers. They also despoiled another steamer carrying off forty thousand sterling. The British destroyers are now patrolling West River.

An attempt by the Imperialist troops to cross the Han river was repulsed with heavy loss. A number of women have obtained permission to fight for the revolutionaries. The Foreign Ministers have decided that it is advisable to reinforce the Legation Guards.

REUTER wired from Peking on the 27th.—The Imperial troops at Hankow had captured the forts and Tortoise Hill. It was expected that they would occupy the whole of Hanyang before nightfall. The Revolutionaries began bombarding Nanking on the 27th. It is said that the Imperial troops have already lost heavily.

REUTER wired from Peking.—Officials are in state of great jubilation over the recapture of Hinyang and Wuchang by the Imperial troops. They believe that the rebellion will now crumble into insignificance.

Persia.

SIR EDWARD GREY, replying in the House of Commons on the 24th to Mr. Ponsonby, said that Russian demands on Persia had not been conceded. Sir Edward understood that the intention to comply with them now existed, but it was not likely to be carried out for a few days. Meanwhile, Russian troops had started and some had arrived at Resht.

Sir Edward Grey announced that the British Government had been in communication with the Russian Government and had been assured that the despatch of troops was only a temporary measure to secure satisfaction.

REUTER wired from St. Petersburg on the 25th November.—The Cabinet Council has decided that in view of Persia's compliance with the ultimatum, Russian troops will not advance for the present beyond Resht, where they are concentrating.

A telegram from Teheran states that the gendarmes have been withdrawn from Shua-es-Sultan's property and replaced by Persian Cossacks. The message adds that the Foreign Minister, in full uniform, presented an apology to M. Poklevsky, the Russian Minister, stating that the cabinet alone was responsible for the delay.

REUTER wired from St. Petersburg on the 27th November.—The Persian apology has apparently not satisfied Russia. A semi-official note is published intimating that the Russian Minister when replying to the apology declared that as Mr. Shuster distributed broadcast a Persian translation of his letter to the *Times* of 9th November, which the Minister declared, was full of misstatements and was obviously intended to incite Persians against Russia, the fulfilment of Russia's original demands will probably not satisfy that country.

REUTER wired from New York on the 25th November.—The well informed journal *Commerce* intimates that the United States is prepared to support Mr. Shuster in Persia by means of diplomatic representations to Russia. The final decision is expected shortly.

At a meeting of the Bengal provincial Moslem League held on 26th November at 4-15 P.M., the following resolution was passed.—"The Bengal Provincial Moslem League records its deep sense of regret that Persia should have been treated so unjustly by Russia and respectfully requests the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor to take early steps to prevent the humiliation of Persia and to safeguard in a more practical and effective manner its independence and integrity, than has yet been done."

After a stormy sitting the Mejliss has approved the Cabinet formed by Samian-es-Sultaneh, the new Premier. Vosug-ed-Daulah is its new Foreign Minister. The decision was hastened by the Russian ultimatum which following so quickly after Persia's compliance with the Russian demands, according to Great Britain's advice, has caused consternation in official circles.

A *Times* message from Teheran states that the ultimatum also demands that Persia's future relations with Britain and Russia shall be regulated so as to confirm that the real interests of both those countries are understood. Great Britain, the message says, has been fully consulted in the matter and certain portions of the ultimatum are written in the name of both Powers.

The Russian Government has resolved temporarily to reinforce the Cossack guard of the consulate at Khoy in Persia by a small detachment of infantry and artillery.

SIR EDWARD GREY in the course of the debate on the Anglo-German relations dealt at some length with the question of Persia. He said it was an essential condition of Persian independence that account should be taken both of Russia and Great Britain. The Persian Government instead of seeing that Russian interests were respected sought to thrust out Russian influence. That was a perfectly hopeless attitude.

It is stated that the 7th Duke of Connaught's Own Rajputs, who are relieving the 79th Carnatic Infantry will be split up into usual detachments for duty at certain points on the Mekran Coast and in the Persian Gulf region. Fifty men will also be stationed at Shiraz and the usual number at the British Consulate in Baghdad. Detachments at Lask and Charbar will be available to check gun running which becomes active during the winter months.

Speaking in the House of Commons with reference to Persia, Sir Edward Grey defended the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which, he said, came into existence because the situation in Persia was very unsatisfactory and unsuitable. Its object was to prevent Russia and Britain diplomatically mining and counter-mining against each other. Mr. Shuster, said Sir Edward, set to work with good intentions and single-mindedness, but did not take account of the peculiar political considerations underlying the Agreement. He had appointed Major Stokes, who had never made a secret of expressing anti-Russian feelings. Russia, while she did not object to Mr. Shuster's appointments of British subjects at Shiraz and Isfahan, objected to that of Mr. Lecoffe at Tabriz, which was near the Russian frontier. The attitude of Russia was not unreasonable. Adherence to Mr. Shuster's principle would lead simply to anglicising the official service and the disappearance of the Agreement. Sir Edward reviewed the dispute between Russia and Mr. Shuster, and said that Mr. Shuster, as an American citizen, had a perfect right to circulate what he pleased on political affairs, but he had no right to circulate as a Persian official pamphlets attacking a neighbour. Such a situation was impossible. Sir Edward defended the despatch of British troops to Persia on the ground of chaos and insecurity of property and lives of British subjects. Referring to independence, he said it was absolutely essential that Persia should take into account Russian and British interests in parts adjoining the frontier. Sir Edward concluded that the Government in Teheran ought to realize the impossibility of employing an official openly hostile to Russia, and also the attempt to thrust out Russian interests in North Persia.

Reuter understands that Russia demands the removal of Mr. Shuster and that the American Government is not prepared to support that official. Russian troops will not advance further unless necessity arises.

Sir Edward Grey replying to Mr. Mitchell-Thompson in the House of Commons, said: "Russia has informed us that her military measures in Persia are purely provisional and that she has no intention of infringing the principles of Anglo-Russian Convention."

The *Norve Fremya* commenting on Sir Edward Grey's speech, eulogises the sobriety of its tone and also the great courage of British foreign policy. The paper says the speech also testifies that Russian action in Persia will be unopposed in the letter and spirit of the Convention.

Russia has sent a fresh ultimatum to Persia demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, The American Treasurer-General, and Mr. Lecoffe, a British subject, to whom Mr. Shuster gave an appointment at Tabriz, and also the payment of the expenses of the army of occupation. In the event of Persia failing to reply within 48 hours, the Russian troops will advance. There are at present six thousand Russian troops in Persia.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Dr. Amir Ahmed, Jhansi ..	64	10	0
"Fi-Sabilillah," Allahabad ..	5	0	0
S. A. Khalig Esq., Sojat, Marwar ..	7	0	0
S. Rahim Ali Esq., Jhansi ..	14	0	0
"An Old Aligarhian," Ludhiana ..	101	0	0
Mahdi Hasan Esq., Malerkotla ..	15	0	0
M. Jalaluddin, Esq., Jalapahar ..	5	0	0

Amount received during the week ..	211	10	0
Amount previously acknowledged ..	1,034	6	0

Less rebate etc., on draft of M. Fazle Haque Esq., Bassi, ..	0	6	0
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Total .. 1,245 10 0

TETE À TETE



DIPLOMATIC language, like charity, is reputed to cover a multitude of sins, and the latest meaning that is being placed on the words "integrity and independence" furnishes yet another instance of how

diplomatic pledges are made to be broken. If independent nationalities can be wiped out of existence in order to explain away a terminological inexactitude, the *Times* has already shown what fate is reserved for Persia. She is not independent but enjoys only a sort of independence, yet it was to preserve her "integrity and independence" that the notorious Convention with Russia was signed. If this was to be the fruit of that policy, if a country ceases to enjoy independence because the two High Contracting Parties had come to an agreement respecting it without its knowledge and certainly without its consent, and if that wholly gratuitous and illegal agreement subsequently becomes a legal basis of all diplomatic action, then the British diplomacy has only acted on a time-honoured principle, *viz.* first give the dog a bad name and then hang it. It would appear indeed that the understanding with Russia was concluded to end "diplomatic mining and countermining" in order that both Russia and England may be free to pursue their interests without frittering their energies in mutual jealousy and opposition. Russia does not want a strong Persia and she has been quite frankly and consistently and without the least conscientious humbug working to that end. Whether the British Foreign Minister is still pestered with conscientious qualms, we do not know. What we do know is that he has been acting in concert with Russia to undermine Persian sovereignty and independence. Russia has ordered that Mr. Shuster shall go. Sir Edward Grey says that Mr. Shuster has done his work honestly and with single-minded devotion to duty, but—he has got to go! Can moral imbecility go further? It is said Mr. Shuster has been tactless and indiscreet. Perhaps tact and discretion thrive best in an atmosphere of duplicity. At any rate, the Treasurer-General's honesty of purpose and high sense of duty could not bear without protest the scandalous game of coercion and high-handedness which the Russian Agents are playing at Teheran. An official of an independent country must be dismissed because he is accused of open hostility to Russia. Is Persia a part of the Russian dominions that she should manage her internal affairs in accordance with the behests of St. Petersburg? On this novel theory of neighbourly relations, perhaps the entire British Cabinet shall have to resign because the German Chancellor does not think it to be well disposed to Germany. The fact is that the freedom of Persia has in practice ceased to exist, although a hollow pretence is still being kept up about her "integrity and independence" in diplomatic phraseology. The cobweb of pretences and diplomatic shams should be brushed aside; and if Persia, too, has got to go with her Treasurer-General, the methods to achieve this end may well be franker and more honest. Even cynicism has something to gain by being straightforward and sincere.

It was Lord Curzon, of unhappy memory who, in utter disregard of Burke's dictum, indicted not only a whole nation but a whole continent, on the score

The irony of it all! of lying, when he delivered his famous philippic at a Convocation of the Calcutta University. But it now appears that his

Lordship was not quite so fully convinced in his own mind about the superior veracity of the West as he wished the East to be. His own performances in Korea were distinctly "exceptional." But we suppose he had only illustrated the Persian proverb—

جهان دیدم بسیار گوید دروغ

(He who has seen a great deal of the world tells a lot of lies.)

And as we all know, his Lordship had seen a little too much of the world to retain much discrimination between the truth and its contrary. Things, however, seem to have changed with the globe-trotter and the geographer. Presiding at a lecture by Dr. Nansen before the Royal Geographical Society on the 6th November, Lord Curzon gave it as his "experience" that "as time goes on more travellers are found to tell the truth and few are found to be liars." If that is so, it is indeed matter for rejoicing, though we do not know whether, an unheeding Tory as he is, Lord Curzon would care to share anything—even Truth—with the common crowd! But we are still in some perplexity. The foreign and war correspondents of various European newspapers are in the majority of cases travellers, and hitherto we were asked to believe them to be living in a veritable palace of Truth. Lord Curzon now seems to say that this estimate of their character was only meant for foreign consumption. They used to be mostly of the same brand as Ambassadors, who, in the words of the famous definition, were gentlemen sent "to lie abroad for the benefit of their country." Now, however, they are more often found deviating into truth than uniformly false. Had they been declared to be all liars or all patterns of veracity it would have been easier for the submissive Oriental to reject or accept their statements. But there are both sheep and goats among them and it is this which perplexes and puzzles the East. The *Near East*—a journal which was certainly started as an "organ of Moslem interests in England," but which has long forfeited every claim to that description—has correspondents in Cairo and Constantinople who are hardly second to the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* in their hostility to Moslem interests. They have been sending reports from Egypt and Turkey describing news from Tripoli received and published in those countries as false and, lately, as much exaggerated. We would have been content to disbelieve such news had not General Canova placed an embargo on news from the European Press Correspondents with his army unless censored by his own officers, and had he not, after making some tardy calculations about Italian casualties, declared even censored news to be contradictory of war. But truth, like murder, will out, and both truth and military murder are out at last and have spoken in loud and clear accents. What, then, are the submissive Orientals to do? Are Mr. McCullagh, Mr. Davis, Mr. Grant, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, and the Correspondents of the *Standard*, the *Lokalanzeiger*, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who are at Tripoli, to be believed; or on the contrary, the Vienna Correspondents of the *Times* and the *Near East* correspondents at Cairo and Constantinople who have been pooh-poohing the news of Turkish successes, and Italian losses and barbarities in the most approved style of Sir Edward Grey? These correspondents continue to write of all news with Descartesian scepticism; but the irony of it all is that the very papers which employ them and publish their disbelief are forced by overwhelming testimony to accept the substantial truth of all their "false rumours." The last English mail brings news which shows that not only have the Turks behaved with remarkable self-control and humanity, but that the Turkish Government, which exhausted all pacific resources before unsheathing the sword of the Osmanlis, has distinguished itself still more by erring on the side of minimising rather than of exaggerating Turkish successes and Italian losses. But that is nothing to the Press Correspondents in the East, who have buried their necks in the sand like the ostrich and think that the world would pass by their falsehoods simply because they do not choose to see the naked truth that dazzles their unaccustomed eyes. How could the Italians suffer such losses? How could a handful of Turks and the most irregular body of Arabs defy half a lakh of Italy's picked soldiery? How could Europeans commit barbarities and indulge in massacres,—a word framed, as it were, by nature itself for the fanatics of Islam? In time they, too, would fall back on "military exigencies," and the "rules of civilized warfare." But at present the massacres do not exist at all, and so require no justification. The Cairo Correspondent of the *Near East* writes that "news from the seat of war continues to be as unreliable as ever; and that emanating from Constantinople, which finds a ready place in the columns of the native Egyptian papers, is remarkable for its evident misrepresentation. That some fighting has taken place may be accepted from the fact that the Italians acknowledge casualties on a scale sufficiently large to point to stubborn resistance on the part of the enemy." Well, yes; some fighting has taken place. And possibly a few murders! There may or may not be any justification for so much incredulity regarding the unexampled courage of the Turks and the Arabs. But what is one to say of statements such as the following when, apart from the guidance of past experience, the riots reported from Alexandria make it clear that the feeling of the Egyptian Moslems, who are much nearer to the seat of war than Indian Mussalmans, must have been tremendously stirred by Italian aggression. Writes the lover of truth from Cairo:—"Exaggerated reports of Italian (?Turkish) successes have been received, and the leading European (?Egyptian) papers in Cairo are bringing out special editions with glaring headlines. But, as I have previously remarked in these letters, there is no excitement. The majority of the people remain apathetic, and appear not to realise that Turkey and Italy are engaged in a deadly struggle. Subscriptions on quite a limited scale are being raised with the

object of assisting the Ottoman forces, but the amount so far contributed must be very discouraging to Turkey's sympathisers in Egypt. One native writer seems to have hit the nail on the head. Mohammed Wahid Bey, the leader of the Liberal party, has addressed a letter to Lord Kitchener complaining of a certain passage which occurs in a despatch sent by a committee of Egyptians to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs protesting against the war and expressing the indignation of the Egyptian people with regard to it. Wahid Bey points out that the Egyptian people themselves have no concern in the war, and that the subscriptions being raised in favour of Turkey have nothing to do with the Egyptian people. On the contrary, the subscriptions are being promoted by persons of Turkish origin dwelling in the Valley of the Nile, or by interested individuals who desire to further their own personal aims, such as securing the favour of the promoters. Others, he says, are mere flatterers or simple dupes who are carried away by newspaper agitation. At the highest estimate according to Wahid Bey, only about 2,000 sympathisers have contributed to the Fund being raised for the Turks. This number represents a very small proportion of the twelve millions of Egyptians, the majority of whom are peasant labourers who have, he claims, as were their ancestors before them, been trodden under foot by the Turks." Now, as regards the subscriptions, we reprint elsewhere a totally different statement, furnishing details, and even if we believe Wahid Bey—"the leader of the Liberal party" and perhaps next of kin to the "Liberal Bishop of Cremona"—the two thousand who have contributed towards the relief of the Turkish sufferers are, we should think, far worthier of honour than the unregenerate "leader of the Liberal party" who would never think of being in the right with two or three, but rush forward to swell the majority no matter how much in the wrong so long as it was the majority. But we have more faith in the Egyptians than in this "Liberal" leader. The most delicious morsel of all, however, is the accusation of flattery with which Wahid Bey charges the subscribers. Wahid Bey and a denunciation of flattery! Oh, the irony of it all! We wonder if there are Khan Bahadurships in Egypt.

AS we remarked at the time of inaugurating Ghalib's Grave Fund, the object is not so much the repairing of a neglected grave as the rearing of a suitable monument in honour of the great poet whose memory is held by thousands in admiration and reverence. The response to our appeal for funds has by no means been grudging, considering the demands on the public purse made by the Moslem University and by the more recent and more urgently needed Turkish Relief Fund. However, we have too great a faith in the love which the educated classes cherish for Ghalib to despair of the ultimate success of our efforts, and as soon as the calls on public charity have been satisfied, the necessary funds will be forthcoming for the Ghalib Memorial. A correspondent writes to us saying that some of the relatives of Ghalib have decided to repair the grave of the poet, that there was no need for us to raise the funds and that these gentlemen would not like the idea of their great ancestor's grave being repaired by public subscription. We are glad to learn that the relatives of Ghalib reause their duty. But it is not simply a question of repairing a dilapidated grave. The movement rests on the desire of a very large number of the poet's admirers to build a fitting memorial over his remains as a symbol of their love and admiration. We are sure his relatives instead of being offended would rather appreciate the sentiment. As a matter of fact a relative of Ghalib, who has, as far as we know, the sole responsible charge of his grave, has not only approved of our scheme but has also contributed to the Fund that we are raising for this purpose. If our correspondent's information is correct, it is really unfortunate that the poet's other relatives, who have left the grave in a neglected condition so long, should now begin to grumble at the earnest wishes of the public to share the cost of its restoration. This attitude reminds us of what Ghalib himself said.—

زاده نه خود پیر نه کسی کو پلا سکو *

کیا بات ہے تمہاری غراب طہور کی

We are, however, glad to know that our scheme has met with the approval of the best minds in the country. A very esteemed correspondent, a great lover of the poet and himself a poet of no mean order, has expressed his desire to contribute Rs. 100 to the Fund and writes about it thus:—"You have started collecting funds for a very laudable object, but have only succeeded in securing a very small contribution as yet, showing how little regard we have for our own great man, unless he happens to be a man whose resting-place can be turned to profitable account by those placed in charge of it. Men like Ghalib have no chance with us. However great the debt we owe them, whatever their posthumous fame, no one ever thinks of the place where they lie buried. Probably some of our sanctimonious Maulvis have dubbed him a *kafir* as they have

many another great man of our race and religion, and thus got rid of their obligation to show respect to the graves of such men. Well, I am a poor man and have incurred heavy expenses lately. But with all that I am willing to contribute Rs. 100 to the Fund. You are at liberty, therefore, to put me down in your paper for the amount."

In a thoughtful article on "Indian Moslems and the Turko-Italian War," the *Observer* has given expression to views and sentiments with many of which we find ourselves in thorough accord. We have already dealt, in almost every one of its aspects, with the situation created by the Turko-Italian War. Leaving aside its bearing on international law and justice as well as on other matters of high policy between civilised States, we have maintained that it has created a very unfortunate impression throughout the Islamic world. If Italy had even a shred of justification on her side, the feelings of the Mussalmans, though they might have still sympathised with Turkey could not have been so deeply stirred. But a brigandage, equipped with the latest scientific weapons, organised by a "civilised" State of Europe as the expression of the national will, with a shout of up to date formulas about "civilisation" and the familiar political clap trap behind it, has been felt amongst almost every Eastern people as a profound moral shock. The civilisation of the West is unquestionably a great achievement. It has multi coloured facets, is fair and pleasing to the senses and holds out to minds, in darkness and in bondage, the promise of light and emancipation. The Mussalmans as well as other Oriental races have accepted its message and begun to feel hopes and aspirations for better things. A single political act like the Italian *consp* may, however, undo the work of the whole nineteenth century and irretrievably damage the great movement for mutual sympathy and reconciliation between the East and the West. The loss of Tripoli to Turkey would not weigh an atom in the balance with the loss of prestige to European civilisation in the eyes of the Mussalmans. It is on this aspect of the question that we have repeatedly expressed ourselves with emphasis. We suppose we have never minced matters and stated strongly and unequivocally what all the Mussalmans of India feel on the subject. Their attachment and devotion to British Rule in this country needs no reiteration to-day. Their acts, both as individuals and in a communal capacity, are a testimony more eloquent than any words to their abiding faith in the beneficent results of the connection of India with England. That faith no untoward incidents like the Italian aggression against Turkey or the insinuations and sneers of a few ill-natured newspapers can shake. And, we are sure, the Mussalmans have done nothing, nor will they do anything, likely to be embarrassing to themselves or to the Government. The requirements of neutrality are clear and unambiguous, and we do not agree with the *Observer* in thinking that there is any necessity of "obtaining authoritative opinion" on the question of "Muhammadian volunteers" for the war. The Government has already issued the Proclamation and it is for the lawyer to decide if there is any difference of opinion or ambiguity about any point. Now, the terms of neutrality do not at all debar any individual from volunteering his services in the War. Again, it is not the business of a Red Crescent Society to concern itself about the matter. Its primary and only function is to provide means for the relief of war sufferers and not to raise volunteers. As to the danger of the Mussalmans giving this war a sort of religious complexion, we have every reason to think that it is purely imaginary. Although the Italian methods of warfare, their appeals to the Christian feelings of the Army and the nation, the benedictions of their Bishops, the blessings of the Pope, and the utter levity and deep-seated Christian prejudice of a section of the European Press have made it pretty clear that in the polished catholicity of Europe there still lurks the spirit of the Crusader, the lawless brigandage of an aggressive European Power can not endanger the safety of Islam.

WE HAVE great pleasure in announcing the forthcoming publication of a new little book of verses by Mrs Sarojini Naidu, entitled "The Bird of Time." Messrs. William Heinemann are the publishers, and Mr. Edmund Gosse, the well-known literary critic, has contributed a "Foreword." The poems are divided into four parts, Songs of Love and Death, Songs of Springtime, Indian Folk Songs, and Songs of Life. Some of these poems have already appeared in the *Comrade*, and our readers will no doubt look forward to making the acquaintance of others which they have not yet read. Those that have already "sampled" the mellifluous verse of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with its latent passion of the East, need no comment of ours to commend the forthcoming publication to their appreciation. Besides, Mrs. Naidu is not unknown to fame, and a bare announcement is enough to arrest the attention of the many admirers of her poetic talents. We await the publication with great interest and shall probably be able to review the book before long.

THE mushroom growth of Congresses and Conferences for any conceivable purpose that may be suspected of the least public or personal importance is an alarming symptom of sheer dissipation in the public life of this country. The bewildering variety of the interests that require public attention and earnest conferences and debates in the complex life of a modern State are naturally best served by separate organisations which, proceeding on the wholesome principle of the division of intellectual labour, formulate definite plans of action and bring them to fruition. Each "Conference" in this case represents a definite idea and organises moral and intellectual energy on behalf of a definite cause. Has Indian Society advanced to that stage of complex development which depends for continued efficiency on the separate and co-ordinated labours of a myriad organisations? We wish it had. But as things are, there is a miserably limited round of interests that sum up the intellectual outfit of our public men, and surely by no method of permutation and combination can these interests yield enough programmes for even one-tenth of the number of "Conferences" that have come to paralyse all useful public activities in this country. The majority of these outrageously busy bodies exist not for the sake of ideas, but individuals. They supply the modern method for the realisation of the intensely human desire to find a place among the elect of the land and disport in the manner of the gods. Their programmes are, like a child, all a wonder and a wild desire, and are as comprehensive and uncompromising as fate. Like the Lord of Creation, they find the earth without form and void, and set about to furnish it with light. After a fierce pugnacity of a day or two and a tornado of "resolutions" they agree to differ, and in these differences there exists enough seed for scores of fresh "Conferences" and "Associations." Every new schism and faction must have its own separate orbit to move in. If the present pace continues, the time is not far distant when every individual, at any rate amongst the Indian Mussalmans, will have a "Conference" of his own, in which amongst a throng of inordinate desires and impatient ambitions, he will discuss matters of great path and moment to his community! If anything were needed at present it would be the establishment of some organisation for the preservation of the existing Societies, Anjumans, and Associations. But we are afraid this, too, will find imitators and multiply beyond limit. The first question that would naturally occur to anyone on reading the account of the latest Muhammadian Conference at Burdwan, with its thirteen tremendous resolutions disposed of in four hours, is: Was any such Conference needed at all? The programme that it set about to talk out in "resolutions" of the regulation pattern comprises all aspects of Moslem life in West Bengal. There are, however, already more than enough organisations to look after the interests of the West Bengal Mussalmans. The Provincial Moslem League and the Educational Conference may legitimately discuss and initiate practical measures about the entire range of topics that were "resolved" upon at Burdwan. If these bodies have failed to achieve anything in a practical manner, surely it is the business of the gentlemen who accuse them of neglect or inactivity to put more energy into the work and revive them into activity. What guarantee is there that the latest effort at Burdwan will not be yet another monument of failure and futility? The promoters of this "Conference" have certainly paved the way for the dispersion of communal energy and disintegration in its public life. With the splendid isolation of some honourable gentlemen we have little to do. They evidently believe in the Japanese proverb, "Better be a cork's head than a bull's tail." Nor is the attitude of a third politician so very surprising. If Moslem interests need special protection not afforded by his Congress *gurus*, he is welcome to run with the hares, provided that he gives up hunting with the hounds. But we wonder what gentlemen like Mirza Shujat Ali Beg were doing at Burdwan. He is a member of the All-India Moslem League. He is and perhaps would like to remain the President of the Provincial Educational Conference. Does he imagine that these organisations have failed to do their duty and a third was needed to look after the Moslem interests in Bengal? If so, he owes it as a duty to himself to resign his connection with these bodies. It is really inexplicable on the part of a man who professes to take active interest in the public life of his community to go about figuring in every new "Conference" which has no new function to fulfil, but thwarts, on the other hand, to impair the prestige and usefulness of older or more representative organisations. But perhaps it is all the fault of the next year's Council elections. Coming misfortunes indeed cast prodigious shadows in front.

THE forthcoming Royal Visit has naturally revived the fast fading memories of the Moghul Court and the traditions of pomp and beneficence associated with the period when Delhi was the heart of Hindustan and the seat of a Great Imperial rule. A great change has come over the spirit of the dream, and the

From the Old to the New.

indiscriminate personal bounty of a benevolent Moghul Emperor can have naturally no place in a modern scheme of government which has introduced fixed laws and constitutions to regulate the relations between the rulers and the ruled. The triumphal progress of a Shahjehan, resplendent with gems, on a gorgeously-caparisoned elephant, showering gold and bounty right and left to a hushed crowd of dazed spectators out of his wealth of Ind, reads like a picturesque romance in the flat uneventfulness of these law-ridden times. Yet the popular mind clings to the ideal with pathetic tenacity, and it would be a highly stimulating adventure to examine the host of possible and impossible demands for "boons" into which the popular hopes about the Royal Visit have materialised. It would need a poet of immense imaginative power and vitality to visualise the India with these "boons" in full operation, when chaos would be tempered with boundless faith and life would be one long per eternal miracle. The wild expectations of some about the Royal Visit will not, however, deprive the country of some reasonable and befitting acts of Royal favour and grace on this supreme moment in the ritual of the State. Nothing can be more appropriate on an occasion of the Coronation Durbar of the King-Emperor than to make adequate provision for the education, training and respectable livelihood of the descendants of the ancient Royal Houses of India. We have received copies of two petitions, one from "the sons, daughters, grand-children and other relations of His Late Majesty Wajid Ali Shah, the King of Oudh" to His Majesty George V, and the other from "the representatives of the ex-Royal Family of Delhi," to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, both setting forth in reasonable terms their needs and requirements. Although we do not believe in a policy of special treatment in favour of any class of individuals on the strength of their pedigree, and think it desirable in their own interests that they should learn to adapt themselves to the environment and acquire the necessary capacity, force of character and grit for an independent and manly existence, we cannot be insensible to the fact that these two ancient families are labouring under a grievous handicap. They are the descendants of once ruling and powerful dynasties. The traditions of their rule and power are still fresh among them and the people. This imparts to them a social distinction and eminence to maintain which their material resources are not at all adequate. Their self-respect prevents them from taking to occupations which involve a decided loss or diminution of social prestige. For Government service and other respectable callings in life they are not well-fitted for want of modern education. It would, therefore, be not only an act of kindness but justice if these great Families are relieved of their peculiar handicap and afforded the necessary facilities for equipping themselves in accordance with modern needs. The demands of the "representatives of the ex-Royal family of Delhi" for special educational scholarships are both reasonable and legitimate. The members of the Oudh family have not asked for any definite Royal favour but have confined themselves to praying for "a boon of a permanent and durable nature befitting our once high rank." We are, however, sure their greatest needs, like the members of the Delhi Family, are to get the best available educational training on modern lines and to be provided with means of respectable livelihood. We believe the Government will be pleased to earnestly consider both the petitions and treat the prayers and requests of both these historic families with a measure of justice and generosity that their ancient traditions no less than this present unfortunate situations demand. And while the living are being provided with the training necessary for earning an honest livelihood and maintaining their position in life, shall the dead be forgotten? We trust Bahadur Shah, the last Moghul King and his Consort will have a fitting mausoleum erected over their mortal remains, which are now a prey to ungenerous neglect.

Verse.

Not All Alone.

Not all alone we think and work and pray,
Not all alone we sorrow and rejoice.
What tho' in vain we listen for the voice
Which made of old the sunshine of our day
And, silenced, plunged us in a darkened way?
Yet is a presence near, obscurely bright,
Dimly perceived. Oh thou who dwell'st in light,
Thou dartest on my sombre hours a ray,
When all is hushed my quickened spirit hears
The whispered word that bids me not despair;
I know thy gladness, if laborious years
Have crowned my toil with aught of good or fair;
I know thine answer to my stricken call,
But most I feel thy sorrow when I fall.

H. C. M.

The Comrade.

Welcome Home!

TO-DAY the Emperor and Empress of more than three hundred million people land on the soil of India, and a most loyal welcome from the four corners of this wide-stretching land greets them at its threshold. The advent of the Sovereign is an event of unique significance and it is destined to be a landmark in the history of this historic country. Crabbed philosophers may belittle the importance of ceremonials, and *blasé* politicians may scoff at the enthusiasm of grown-up people for a show which to them appears merely childish. But the human mind, in spite of its amazing development, still needs a concrete presentation of things and is not easily satisfied with abstract ideas. In the realm of politics, the Person of the King is the embodiment of national identity to some and good government to others, and the loud cheer of the populace, which excites the pity of the soured philosopher and the ridicule of the outworn politician, is but the outward expression of a self governing nation's self-consciousness or the gratitude of a subject race. Every intense emotion reduces in the individual, in some measure, at least, his reasoned self-control, and carries him back to a second childhood, the age of impulses and a time of life when feelings are free. At such moments Reason has to abdicate its throne in its well-governed realm in favour of Emotion. What is true of the individual is true in a much greater degree of a concourse of people, and those who have studied the psychology of mankind in mass know that the larger the number, the greater would be the sway of feeling.

To-day, when the first British Sovereign sets foot on the soil of this ancient land, its teeming millions have willingly given themselves up to rejoicing, and a child-like fervour is evident throughout the whole of this great Empire. The ceremonial that is to follow in the Imperial City of Delhi will not be an empty pageant. It is true that, unlike the Coronation at London, it will not be an occasion afforded to the people to recognise their own identity and trace the features of the Nation in the lineaments of their King. Generally when an Englishman sings "God save the King!", somewhere at the back of his head is the idea conveyed in the other nation song of the Britons, "Rule, Britannia!" In India, the feelings are no less intense because they are not an expression of national self-consciousness. The genuine gratitude of three-hundred million people for their good government rises in a mighty paean and greets their sovereign lord. The amazing disparity in intellectual condition that exists between the various strata of Indian Society gives a unique variety to the emotion of the people. Some analyse with scientific coldness, clearness and exactitude the advantages of British rule in India, and strike up, so to speak, a profit and loss account, finding the balance of benefits to be enormous. Others—and they constitute a very overwhelming majority—feel an inward comfort and ease, like the sensation of warmth in cold weather in an artificially heated room, and are merely happy that they are happy. It will be perfectly absurd and as clearly insincere to say that British rule entails no discomforts and that the Indian administration is perfect. There is still enormous room for improvement and the pace of progress is not uniformly satisfactory. But whether we analyse the gains and the disadvantages like philosophers, and calculate profit and loss like men of business who only speak in terms of dividends, or merely feel satisfied and full like a prosperous peasant, there is no doubt that we are in a better condition to-day than our forefathers were a century and a half ago, when some adventurous spirits first began to lay the foundation of the British Empire in India.

We are admittedly an emotional people, and even our enemies will not rashly accuse us of being an ungrateful people. By the tradition of centuries we are a people given to regarding the Person of the King as the fountain head of all the blessings as of all the ills of the people. Being by nature and by tradition what we are, we cannot but rejoice as we do to-day at receiving in our midst our King and Queen and hail them as the embodiments of the wisdom and solicitude of British rule in India.

But this is not all. Whether cognisant of their national identity, or grateful for the benefits of good government, people as a rule clothe the Person of their Sovereign in the habiliments of another. They greet vicariously and thank by proxy. That, however, is not the case in the present instance. The King no more merely represents the *persona* of the Administration than he is provided in the cast of this political drama with the rôle of the Nation. Our loyalty is not quite so impersonal. Fortunately for ourselves, the British Sovereigns of India have exhibited such an unmistakable interest in our welfare that their individuality has in each instance been clearly impressed on our minds. It will be rash to generalise; but among those persons who are literate, there is not one perhaps who does not know, at it were, at first hand the first British Sovereign of India, Victoria, the Good, the Great Mother of her people. His late Majesty, King Edward VII, is naturally not so

well-known, as his reign was much shorter, and European politics kept him much occupied during an important period of modern European history. But in an amazingly short time, King George V. has deepened his own impression on the hearts of his Indian subjects, and they know him as if he had been reigning for years instead of a bare year and a half. The sagacious idea of re-visiting his Indian dominion and holding an assemblage here to make known in person to his loyal and devoted subjects his succession to the Imperial Crown in India is well-known to have been entirely his own. It was dictated by love and affection for the Indian people, and inspired by an imaginative sympathy which seems as rare in Englishmen as it is indispensable for the good governance of an Oriental people by a Western race. The people of this country are also aware of the King's appeal to the British, after his last great itinerary through the Indian Empire, for a wider element of sympathy in their dealings with the Indians. It was not a Speech from the Throne that in obedience to constitutional usage often lacks individuality, but a genuine product of personal feeling and experience and a reflex of the royal mind. The machine—the perfect machine, if you will—was there, but, as a philosophic critic of men and measures—and machines—has said, it was a somewhat soulless machine. It is no hyperbole to say that it was King George who, as the Prince of Wales, discovered a soul for it, and made a free offer of it to India's administrators. Knowing all this as we do, we welcome His Majesty in our midst for the sake of all that Great Britain has done for India, and even more for the sake of all that he himself has done for India and for Great Britain. Long Live the King!

To Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, India offers a no less hearty welcome. The long and happy reign of Queen Victoria has made India realise to the full the significance of her womanliness as a queen and her queenliness as a woman. They have expectations, which are being realised daily, of the same constant influence cleansing private life and infusing into public life also an element of affection and purity. On behalf of our countrymen we greet Their Majesties. Welcome Home to India!

As the H. M. S. *Medina* passed through the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, it is reported that as an act of courtesy the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire ordered the lighting of the beacons and lighthouses that guide and warn the navigators in these dangerous waters, and that the Royal Government of Italy postponed some naval action that it was contemplating. This was the action of two foreign Powers that are engaged in a dangerous struggle in which every advantage counts. But what response are we, the people of this country, going to make to a visit of such supreme significance, and what measures do our administrators contemplate to commemorate this unique event? Is it too much to hope that for their part the people of India would call a truce, not temporary but permanent, to all such methods of political agitation as, according to all past experience, tend to exasperate the people and in some cases seduce them from their loyalty to their Sovereign? Could we not imitate even Italy in this matter? But it is not only political agitation against the Government or its individual members and particular measures that is dangerous. Our internal rivalries are far more invidious and insidious. Every measure of Government is looked at through the narrowing spectacles of party prejudices and party passions, and while working for our ruin ourselves we blame the Government in the end for not maintaining a just balance and not safeguarding the best interests of the country. We have heard somewhere the tag, *Divide et impera*, and on every occasion when our own greed is really to blame, we accuse the Government of following the Divide-and-Rule policy. But if we only examined it honestly, we shall find that it is *we* who divide, and that after all it is the first duty of every Government to rule. We shall not on this occasion apportion praise or blame; and the apportionment of praise and blame is not so easy as each community, creed or interest may itself suppose. We do not know of one that is innocent. Ultimately, it is some action of its own, slight or important, that brings a sure and certain Nemesis dogging its footsteps. We sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. This is the invariable and inexorable law of our political karma. How to escape from its vicious circle is the problem of the moment. But if there is a will, the way will not take long to discover. The moment, too, is propitious, and we earnestly appeal to all our countrymen to take the fullest advantage of so unique an occasion. No benign Sovereign could ever receive from his divided subjects a better tribute than an assurance of future amity and concord, and we trust ours will not be allowed to go back to England without such an assurance from his people.

But some administrators in India are a little too apt to forget that subjects have rights as well as duties. It is the glory of every British subject that it was Great Britain that put an end to slavery in the world. No British subject could be expected to remain content as a rightless serf, and the best indication of the progress of British subjects would be the expansion of their freedom. We enjoy in 1911 the privileges which we did not possess in 1905, and we enjoyed in 1902 comforts and conveniences, position and prestige which existed

neither in 1858, nor in 1877. Tennyson, the mellow poet of the world's manhood, wrote of the late revered Queen—

"And statesmen at her council met
Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet

"By shaping some august decree,
Which kept her throne unshaken still,
Broad-based upon her people's will,
And compass'd by the inviolate sea."

We trust that the same good fortune will be the share of His Majesty, George V., and that a succession of long-visioned and broad-minded statesmen would take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom still wider, thus broad-basing the British Throne upon the will of a vast and varied Empire. If he meets with such a good fortune and himself maintains his remarkable promise of political sagacity, His Majesty may rest assured that the land frontiers of his Empire would become just as inviolate as the sea. The Turks ordered the re-lighting of the beacons and lighthouses for the safe and undisturbed passage of the *Medina*. But the ship of State also needs beacons and lighthouses to guide and to warn, and the education of the masses is the only permanent illuminant. The country has asked for it with an amazing unanimity that augurs well for the future, and we trust whatever other gift His Majesty brings for his subjects, he will not forget this the most lasting and the most beneficial. There are those who think that it is more difficult to govern educated than unlettered people, and there is considerable truth in this apprehension. The beacon only warns. It does not remove the danger beneath the surface. The submerged rocks on which the stoutest bark may dash itself to destruction are the inequalities of opportunity and treatment which education will indicate all the more clearly. If they are to remain, it is meet that the people should remain illiterate and unenlightened. But, then, every school and every college should be closed, for a little light will only serve to make the darkness visible. We, however, know that our King, at least, has no desire to perpetuate invidious differences. In his august message of 23rd May, 1910, to the Indian people, he gave us the most gracious and solemn assurance:—

"Queen Victoria of revered memory addressed Her Indian Subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct Government in 1858, and Her August son, my father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his address to you fifty years later. These are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide."

This is the only true Imperialism, for great empires and little minds go ill together. In the last reign a striking illustration of the desire of the Sovereign to interpret most generously the charters of Indian rights and liberties was given by throwing open in practice also the Executive Council of the Viceroy to Indians. We hope that early in the present reign the charge of a Local Administration, at least, will be entrusted to a qualified Indian, and that room would be found in the higher ranks of the Indian Army for the development of the martial instincts of the people and for the satisfaction of their legitimate ambitions. It is in the gratitude of a loyal people, rather than the emasculation of a disaffected population that statesmanship finds the best support of a just and progressive rule.

The Congress of the 2nd Dec 1911, India's reply to the article entitled
"An Appeal to the Greatest of Moslem Rulers," — 12

PEOPLE who have still so much to secure in their own country and within the British Empire, would perhaps be laughed at if they asked for greater regard being paid to their inclinations and sentiments in the settlement of affairs abroad. But, in the first place, the foreign policy of an Empire such as ours is bound to reflect itself in the settlement of affairs at Home and, therefore, cannot and must not be a matter of indifference to us in India. Should Russia and England go on playing in Asia the game of "Beggar my Neighbour" with ever-increasing fervour, or should they cry a truce to this ruinous competition? Should we follow a policy of masterly inactivity or one of mischievous activity on the North-West Frontier? Should we rush and scuttle, or rush heedlessly onwards into Afghanistan and thence, if we can, into Russian territory? Should we wreak our vengeance on Tibetan goats for having eaten British Indian grass and in that process fall foul of Llamas as well? Should we frighten ourselves with the new bogey of the Yellow Peril and thereafter frighten the wild but most innocuous people on our North-Eastern frontier with the reality of a White Peril? These are questions which, no one can deny, possess great importance for us in India, because Indian finances can be crippled or set free by the solution which we find for each of them and Indian reforms can thereby be indefinitely delayed or pushed forward.

All these are, however, questions of material interest. But, as all statesmen know, or should know, sentiment plays not a little part in the affairs of humanity. Remove sentiment, and life would

become colourless, and drab, and perhaps ultimately soulless. What is of more immediate importance, if you remove sentiment, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a basis of obligation for the obedience and loyalty of millions of illiterate people who are not in a position to reason out such a basis for themselves. Now, a sentiment of the deepest and most intense character has sustained millions of Mussalmans in this country. That is the sentiment of a fraternity of faith which is essential to Islam. It is not a political alliance involving every individual Mussalman in the political complications of every Moslem kingdom. It is not so material as that. It is a sentimental and a moral alliance, not a political bond. It is necessary to make this clear in order to distinguish Islam from its counterfeit representation, Pan-Islamism, which, like Macbeth's dagger, is but a thing of the mind, the creation of heat-oppressed brains. The words of Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, could hardly be improved upon in describing this powerful sentiment. "Muhammadanism," said Mr. Montagu, "produces and teaches a sort of extra-territorial patriotism—if I may strain the words to describe it—which seems almost to laugh at distance and maternal neighbourhood, in breathing and praying mutual sympathy." He said he would like to tell the Mussalman:—"You need abandon no jot of your fervour if you add to it principles of less exalted and more Western desire to help and to share the destiny of the country in which you live."

Although this sentiment is in no way inherently antagonistic to territorial patriotism, as Mr. Montagu admits, and, therefore, in no way opposed to territorial loyalty, it is obvious that the ideal state of affairs would be one in which both territorial and extra-territorial patriotism and loyalty run in the same direction. It is the heart-felt desire of seventy million Mussalman that at no time should Great Britain and a Moslem Government be ranged on opposite sides in political or military quarrels, and while they would never fail in the future, as they have never failed in the past, to range themselves on the side of their Sovereign and liege lord and fight for him, they would naturally prefer that such an occasion should never arise, or, if it ever arose, that the cause of their own Government was wholly just. The present Liberal Government in England was opposed to the Boer war and considered it to be uncalled for and even unjust. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that not one of the 250,000 British soldiers who fought against the Boers had a doubt in his own mind about the justice of his country's cause. But,

"There's not to reason why,
"Their's but to do and die."

Similarly, the Indian Mussalmans have never failed to do and die when the order went forth that their Sovereign needed their services on the field of battle. On the Frontier and in Afghanistan, in the Soudan and in China, Indian Mussalmans have had to shed the blood of their own co-religionists, and they did so at the call of duty without a murmur. This, at the call duty they are ever ready to do. But they desire that if it could be so arranged Great Britain should always be ranged on the side of Moslem Kingdoms, and that if it could not at any time be so arranged, only the clearest necessity should force her to quarrel with their co-religionists in other countries.

To-day the arrival of Their Majesties coincides with one of their greatest and very few festivals. But were it not for the advent of the Royal visitors, this Eid would have been to them a day of mourning. They greet their King and his gracious Consort to-day, and their welcome is as hearty as that of any other community or class. But it is undeniable that they take part in these auspicious festivities with a heavy heart. It is true that England has been observing strict neutrality. But they are not wholly satisfied with so passive an attitude. England was prepared to go to war with a much stronger foe for the sake of France over Morocco. And why? Because England had engaged herself to help France to obtain a free hand in a Moslem kingdom in exchange for a free hand for herself in another Moslem kingdom. That bargain itself was not welcome to Indian Mussalmans, because they believe that, for whatever reasons it may be, England has not kept the promise that Mr. Gladstone had given to Egypt and to Turkey in such unequivocal terms. Be it remembered that it is not only Mussalmans that think so, but many Christians and Englishmen as well. But the question is, if treaty obligations had such force in the case of France in Morocco, were there no obligations in the case of Turkey in Tripoli? Leaving material considerations alone, was not the brigandage of Italy deserving of the most practical disapprobation of England? Again, if political considerations came in the way of such an altruistic action, could any conceivable political considerations come in the way of the dictates of humanity when it became known that the Italians had revived in Tripoli the orgies of wanton bloodshed characteristic of ancient Rome?

An anonymous writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, from whom we publish extracts elsewhere, says that "in expecting us to intervene in an affair which does not primarily concern us, these Muhammadan leaders are themselves committing a kind of veiled treason to the British Empire." It may conceivably be "veiled treason" to expect British interven-

tion in such an affair as the writer indicates, though we cannot readily understand what the desire of intervention has to do with treason, clothed or naked. But what we emphatically protest against is the palpable separation of *us* and *they*, and what we strongly contend is that this is *not* "an affair which primarily does not concern us." If the Colonies are important enough to demand a previous consultation before England enters into an agreement with a foreign Power, and to threaten that if they chose to differ they could haul down the flag of the Empire, then surely 70 million Mussalmans, who contribute far more substantially in men and money towards the defence of the Empire, can beg that wherever possible Great Britain may enter into friendly alliances with Moslem Kingdoms, and to appeal, not in the name of Moslem services, but of common Christian charity, to intervene on behalf of more women and children who are possibly destined to become widows and orphans in a war of unparalleled brutality.

No amount of cynicism can remove or gloss over the inconsistency of Gladstone's unjust wrath against Turkey and Sir Edward Grey's miserable inactivity and silence. In exchange for her own control of a Muhammadan kingdom another Muhammadan kingdom is handed over to the French. A third is being bullied and humiliated by the traditional foe of England and all that England has hitherto stood for, and England herself is timidly following in the footsteps of the Muscovite Bear. A fourth is being mutilated without a shadow of reason, and when the inhuman cruelty of the operator is brought to the notice of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Parliament is insolently gagged. Is it to be expected that a single Mussalman can feel happy when all this has taken place? With a full sense of the tremendous responsibility of a journalist, we are constrained to say that every Mussalman to-day echoes the cry that was wrung from the heart of Milton two and a half centuries ago. Is it strange that then, too, it was Italy that stirred the passions of the great poet?

"Avenge O Lord, thy slaughtered saint, whose bones
Like scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,
E'en them who kept Thy truth so pure of old
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not in Thy book record their groans
Who were Thy sheep and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills and they
To Heav'n. Their marty'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields where still doth sway
The triple tyrant—that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learnt Thy way
Fairly may fly the Babylonian we."

It is not a Grey that is needed to-day, but a Milton, and in 1911, far more than in 1802, are the words of Wordsworth justified.—

"Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour;
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword and pen,
Fire-side, the heroic wealth of hall and bower
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power."

And to the gracious Sovereign of seventy million Mussalmans we humbly appeal to lead the erring statesmen of England as British Sovereigns have often done before, not so much by the exercise of their limited monarchical power, but by the unbounded strength of a firm moral purpose and the proud consciousness of superior moral worth. Victoria's ruth and Gladstone's wrath will yet save England from the reproach of selfish callousness and cowardly cynicism, and we refuse to believe that His Majesty is incapable of waking up England from a lethargy that has so often presaged the sure if slow decay of large empires.

The Secretary of State for India is the Minister in attendance, and his Lordship will have ample opportunities in India of gauging the strength and sincerity of Moslem feeling and of judging the propriety of their humble appeal to their King. If, as we believe, "things seen are mightier than things heard," we have no doubt that his visit to India at this juncture would prove of immense value to himself, to the Liberal Cabinet, and to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

To-day is the great Moslem festival in commemoration of the sacrifice of Abraham. The hearts of the Mussalmans are weighed down with sorrow for their co-religionists slaughtered in Tripoli. But they owe a duty to their King and Emperor which demands their full participation in the rejoicings that begin to-day throughout the Indian Empire. Let them, then, make for the sake of their Sovereign, a sacrifice of the sorrow that is so dear to them as Abraham had prepared to sacrifice Ishmael for the Lord. Who knows that like that great sacrifice which they may wish to imitate to-day, Allah may render it unnecessary, and change their sorrow into pleasure, as of old?

Anglo-Russian Policy in Persia.

(FROM THE TIMES.)

INDICTMENT BY THE PERSIAN TREASURER-GENERAL.

WE HAVE received from Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, the Treasurer-General of Persia, a letter which on account of its length we are obliged to publish in two parts. It will be remembered that the Persian Government at the beginning of this year asked the Government of the United States to recommend some financial experts who could help in the reorganization of the Persian fiscal system, and in accordance with that recommendation Mr. Shuster, who had previously been Collector of Customs of the Philippines and a member of the Philippines Commission, was in May put in control of the Persian finances and given extensive powers by the Mejliss. Early in July he asked for the services of Major Stokes, then Military Attaché at the British Legation, to organize a "fiscal *gen-larmiere*" for the collection of taxes. The Russian Government raised objections which several months' negotiations were unable to remove; on 17th October, Mr. Shuster issued in Teheran a statement attributing to both Russia and England hostility to the regeneration of Persia; and the next day we published a leading article regretting his action and qualifying his charges against the British Government as unfounded. To that article the letter, of which the first part follows, and in which the crossheads are inserted by us, is a reply:—

I—RUSSIA AND THE EX-SHAH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

SIR,—According to a Reuter's despatch, dated London, 18th October, the *Times* states editorially that my recently expressed opinions of Russia's hostility to Persia's financial regeneration and of Britain's acquiescence in Russia's attitude are unjust and unfounded.

Much as I dislike this class of controversy, still the importance of the subject, my belief in the fair-mindedness of the British public and in the desire of your journal to be entirely just, and a slight regard for my own reputation lead me to address you this letter, with the request that you give it due publicity in your columns. It is but a relation of certain facts and incidents which have either come under my personal observation or are of official record during the past five months of my stay in Teheran. My opinion was reached after a calm and impartial consideration of those facts, in addition to the corroborative impressions received in a great number of transactions in which I personally participated, but which are not susceptible of legal proof. I am, of course, willing to abide by the judgment of the thinking public for whatever justification may seem necessary.

I arrived here on 12th May last, with three American assistants and with but one object in view—to do a fairly creditable piece of constructive work on behalf of Persia's finances.

On 13th June the Mejliss passed a law, drafted by me, conferring on the Treasurer-General plenary powers in matters fiscal. The law was a public one, voted after full and open discussion, and was manifestly designed to bring some order out of the pitiable state of chaos into which Persia's finances had fallen. The Persian Cabinet and Mejliss had almost unanimously approved it. One might expect that the foreign Powers in interest here would gladly have done likewise. Unfortunately they did not. Direct legal proof, of course, being lacking, I nevertheless assert that there is ample documentary evidence of a circumstantial nature to show that there was a deliberate agreement between a number of foreign Legations here, headed by the Russian Legation, to defeat my execution of that law, and to thwart the general system of centralization of collections, payments, and accounting prescribed thereunder. The pretexts urged against the system were flimsy and untenable in the extreme, and their manifest purpose was to prevent any material change in the old style of conducting Persia's fiscal affairs. This campaign of threats, nagging, and general opposition, which even descended into vulgar personalities against me, and into crude attempts to frighten the Persian Government, failed utterly, though it did entail a period of delay and confusion in initiating certain financial reforms. Among the threats made was that of one Legation to seize the Northern Customs and put in their own officials to collect the revenues.

MOHAMED ALI'S RETURN.

Last July, in defiance of Article 12 of the Protocol of 7th September 1909, Russia and Britain and particularly the former, permitted Mohamet Ali, ex-Shah, to escape from Russia—that is Russia failed utterly "to take efficacious measures" to prevent political agitation against Persia on his part. In fact, he passed through Russia with a false beard, and a consignment of guns and cannon marked "mineral water," if we may believe the *ante-mortem* statement of his late lieutenant, Arshad-ed-Dovleh. He embarked with his party from a Russian port on the Russian steamer *Christoforos*, and landed about 18th July at Gumush-Teppeh on Persian soil—a filibusterer in full swing.

Assuming that this escape was accidental and that the Russian passport authorities were off their guard for once, was Russia's attitude one of real regret? On the contrary, it is notorious here that her official representatives in Persia received the news of the

landing with unconcealed joy. Later, I shall prove that they did not even scruple to show that feeling in official communications addressed to Persian Government officers.

On 23rd July the Persian Government addressed a Note to all the Legations here informing them of a law which had just been passed declaring a state of siege. Most of the Legations replied in the usual manner, merely calling attention to certain provisions in the Treaty of Turcomanchai; but the Russian Legation adopted from the very outset a far different and most unfriendly tone, claiming among other things the right to arrest directly, at any time, so-called "illegal Russian subjects" (who were defined in the Legation's Note) "who might take part in the events actually going on in the country." The patent object of this claim put forward at this time was to give the Russian Legation and Consuls throughout Persia the excuse to arrest, on the mere allegation that they were a kind of Russian subject, any Persian fighting men of known reputation who might take the side of the Government against Mohamet Ali. If this threat to arrest all Russian subjects "who might take part in events" had been literally executed, it would have been necessary, as we shall see shortly, to arrest most of the Russian Consuls and Consular employees themselves.

At Resht the Russian Consul went further, and actually informed the Persian Government of his intention to arrest any one on suspicion of his being a Russian subject, to investigate the matter at his leisure, and to hold them until the end of the troubles.

On 31st July when Mohamet Ali had barely put foot on Persian soil and had made no appreciable advance towards subjugating the country, Britain and Russia addressed to the Persian Government the following *identique de facto* recognition of the ex-Shah's belligerency:—"Seeing that the ex-Shah, contrary to the advice frequently given him by the Governments of England and Russia in effect that he should forbear from any agitation whatever in Persia (has now landed in Persia), the British (Russian) Government declares that the ex-Shah has now forfeited his right to the pension fixed by the Protocol. But, on the other hand, the British (Russian) Government believes that as the ex-Shah is now in Persian territory, the British (Russian) Government cannot intervene. Therefore the British (Russian) Government states that in the conflict that has unfortunately arisen in Persia they will in no way interfere."

Scant comfort from friends of a Government plunged into the throes of civil strife through the negligence, or worse, of those who had solemnly pledged themselves to prevent exactly this contingency. But even this declaration of "neutrality" (though the word itself was omitted on the demand of the British Legation) might have passed, had it been observed. And here let us examine what nature of advice was given to the ex-Shah by the Government of Russia through its Ambassador at Vienna, according to the *ante-mortem* statement of statement of Arshad-ed-Dovleh. I quote from the account given by the *Times* Correspondent at Teheran, who speaks Persian and heard the statement a few hours before Arshad-ed-Dovleh died:—

"Then Mohamed Ali and I met in Vienna. The Russian Ambassador came to see us, and we asked for help. He told us that Russia could not help us. Russia and England had an agreement with regard to Persia from which neither would depart. They had resolved not to intervene in any way, internally. "But, on the other hand," he said, "the field is clear. If we can do nothing for you, we equally will do nothing against you. It is for you to decide what are your chances of success. If you think you can reach the Throne of Persia, then go. Only remember we cannot help you, and if you fail we have no responsibility." "Well, there is something you can do for us," we answered. "Lend us some money." "No, it is quite impossible," he replied. And though we begged much and had a second interview, he rejected our proposal. Only he suggested that, if Mohamet Ali had a receipt for some jewels which were in the keeping of the Russian Bank at Teheran, money could be raised on that receipt. But Mohamet Ali had not got the document, and so nothing came of that."

Perhaps this is "advising the ex-Shah to forbear from any agitation whatever in Persia," and perhaps it is not. Perhaps also the Russian Ambassador (who has never denied the interview) did not advise his Government of Khalil's projected journey through Russia, and of his purpose; but the unbiassed public will probably continue to hold its own opinion.

RUSSIAN "NEUTRALITY"

We shall now see how well Russian officials in Persia observed neutrality in the internal struggle thus precipitated.

On 29th July, the Russian Acting Consul at Ispahan, proceeding upon his conception of neutrality, wrote to the Persian Foreign Office representative there in a plain attempt to stifle a public expression of the people in favour of the Constitutional Government. He said:—

According to information received by this Consulate, the Government of Ispahan intends to hold a meeting of the clergy, nobles, prominent citizens, and merchants for the purpose of framing a

telegram to the representatives of foreign Powers to the effect that they, the people, do not desire Mohamet Ali, and to protest against his arrival in Persian territory. I request you in advance to inform the proper quarters that as this matter concerns Persia and the Persians [delightful sarcasm], it would be useless to give trouble (sic) to the Imperial Legation and the Consulates of Russia.

Later he wrote.—

You must not uselessly give trouble in the matter of Mohamet Ali Shah (sic) to the Imperial Russian Legation and Consulates. It is the duty of the Persian Foreign Office representative and of the Government to restrain and prevent any such incidents and they must fulfil it.

Comment seems unnecessary.

Rashid-ol-Molk, Persian subject, former Governor of Ardebil, having been in command of Government forces, had treacherously fled before an inferior number of Shahsavans, tribesmen who had always remained supporters of the ex-Shah. He was accused of high treason, arrested and confined at Tabriz. On 27th July, the Russian Consul-General at Tabriz, having demanded his release of the Acting Governor, and having been informed that Rashid-ol-Molk was held by orders of the Central Government, sent 300 Russian soldiers, fully armed, to the Governor's Palace, beat off the Persian guards, insulted the Acting Governor, liberated Rashid-ol-Molk and took him away. Shortly afterwards he joined the rebel forces of Shuja-ed-Dovleh, which were threatening Tabriz.

To the formal protest lodged by the Persian Government over this affair, the Russian Legation replied, officially admitting responsibility for the orders given to the Russian Consul-General at Tabriz to "take necessary steps" to prevent certain punishment which was alleged to be threatened, from being inflicted on Rashid-ol-Molk. We have seen what steps the Russian Consul-General took—steps which in the case of two equal Powers would have meant immediate war.

The sole justification attempted by the Russian Legation for this outrage was that "the representatives of the Government of Russia have accorded a certain protection (sic) to Rashid-ol-Molk." As a matter of fact no sentence at all had been passed on Rashid-ol-Molk, though even if it had the outrage would have been none the less.

After a full examination of the record, I unhesitatingly assert that a clearer and more flagrant case of violation of sovereignty could with difficulty be found.

At the moment when Shuja-ed-Dovleh was preparing to attack Tabriz and the garrison of the city was preparing for defence, the local Government received a Note from the Russian Consul-General there, stating that no defensive measures should be taken and that under no circumstances should there be any fighting within the city. At the same time a Russian subject was in charge of the advance guard of Shuja-ed-Dovleh.

Shuja-e-Nezam, likewise accused of high treason, had been arrested by the Governor of Marand. The Russian authorities took him from prison. Shuja-e-Nezam afterwards succeeded in establishing himself at Marand and in capturing the Governor. The Russian authorities, alleging that he is in the service of the Russian road company of Djulf-Tabriz, continue to protect him.

The citizens of Tabriz having inflicted serious losses on the forces of the rebel Shuja-ed-Dovleh, the commander of the Russian troops at Tabriz sent a detachment of Cossacks to the field, and there, on the pretext that the director of road station had been slightly wounded in the forehead by a bullet (he having voluntarily gone to the neighbourhood of a skirmish), arrested seven Persian gendarmes and took them prisoners to the Russian barracks.

When the rebel leader Modjallal-os-Soltan was about to enter the town of Ardebil the inhabitants prepared to resist him. The Russian Vice-Consul thereupon sent his agent, Esmail Bey, to the Vice-Governor and Chief of Police to give them the following false information—that Mohamet Ali had arrived at one day's journey from Teheran with an army of 12,000 men, and had announced a general amnesty; that he has charged his Highness the Sepahdare with the control of the city and that the latter had accepted; that the prohibition ordered by the police of Ardebil about speaking of Mohamet Ali Mirza was wrong. "I announce these facts to you privately and for your personal information. The Consulate has received instructions, in effect, telling them to watch over the security of the town." Similar announcements were made by public criers, the inhabitants were advised to illuminate the town in honour of Mohamet Ali's victory, and to prepare to receive the Governor whom he was sending to them. Later Modjallal-os-Soltan, protected by Russian Cossacks, entered Ardebil in triumph and committed the usual acts of barbarism.

After a stay at Ardebil Modjallal-os-Soltan joined Shuja-ed-Dovleh, leaving behind Ghavam-os-Soltan as Governor of the town. The tribe of Khamsehous having refused to submit to Mohamet Ali's rule, the Russian Vice-Consul sent Cossacks to reduce them.

A Russian cruiser having been stationed for some time at the port of Enzeli, the commander, with the Russian Consular agent,

visited all merchant vessels entering the port, searched passengers, arrested some and forced them to return to Russia.

When the force of Mohamet Ali was defeated and dispersed, many of the leaders demanded refuge at the Russian Consulate at Astarabad. The Consul received them and refused absolutely to deliver them up to the Persian Government for punishment.

The Russian Commissioner for Gonbad-Ghabous came to Gumush-Teppeh to concert with Mohamet Ali. Later he returned to his post, whence he continued to force Turcoman Persian subjects by threats, to take part with Mohamet Ali. He has since come to Astarabad and made himself virtual Governor of that place, while the forces of Mohamet Ali remain outside the town.

At Bender Djez the Russian Consular agent with a party of Russian Cossacks arrested the Persian frontier official and sent him a prisoner to Astarabad, treating him in a thoroughly brutal manner.

At Resht, a number of Russian subjects, armed, and led by the son of an *employe* of the Russian Consulate there, arrested a Persian subject and beat him to the point of death. They announced at the same time that those who might come to the aid of a certain Persian officer there would be shot.

An *employe* of the Russian Consulate at Resht recently called a great number of Russian subjects to his house and discoursed to them on the lack of security in the town. Failing to arouse sufficient response and his plan being discovered, he sent Russian deserters to make trouble in the streets—all for the manifest purpose of creating disorder as a pretext for calling in Russian troops to quell it.

After the departure of Mohamet Ali from Savadkouh, a Russian officer came to Harforouche to visit Mohamet Ali's camp, where he remained six hours, returning to Sari with six thousand tomans in notes.

When the Teheran Government arrested the well-known reactionary, Majdid-Dovleh, on 23rd July, the British and Russian Ministers immediately interfered in his behalf; as a result he was released and immediately took "bast" in the Russian Legation. The effect produced on the excited minds of the Persians at this time was that both Britain and Russia were siding with Mohamet Ali and the reactionaries, thus making the task of the Constitutional Government vastly more difficult.

About 31st July the Consular agent of Russia at Enzeli arrested several persons as deserters, while the Russian Consul at Resht sent Russian Cossacks to police head-quarters to release a Persian subject who had been arrested pretending that the latter was the "lamp-lighter" of the Cossack barracks.

According to the Convention of 1907 between Russia and Britain, which both Powers are so fond of quoting to Persia, the latter's complete independence and sovereignty are fully recognized, although the need for such avowal is not apparent. Yet in the face of that document Russia has put forward and still maintains, under the name of *protégé*-ship, the most novel and remarkable theory ever heard of in international relations. The Russian Legation and Consulates not only claim absolute rights in Persia over all Russian subjects, "legal or illegal," but they claim a species of protectorate over another class of persons, chiefly well-known reactionaries and traitors, who are admittedly Persian subjects, yet against whom Russia will not permit the simplest governmental step to be taken under penalty of incurring her anger and her vengeance. This *protégé*-ship is likewise used to shield these persons from paying their taxes to the Persian Government; and as most of them are rich through methods well known in the former *regime*, there is not only a decided financial loss, but the loss of prestige to the Government and the encouragement thus given others to rebel against the payment of their just dues are even worse. In many instances the Russian authorities do not even claim that the *protégé* is anything but a Persian subject; in others, some of the pretexts alleged for claiming for them Russian nationality are bizarre beyond the wildest dreams. Ask the Russian Legation to explain seriously, for instance, why the Princess Banou Uzza, of Isfahan, should not pay the Persian Government the thousands of tomans of taxes which she has been owing for the past few years, and you will be unable to restrain a smile at the answer. Or the famous Kamran Mirza, uncle of the ex-Shah. Or why the Russian Legation interfered recently when the tax-collector of Teheran seized the horse of Prince Eted Dovleh for failure to pay his contributions to the Government under which he lives. Beyond all this, of course, is the trifling fact that even foreign subjects in Persia are not exempt from paying their local taxes, despite the truly absurd claims as to the meaning of Article 4 of the Customs Convention between Persia and Russia.

The Persian law of naturalization is based on the consent of the Sovereign, given in a formal manner through prescribed channels; yet we have such claims put forth and maintained as that a certain Persian subject, having once taken "bast" in a Russian Consulate, was Russian, or that he claimed Russian nationality under a *decree* (unproduced) from the Emperor of Russia. Naturalization laws and regulations are generally esteemed to be the subject of friendly negotiation and arrangement between nations at peace, not the pretext for abuses of the grossest description by the stronger Power.

The War Supplement.

News of the War.

Reuter wired from Constantinople on the 24th November:—Meetings of the Council of Ministers lately and conferences with various Ambassadors have given the impression that Italian naval action will not be longer delayed. It is thought that the objective will be the blockade of the Dardanelles or even the forcing of the Dardanelles in order to dictate peace at Constantinople.

The Russian Government has pointed out and has also presumably informed Italy that the blockade of the Dardanelles is contrary to the London Conference of 1871.

In the House of Commons on the 24th November, Mr. F. D. Acland announced that the Government has no information as to the blockade of the Dardanelles.

Reuter wired from Constantinople on 24th November:—Military circles are awaiting with the utmost composure the developments of the intention attributed to Italy of the blockade of the Dardanelles. It is declared that such action would not affect the position or influence of Turkey to come to terms.

The Minister of War and Marine is proceeding to the Dardanelles to inspect the forts.

It is stated that in response to Russian objections with reference to the suggested blockade, Italy proposes to allow cargo boats destined for the Ottoman ports to pass through the Dardanelles.

A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Constantinople states that the British Ambassador has informed Turkey that Great Britain will cease to regard herself as a neutral if Italy proceeds to the blockade of the Dardanelles.

Nothing of the smallest interest is happening in Tripoli. Only official reports are available. All the foreign correspondents have left Tripoli. The Italians appear to be occasionally clearing out portions of the oasis, while the Turks and Arabs make occasional attacks which, however, resolve themselves into mere skirmishes.

Italian official despatches show that fierce fighting took place on Friday, both at Tripoli and Derna. The Italians own to fifty casualties, including a dozen killed at Derna, where fighting continued all day. The Italians advanced on the morning of the 26th instant and occupied two outlying forts near Tripoli. Fighting lasted all day and resulted in a decisive Italian victory. The Turks were driven back.

Abdul Hamid's jewels will be sold by auction in Paris next week. The proceeds of the sale will be devoted to buying warships and munitions.

Reuter wired from Laheia (Yemen) on 22nd November:—Italian cruisers are actually patrolling the coast in search of the Turkish Red Sea flotilla. The *Visturnum* yesterday, made a demonstration off the Island of Kamarin sailing 6,000 pilgrims who are quarantined there on route for Mecca.

Reuter wired from Rome:—Official despatches dealing with Sunday's fighting in Tripoli indicate that the Italians re-occupied the original lines. The despatches are full of eulogies of the bravery and firmness of the troops. They state that it is impossible yet to ascertain the losses in the fighting which was protracted and desperate. The despatches say, however, that they were certainly slight compared with the losses of the Turks. The Italians were compelled to gain their ground, garden by garden, and house by house. Finally the Turkish trenches at Henni Meiri were stormed after a dash across the open, though they were vigorously defended and a desperate hand-to-hand fighting took place.

Sir Edward Grey in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on Anglo-German relations stated he had no information which could prove or disprove reports of atrocities in Tripoli. Government adhered to the policy of non-intervention.

The following communication from the Government has been received by the President, Indian Red Crescent Society:—

With reference to your telegram, dated the 2nd October 1911, to the address of the Government of India, Home Department, praying for the intervention of the British Government in connection with the Turko-Italian War, I am directed to inform you that His Majesty's Government regret that they do not find the present moment opportune for the purpose.

In order to deter sniping, a party of Italians from Benghazi surprised a body of Arabs and engaged them. A fierce and prolonged fighting resulted, the Arabs eventually being almost wiped out. The Italian casualties were 12 killed and 30 wounded.

ITALIAN warships are bombarding Mocha Fort at Sheikh Said.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, November 7.

THE outposts have been advanced to the fort at Sidi Shabab. Gunboats cleared the way.

[This advance eastward along the seafront is the first move in a re-establishment of the lines which the Italians occupied before the fighting on 26th October, and probably marks the intention of General Frugoni to drive the Turks and Arabs completely out of the oasis. The fort at Sidi Shabab is also known as the Hamidieh fort.]

Malta, November 7.

The *Bisagno* which has arrived here from Tripoli, brings news that provisions are scarce in the town, owing to the wide zone outside it which has been declared impassable by the Italians for strategical purposes and to the want of means for landing provisions. The *Bisagno* was obliged to bring back to Malta the greater part of the provisions she carried. The Ellerman steamship *Ilahan*, which took 230 tons of hay, was able to land only 40. Until yesterday the price of foodstuffs was exorbitant. Eggs, when found, cost 3d. each; British subjects are in great straits, and the Arabs are famished. Those who have withdrawn into Tripoli are huddled in mosques and stabling yards, which are now centres of cholera. The death-roll is heavy, chiefly owing to the debility of the patients. The passengers on board the *Bisagno* came to Malta owing to the prevalence of cholera in Tripoli, and to the fear of its extension.

When the *Bisagno* arrived at Tripoli on Sunday afternoon with 150 marine infantry and provisions for the troops a Turkish shell nearly struck her. The Turkish infantry, extended on the surrounding hills and covered by the guns, kept up a hot fire on Shara Shat. Some shells fell in the town, one striking the Military Club. Subsequently the Turkish fire was subdued. On Monday the Italians advanced against the Turks, notwithstanding a heavy fire.

The troops in Cyrenaica are reported to have begun an advance in two columns.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, November 3.

Both on Wednesday evening and Thursday morning, fire was opened on the Italian advance posts by Turkish artillery on the southern front at Am Zara at a distance of about 3,000 yards. No damage was done on the Italian side and the Turkish cannon were silenced by the return fire from the warships.

To-day complete quiet is reported down the whole line.

Rome, November 5.

Yesterday another determined attack was made on the Italian outposts near Shara Shat by some 170 Turks and Arabs, preceded by fire from the Turkish artillery. After the engagement, which lasted all day, the Turks retreated with the loss, it is believed, of 30 men. The Italian casualties were one killed and a few slightly wounded.

Rome, November 6.

Firing was proceeding practically all day yesterday at Tripoli. The Turkish artillery opened upon the Italian positions in the morning and the fighting lasted until nightfall. A despatch from Tripoli says—

"At 7 o'clock in the morning the enemy's artillery opposite Sidi Mesri opened upon our positions from a point near Fornaci. Our artillery, with the assistance of Captain Moizo in his aeroplane, silenced the Turkish battery. In the afternoon the enemy's artillery fire was directed on another portion of the Italian line, but still on the eastern side of our position. Shortly afterwards the usual attack upon our left was begun, and continued with only slight intervals up till 9 o'clock at night. The enemy had taken up a position in a house fronting our line from which they were dislodged by the 11th and 12th companies of Grenadiers, supported by a section of mountain artillery which completely destroyed the house. In all the small engagements of the last few days the Turkish regulars have begun to make an appearance, the Arabs having protested against their remaining in the rear while they (the Arabs) were driven on to death. Yesterday a party of Arabs pillaged a small caravan of provisions which was being sent to the Arabs, who tried to recover it and punish the marauders; but the Arabs rebelled and showed their determination to defend their booty by force of arms, with the result that the Turks were obliged to come to terms so as to get even a part of the goods.

"General Bricciola telegraphs from Bengasi that he has placed the town and other places occupied by his division in a state of defence. He adds that in consequence of the success of our troops

in the small fights of the last few days the Bedouin raiders have withdrawn and our authority extends to the foot of the Barka plateau. Information from the plateau states that the Turks have taken refuge at El Obiar with a few guns. The tribes in the Bengazi plain are showing themselves well disposed towards us. At Derna and Tobruk the situation is unchanged.

THE NEW COMMANDERS.

"General Frugoni and General de Chaurand have arrived at Tripoli. General Frugoni has taken over the command of the First Army Corps. General Caneva retains his civil functions and the general command of the whole army of occupation. General Pecori Giraldi retains the command of the 1st Division of the First Army Corps and General de Chaurand has assumed the command of the 2nd Division.

"Reinforcements of men and munitions continue to arrive. The spirit of the troops is excellent. The town is resuming its normal aspect. In accordance with a decree of the Governor, commercial and civil courts were re-established yesterday." (*Reuter.*)

Rome, November 8

The advance made on Monday by the Italian troops seems to have been attended by complete success. The occupation of the Hamidieh fort, together with the extension eastwards of the Italian line, should protect the east front from further harassing attacks on the part of the Turks. The 63rd Regiment, which particularly distinguished itself in Monday's operations, was again in action yesterday while engaged in a reconnaissance from Hamidieh to Shara Shat. Fighting lasted for about an hour. The Italians were then reinforced by artillery and the enemy drew off, leaving some 60 dead on the ground. The Italian casualties were: light—15 wounded.

The *Times* received the following statement from the Italian Embassy:—

In the statement issued by the Ottoman Embassy this morning it is said that:—"The Italian Premier's statement cannot be considered eulogious of the conduct of the Bersaglieri because it can be interpreted as a denial that the gallant Bersaglieri fought to death." These false assertions against the incontestable bravery of the Italian Bersaglieri forces the Italian Ambassador, under his own responsibility, to depart from the attitude of reserve which he has observed to the present and to protest with deepest indignation and greatest energy against this attempt, contrary to all the rules of international courtesy, to deceive the public of a neutral country by insulting insinuations against the honour of soldiers who, treacherously surprised, fell heroically for their King and their country, maintaining high and intact their historical reputation.

Rome, November 5.

A Royal Decree is published to-day, bearing the same date, in which King Victor Emmanuel declares that, in virtue of Article 5 of the Constitution, and on the advice of the Premier, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Council of Ministers, he proclaims Tripolitania and Cyrenaica under the full and entire sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy. A future law will prescribe definitely the methods of administration of those regions, and, until such a law has been promulgated, the administration will be provided for by Royal Decrees. The Decree of to-day will be presented to Parliament for legal ratification. This Decree of annexation has been notified by the Marquis di San Giuliano to the Italian representatives abroad in a telegram which also gives reasons for its proclamation. The success of the Italian arms, he says, and the overwhelming preponderance of the Italian forces in Tripolitania make all further resistance on the part of Turkey vain and ineffectual. The formal annexation of the country, by removing any uncertainty from the minds of its inhabitants as to the issue of the war, will spare future useless bloodshed and will be the best solution of the present situation in the interests of Turkey and of the rest of Europe, as well as of Italy. Peace founded on this basis, it is added, will at the same time remove all cause of dissension between Italy and Turkey and will enable Italy to follow more easily her policy of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula, of which maintenance the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire is an essential condition. When once Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have ceased to form part of that Empire, Italy will be disposed to consider in a liberal spirit of conciliation the best and most honourable means for Turkey towards regulating the consequences of facts which are now irrevocable. But Italy will not be able to follow out her proposals of conciliation if Turkey obstinately persists in prolonging a useless war. She trusts, therefore, that the assistance of the Great Powers may be given in inducing Turkey to take without delay those prudent decisions which are best both for her own interests and those of the civilized world.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, November 3.

The decision of the Porte to favour the prolongation for one year of the provisional Commercial Convention between Turkey

and Bulgaria is regarded as a further proof of the good relations now prevailing between Sofia and Constantinople.

November 5.

An official statement has been published to the effect that the Ottoman troops and Arabs attacked Homs on 28th October, but were obliged to desist owing to the fire of the Italian warships. The Turks had seven killed and 40 wounded.

The War Office announces that 105 Italians were killed.

Constantinople, November 8.

IN THE Turkish Chamber this morning a question was asked regarding the alleged Italian atrocities in Tripoli, and the Foreign Minister, Assim Bey, said that the Porte had addressed a protest to the States signatory of The Hague Convention, and added that he believed the inhuman proceedings had now ceased. The Minister said he desired to express his thanks to the foreign correspondents in Tripoli for having exposed the doings of the Italians. —(*Reuter.*)

The *Times* was authoritatively informed that the Ottoman Government has lodged an official protest with the Powers, signatories of the Convention of the second Conference of The Hague, 1907, against the execution of Arabs in Tripoli.

This protest is based on the Convention concerning the laws and customs of war on land signed by all the Powers, including Italy, in 1907. The particular paragraph in support of the protest says:—

The inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and governance of the principles of the law of nations, derived from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of the public conscience.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Jerusalem, October 22.

It has been said that patriotism in Turkey since the establishment of the Constitution has taken on many strange aspects, and the saying is certainly a true one as far as this part of the Empire is concerned. For since the Revolution of 1908 we have been daily witnesses of enthusiastic and patriotic demonstrations on the part of the people. We cannot forget the proclamation of the Austrian boycott or the enthusiastic reception of the Committee's appeal for the Turkish fleet. And so it is now. Subscriptions have been raised everywhere for aiding in the war with Italy, and we read with admiration in the pages of the local papers how much each village has contributed to the general fund.

This is something new in Turkey, and the natives are evincing a love for their country that has been hitherto dormant. I have heard it said by many, both Christians and Muhammadans, that they would be greatly pleased should any of the Powers occupy this country; but their deeds contradict their words. It must not be imagined that the subscriptions are forced from the people by the Government officials, as was the case in the old régime. They are all quite voluntary.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, 3rd November.

Although news received to-day leaves no doubt that the Italians have been guilty of hideous severity in Tripoli, it redounds greatly to the honour of the Ottoman army that the Minister of War has issued orders to the Tripoli garrison forbidding reprisals on prisoners.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE'S" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople.

Of the extreme ardour of faith with which the Muhammadans fight in their present Holy War against the Italians the following incident will give a fair idea:—News of it has just reached Constantinople, and produces among the Islam population here indescribable enthusiasm.

One hundred and fifty warriors of the tribe of Ourfilah made a desperate dash upon an Italian vanguard. They were successfully repulsed by the latter, whose numbers were far superior. Determined not to yield, the Ourfilah men firmly bound their feet one to another, and swore to hold out as long as the provision of their cartridges lasted. The fight ended in a defeat of the Italians. The Moslem commander of the brave 150 had then to cut their fetters.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, November 5.

AT A Socialist mass meeting which was held today in order to protest against the Italian action in Tripoli speeches were delivered by M. Jaures, M. Vandervelde, the leader of the Belgian Socialist Party, and other speakers, and a resolution was adopted condemning the alleged methods of repression employed against the Arabs.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, November 8.

AN OFFICIAL Turkish Red Crescent Mission arrived at Marseilles yesterday on its way to Tripoli. Since the Turkish Government has

subscribed to the Geneva Convention equally with Italy the Turkish Mission might have proceeded straight to Tripoli by sea, but for fear of complications the Turkish Government preferred to ask leave of the French Government for the Mission to enter Tripoli from the Tunisian frontier. This leave has been accorded and the Red Crescent Mission is proceeding to Tunis.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, November 8.

SERIOUS disturbances have taken place in the streets of Tunis. In order to save an Arab cemetery from desecration the Municipal Council of Tunis had decided to draw up title deeds for the cemetery and mark out its boundaries. The project met with strong opposition from the Arabs and was accordingly dropped. The presence at the cemetery yesterday morning of the Sheik El Medena, President of the Municipal Council, and of a surveyor was misinterpreted by the Arabs to mean that the scheme had been revived, and stones were thrown at them. Policemen came up and were in their turn attacked with clubs and revolvers. A sergeant was killed and two inspectors and five policemen were injured. A violent affray ensued which was quelled by the approach of troops, who fired into the air. The rioting broke out again later in different parts of the town and was directed mainly against Italians, of whom four were killed and five wounded. In addition to the police sergeant, a Maltese and a French postman who was taken for an Italian were killed. Ten Arabs were killed and two wounded.

A later telegram announces that there was a fresh outbreak this morning between Arabs and Italians. Two of the latter and one of the former were killed. By order of the Bey all the native newspapers have been suspended except the *Zoahra*.

("AL-BALAGH," Beirut.)

CONSTANTINOPLE papers show that a heavy battle took place at Bengazi. The Arabs attacked the Italians from one side and the Turks from the other. The attack resulted in the defeat of the Italians, who left behind 2,200 in killed and wounded.

Thirty thousand Arabs under Turkish officers have reached Tripoli.

Three Italian quick-firing guns fell into the hands of the Turks in an unimportant engagement.

A heavy battle took place at Tripoli between the 30th and 31st October. Arabs and Turks in great numbers surrounded the Italian forces, and the latter were driven back towards the sea. The retreat was, however, cut off from the rear, and the Italians took refuge in houses. The Turk soldiers killed them off one by one. The Italian losses were enormous.

The Sheikh of the Senussis has resolved to spend his millions, deposited in the banks of Cairo and other big cities, in the prosecution of the war.

A Red Crescent Society has been founded in Egypt under the patronage of Sheikh Ali Yusuf, Editor of *Al-Muayyad*, with the main object to relieve the wounded. The mother of the Khedive has promised to give a monthly contribution of £15,000 for four months in this work of charity.

Al-Muayyad received a second telegram on the 29th October, to the effect that on the occasion of the heavy storm and rain, when the guns of the Italian fleet were rendered ineffective, the Turks delivered a formidable attack and occupied three forts in Tripoli.

Al-Jaridah (Cairo) received a telegraphic information on the 30th October that the Turks and Arabs won back the city of Tripoli. Seven thousand Italians were taken prisoners. Hundreds of them were killed and wounded. Enormous quantities of supplies and ammunition fell into the hands of the Turks. According to a later information, the Italian Commander-in-Chief was also taken prisoner. One hundred and twenty guns and countless rifles were left behind by the Italians. Nine thousand Italian soldiers surrendered in a wretched condition.

The following news have been taken from *Al-Haqiqat*, *Al-Akram*, *Al-Balagh*, *Al-Itihad*, and *Al-Islami*, all of which have published them without exception:—

1. In the fighting between 23rd and 27th October, 6,000 Italians were killed and 7,000 taken prisoners. Seventy-five guns and 17,000 rifles fell into Turkish hands.

2. Fifteen thousand volunteers have already reached Tripoli from Egypt, and an equal number is preparing to go. They are under the leadership of Ibrahim Pasha.

3. The Sheikh of the Senussis wrote to the Sultan of Darfour for help, who has despatched 16,000 troops. About the same number of the Senussis has already reached Tripoli. These men are being taught and drilled by the Turkish officers.

4. Three hundred camel loads of materials for the wounded has been despatched from Egypt.

5. The Sheikh of the Senussis has 200,000 animals and has intimated his intention to send rations and supplies for his own forces.

6. The Ottoman flag has been re-hoisted in Tripoli. The Arabs on the occasion of the attack had sworn that they would offer their Jumna prayers in the Tripoli Mosque.

7. The Turks have sent 15,000 troops for the defence of the Aegean Islands, and have laid destructive mines in the sea.

8. The Turks have ample supplies, which are pouring in from every direction.

9. Twenty thousand Arabs assembled at Hodeidah. Izzat Pasha was also present. The Arabs asked for permission to go as volunteers to Tripoli. Izzat Pasha was deeply affected and thanked them with tears in his eyes. He has submitted their petition to the Porte.

10. Amir Bin Masood of Nejd has offered the services of the young men of his tribe. The Holy War has been preached throughout Africa and volunteers in thousands are ready to take part in the war.

Feeling in India.

URDU and Bengali placards were seen all over Calcutta for the last few days asking the Moslems to gather on the Federation Hall ground at 2 P.M. on Saturday last to offer prayers to God for the good of the Sultan and it was given out in the Urdu press that funds would be collected for the Turks in the meeting. From 1 P.M. Moslems wended their way to the Federation Hall ground on the Upper Circular Road in spite of a persistent drizzle and threatening weather. Only a short appeal for funds to succour the distressed Moslems in Tripoli was made and there were no other speeches. Money was collected in a number of wooden chests placed all over the ground and every Moslem present paid his quota.

A very largely attended public meeting of Muhammadans was held under the auspices of the Central Muhammadan Association of Mysore on the night of the 27th November in Lal Bagh, Bangalore, at which long speeches were made sympathising with Turkey, soliciting help for her in her present plight and inviting subscriptions in aid of the fund for sufferers by the war. Rs. 2,000 was promised on the spot.

Feeling in Afghanistan.

A FRONTIER correspondent states that the Amir has sanctioned the opening of subscription lists in aid of the sick and wounded Turkish soldiers in Tripoli. An officer in the Afghan army is circulating an appeal among the officials, military officers, and well-to-do classes in Kabul.

Feeling in Egypt.

(FROM "EGYPT")

A GENERAL meeting of the Ottoman War Fund Committee was held on 13th October at Cairo, under the presidency of Prince Omar Pasha Toussoun. Sheikh Ali Yousef and Sheikh Shawish were amongst the speakers, and they were entrusted with the task of despatching telegrams asking the help of England and Russia. The fund collected by the Alexandria War Fund Committee amounted at that date to £8,047. It is said now to have reached £50,000.

A number of notables of Yemen residing in Cairo held a meeting, according to the *Egyptian Gazette* which was attended also by many Egyptians, and at which a sum of £640 was collected in aid of Turkey and remitted by telegraph to the War Minister at Constantinople.

The journal *Mur-al-Fatat* was suppressed on the 5th October by the Government. It had published an article in which it accused the latter, in connection with the war, of violating the Firmans which bind Egypt to the Ottoman Empire in declaring Egypt's neutrality. The Ministers decided on suppression, and the *mamur* of the district in which *Mur-al-Fatat* is published received the order to execute the decree, which was accordingly done.

The *Wulan* the Coptic journal, in an article on the Turkish-Italian War, denies that the latter has any religious significance. "The Copts know perfectly," it says, "that they have no interest whatever in the victory of Italy or the defeat of Turkey. They know also, that Italy has declared this war only for her own interest and in the interest of her subjects, and not to serve the Christian religion or the Christian majority of her population. If the million of Mussalmans in Tripoli were Christian Copts they would experience the same treatment from Italy. . . . It is false, then, to say that the Copts share the sentiments of the Italians, for the contrary is the case. If the Copts wish to exhibit their feelings in the present war it is rather with Turkey that they would range themselves, not because she is the suzerain power—the Copts hate all foreign suzerainty—but because she is the power whose rights have been violated and who is attacked."

What is Wrong with England?

By JAMES DOUGLAS.

WHAT is wrong with England? For weeks I have been waiting to see her anger flash like fire against the Italian adventure in Tripoli, but I have waited in vain. Her soul seems to be dead. There does not appear to be a spark of moral indignation in her statesmen. She is sunk in the cold apathy which paralyses a selfish Europe. Her great men are dumb. Most of her newspapers are silent. With folded hands England averts her gaze from the death-agony of the Arabs, whose sole crime is that they love their sands and their palm-trees. Her voice does not thunder against this shame of shame. She skulks like an accomplice. She covers like an accessory. What is wrong with England?

"Terrible retribution . . . indiscriminate slaughter . . . human abattoirs . . . the floodgates of battle were opened . . . indiscriminate carnage . . . awful retribution . . . One hardly knows to what limits the elasticity of the phrase 'military exigencies' will be stretched in the twentieth century." These are the words of the *Times* correspondent. He is no rhetorician. He is not a Pro-Turk. He does his best to palliate these horrors on the ground of necessity, but he declares that he "cannot commend the ruthless measures employed." It is said that 4,000 men, women and children were butchered by the Italians in three days. "The memory of this awful retribution," says the *Times* correspondent, "will take long to live down." It will never be lived down. It will brand Italy with indelible and everlasting shame. It will fill her lovers with the hate of hate and the scorn of scorn. Italian Irredenta is now a phrase charged with the sourest irony. Italy, indeed, is unredeemed and irredeemable!

But the blood of the Arabs defiles the whole map of Europe. It is not Italy alone that is smeared with the innocent blood. The foul red blotch is on all the Christian Powers. Not one of them is clean. England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria—they are all stricken with blood guiltiness. The blood of the Arabs is on the lintels of every Chancellery. Downing Street reeks with it. It congeals on the Quai d'Orsay. It streams along the Wilhelmstrasse. It trickles over the Ballplatz. It drips from the Quirinal. It reddens the snows of Petersburg. Yes Europe, Christian Europe, is a den of cowardly murderers, all in league with each other, and there is not a statesman who has the courage to call upon the conscience of his fellows.

What England needs and what Europe needs at this hour is a Gladstone, but neither in England nor in Europe is there a voice sonorous and stern enough to terrify the murderer, and their moral accomplices with threats of human wrath. Tolstoy is dead, and there is no moral giant left to prophesy against these satanic orgies and to galvanise the conscience of Christendom into life. So low have we sunk that even our professional moralists are either cynically callous, like Mr. Bernard Shaw, or savagely brutal, like Mr. Chesterton. I have never read anything that wounded me more deeply than Mr. Chesterton's awful ode in praise of the Italian aggression. It shook my faith in the reality of Christianity to behold a Christian poet foaming in a frenzy of battle.

If the Italians had flung themselves upon Turkey in order to avenge the wrongs of a Christian race, if they had dared to meet the Turks face to face like men, one might have admired their courage without despising their hypocrisy. But the Arabs of Tripoli are not Christians. They are sons of Islam. To Mr. Chesterton the Arabs and the Turks are beasts fit only for the shambles. The fact that they worship in a mosque and not in a cathedral is, in his eyes, a sin that sanctifies their slaughter like sheep. The Crescent is beyond the pale of pity and justice. The Cross can do no wrong. He eulogises lyrically over the slaughter of the infidel, not because the infidel has done wrong, but wholly and solely because he is an infidel. Rather than be a Christian with Mr. Chesterton in Fleet Street I would be a Turk or an Arab with Enver Bey in Tripoli.

But Mr. Chesterton's apostasy is not viler than the apostasy of his countrymen. It is to me a blistering abomination that the Liberal party have played the part of Pontius Pilate in this new Calvary on which the Son of Man is crucified afresh and put to open shame. It was a Conservative journal, the *Daily Graphic*, that rebuked Sir Edward Grey for refusing to speak the word that would have stopped the Italian battleships and spiked the Italian guns. And let it be remembered that the man who dared to lash our Foreign Minister with the scourge of duty is a Jew. Mr. Lucien Wolf is not a Christian, but I say his example ought to shame Mr. Chesterton. Our poltroons defend the passivity of Sir Edward Grey by urging the peril of war. Why should a Grey be afraid to utter the word which was uttered by a Granville and a Salisbury when the naval might of England was not a tithe of what it is to-day?

Again, why should we have the pluck to risk war over Morocco and Agadir and not over Tripoli? In the one case, our cause was selfish. In the other, it was selfless. In the one case, it divided Europe. In the other case, it would have united Europe. For in defence of Tripoli we could have appealed to solemn treaties signed by all the Powers, signed even by Italy herself. We could have mobilised

the whole conscience of the world against an outrage on the Hague Tribunal and the very elements of international law. Against such an appeal all the pirate Powers would have been powerless. With right and truth and humanity behind their guns, our battleships could have saved Europe from a black orgy of base brutality that has no parallel within the memory of man. I say nothing of our interests, though here they march with our duties to God and man.

The Italian Censorship, lies like a leprous pall over the Arab corpses, clad in white raiment, that taint the air in Tripoli. But is there only an Italian Censorship? Is there not an English Censorship? Is not the House of Commons gagged as no House of Commons in our annals has ever been gagged? Not a whisper breaks the evil silence which reigns in Westminster. All the factions are leagued together in a league of hell. The Ministerial benches are thronged with recreants. The Labour benches are upholstered with cowards. The Opposition is mute. Even the Irish are muzzled. Why? Because we have not in England a statesman big enough to set the nation on fire. The only man who has risen to the crisis is Mr. Stead. He it was who roused the North of England in 1876, and I predict that he will rouse England again, if England has in her the fierce soul she had of old. Once England is roused, Grey must act or Grey must go.

—London Opinion.

Why the Turks Retreated.

(By FRANCIS McCULLAGH.)

Tripoli, October 20.

THESE Italian soldiers know little of the task to which they have set their hands. Boy Scouts would know more of scouting. Cockney trippers would know more of war. What endless damage the Turks could have inflicted on them! Hidden behind walls and houses and clumps of earth, concealed in ravines and narrow lanes, they could have waited for the Italian sailors to land, and could have picked off great numbers of them as they did so. There are only 1,000 blue-jackets in all against 10,000 Turks and Arabs, and, once the blue-jackets had entered the town, the fleet could not well continue to bombard it.

That the Turks retreated, practically without firing a shot, is due, not to their inefficiency but to their human pity. It was Rome, which, in her mad greed, was inhumane. It was Stamboul which was merciful. This statement may seem incredible, but I have it on the best authority. Like a Byronic hero, the Tripolitan Turk has left a name at which the world grows pale, a name linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes. The one virtue came at the last moment, but it was nevertheless a virtue. Two of the Consuls went by night to the citadel and implored the Turkish leader to leave quietly for the sake of women and children, and thus spare the town of the horrors of a prolonged bombardment. The Ottoman General was grimly determined, however, to dispute every inch of ground and to perish with his men beneath the mines of Tripoli. In this desperate resolve he was supported by all his officers, 11 of whom were present at this conference. Any one who knows the Turkish soldier, any one who has read the heroic story of Plema and Silistria, will readily admit the Osmanli soldiers were quite capable of this heroism. The Consuls recognized with horror that they stood in the presence of men who had already passed through the terrors which guard the gate of death, and keep most of us as far as we can get from that awful portal. They begged the Ottoman leader to change his mind. They pointed out how thousands of innocent lives would inevitably be sacrificed if he did not do so. One of the Turkish soldiers replied bitterly: "You always speak of humanity when Christian lives are in danger. When Turkish lives are in peril you never use the word."

The discussion continued all night, finally when roundly accused of sheltering himself behind women and children, the Turkish General gave way, and promised to leave after little more than a formal protest against the Italian landing. He burst into bitter tears as he gave this undertaking, and remarked that the Italians would certainly impute his action to cowardice. This is exactly what these chivalrous foes have done. I was talking the other day to a young officer at the front, who loudly asserted that the Turks had fled like mad men when they heard the big guns of the warships. It was an ungenerous remark for any soldier to make of a brave opponent, and it was an untrue remark.

C. and M. Gazelle.

Parliament and the War.

"This is pretty stiff language for leaders to apply to their followers," writes Mr. Massingham, in a whiff of indignation caused by the replies of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith to questions in the House of Commons about the war. "I do not recall any position on which Gladstone used such a tone or such terms, and with all respect to the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, they hardly

possess the moral ascendancy over their party which that great leader claimed." Sir Edward Grey, he continues, has long ceased to satisfy Liberalism. He has "studiously avoided all debate, all statement, all information," and for the reason that "he dared not speak, that there was too much to conceal, which, if put to the verdict even of a singularly loyal party, would have provoked division and resentment."

Mr. Harold Spender is equally angry. "The massacre of Tripoli is likely to be followed by the massacre of the private member." The machinery of question and answer is, he points out, the solitary remaining method by which an emergency question can be raised in the House of Commons. And how do the Government treat this last privilege of the private member? A private member asks a question—a question often clumsy in form and perhaps rough in expression, but always voicing a public sentiment. The Minister rises, deprecates the question, hints at the danger of international peace, draws a volley of cheers, and—the private member is crushed flat. Sometimes he puts up some kind of fight. But he is met by a combination of anger from both Liberals and Tories above the gangway which soon drives him from the unequal combat. Such a state of affairs, no doubt, removes a great many awkward corners. The remarkable thing is that it is only possible when a Liberal Government is in power. For if the Tories were in office the very same men who are now rebuking the questioners would be the first to ask the questions."

A Tragedy of the War.

THE war between Italy and Turkey has led to a tragedy of an unusual nature. In St Petersburg an Ottoman girl Tatwa Komiko was receiving her education. As soon as hostilities began the young lady prepared to return to her country, but as funds were wanting, her departure was delayed. Then came the announcement of the fall of Tripoli, with the result that the girl was in a state of despair, she seemed to think that her country would never recover itself. She said she could never survive the disaster, and her friends kept her under close surveillance. The girl, however, managed to evade her guardians and threw herself out of a window, just before her death she regained consciousness and was able to murmur, "I cannot survive my country's misfortune. I wish to die."

Italian Atrocities.

WITH regard to the charges of the killing of Arabs by Italians at Tripoli, the following signed statement is printed by the *Daily Mail*—

Tripoli, October 28.

Yesterday, 27th October, accompanied by Mr. Davis of the *Morning Post* and Mr. Grant of the *Daily Mirror*, I rode out to the Italian advanced posts to inspect the line and to call on an officer in the Bersaglieri. We took the main road past the cavalry barracks which brings you out into the desert a little to the south-east of the Humeliana waterworks. I have often ridden over this road quite unaccompanied ever since the Italian occupation of Tripoli, and during these rides I have passed a great number of Arab men, women, and children who live in the oasis to the south of the town. On one occasion when it was almost dark I was lost when returning from the outposts and an old Arab woman came out of her house and showed me the road of her own accord.

During my frequent excursions throughout all parts of the oasis I never saw an armed Arab and never met one who showed me the slightest hostility or incivility. Ever since the occupation of the town this road has been the main line of communication with the outposts on the fringe of the desert and immense numbers of soldiers pass and repass there every day. The Arabs always seemed to be on excellent terms with the troops and did a lively trade in dates, prickly pears, nuts, sweets, tobacco, beer, etc. I never saw or heard of any trouble or disorder. I quote these facts to show the state of affairs which existed in Tripoli previous to the outbreak of 23rd October.

The causes which brought about the deplorable event I am about to relate I shall not deal with here, because they are available from many sources, but in approximating the amount of blame which must attach to the Italian military authorities it is only fair to give them the fullest consideration.

BOYS SHOT WITHOUT TRIAL.

On leaving the town the first object which met our eyes was a group of from 50 to 70 men and boys who had been caught in the town on the previous day or on 25th October and shot without trial of any sort. The majority of them were caught without arms and were executed under a general order issued by the Governor-General, Carlo Caneva, to exterminate all Arabs found in Tripoli or in the oasis. They had been led to this spot with their hands tied behind their backs and shot down indiscriminately. This mass of corpses

lying in all attitudes in a solid mass piled on one another could not have covered a space greater than 15 yards wide to 5 deep. I was not present when this batch were shot, but it was witnessed by Mr. McCullagh, of the *New York World*, and by other correspondents, whose testimony is irrefutable as to the brutal manner in which it was carried out. However, I do not intend to give the details here as I am only dealing with those cases which come under my own observation.

The next object which struck our eyes was the body of a very old man lying in the centre of the road. From the attitude in which he lay he had evidently been shot while running or walking up the road. Every few yards we came across fresh corpses lying in every conceivable attitude just where they had been shot down, but not all had been killed in this manner, for some bore evident traces of having been bayoneted or clubbed to death with the butt-ends of rifles. Many had evidently only been wounded and had crawled to the side of the road, there to die.

The road from the town to the desert, which had formerly been alive with Arabs—men, women, and children—was now completely deserted except for the dead. The houses on either side had been broken into and their occupants murdered therein or taken outside and shot. In the side tracks running off from the main road were many bodies, some lying alone, others in small groups, and in one spot lay two Jews who had shared the fate of almost all the inhabitants of the outlying gardens and houses.

During our whole progress over a distance of two miles we never saw a single living Arab—man, woman, or child. Lying just outside the outpost line was another group of about fifty men and boys who had evidently been taken out there on the previous day and shot en masse. Several of them had been bayoneted or slashed with swords, and one man had his head completely smashed in—a wound which could only have been inflicted by the butt-end of a rifle.

"POT SHOTS" AT THE INNOCENT.

Then we rode on out to the lines of the Bersaglieri, who were holding a position known as a fort, but we did not stay there long, because the troops had received orders to evacuate their position and to take up another closer to the town. The fort was thus abandoned and blown up. At the same time another position, a large white building known, I think, as the Agricultural College, was abandoned by the Italians. It had been held ever since the occupation of Tripoli, and there were several Arabs who stayed there with the troops fetching them water or grazing goats in the desert just beyond, returning to the lines at nightfall. I have also frequently seen a number of children round this building.

Now, these men could not have been guilty of an attack on the Italians, because they had been living under their observation ever since the occupation, and had they been guilty they should have been shot on the 23rd, the day of the outbreak in the town, and should certainly not have been allowed to roam in and out perfectly free for four days. When the troops evacuated the position one of these Arabs followed them, evidently intending to accompany them into the town for safety. Suddenly, when he was only about thirty yards away, about a dozen soldiers turned round and commenced to take pot shots at him. He attempted to run for shelter behind one of the evacuated entrenchments, but he was evidently wounded, for he could only walk. Then one of the soldiers had another shot, and he fell. They closed in on him, but he was evidently dead, for there was no further firing. This I will call for reference "Case No. 1."

Case No. 2 was that of another very old Arab. He had been sitting most of the afternoon up against the wall of the college and saw what passed. He made no effort to escape, and the soldiers went back and shot him in like manner from a considerable distance as he sat against the wall with his head bowed as if too weary of life or apathetic to survive the massacre of his friends and relatives. Then we rode past the mass of bodies lying just in front of the trenches. A party was at work digging a trench in which to bury them. Soldiers and sailors and some Italian journalists were standing round. There was talking and laughing and photographs were being taken. Then we once more took the same road past the cavalry barracks leading to the town.

WOUNDED LEFT TO DIE.

Case No. 3.—Suddenly we heard a shot and saw a figure emerge from a house and apparently fall in the middle of the road about two hundred yards ahead of us. Mr. Grant said to me: "Look, I believe there is a soldier or an Arab lying down to take a shot at us." I replied: "No, I don't think so, I don't know what it is, but I certainly saw it move." Then we rode up and we saw an Arab cloak lying in the road out of which had crawled a young Arab to a cottage to the right of the road. He was lying by the door and was bleeding profusely and near death, so it seemed to me. Hearing our approach, he had evidently tried to crawl for shelter.

Just then an Arab woman, doubtless his wife, came running from the cottage from which he had first emerged from the left of the road with a bowl in her hand, but when she saw us coming she ran in again. We could do nothing, so we passed on wondering who had shot the man, as we had seen no soldiers, but

rounding a bend, we came upon a detachment under an officer. It was they who had taken him from his house and shot him before the eyes of his wife and then left him to die by the roadside.

Cases 4, 5, and 6.—Just as we reached this detachment they met three perfectly harmless-looking Arabs walking up the road, and carrying no weapons. They were clad in clean white robes, and evidently men of high class. It was obvious at a glance that they were not men of the fighting class, but peaceful and well-to-do owners of property in the oasis, and the last men to risk their lives and their property in a futile insurrection. One of them looked about 50 years of age and another about 30, and the third was a youth in his teens, I should judge. But appearances availed them naught. They were seized by order of the officer, and without a word of interrogation or explanation, for the Italians had no interpreter with them, unless one of their own number could speak Arabic, an extremely unlikely contingency, they were taken inside a cottage and shot against the wall not by a regular volley, but by a series of isolated shots.

These are the six instances of men being shot before my eyes on the fourth day after the so-called insurrection.

Although there was no fighting on the afternoon of 27th October, there was continual firing in all parts of the oasis. This was entirely produced by small bodies of soldiers, in many instances without officers, roaming throughout and indiscriminately massacring all whom they met. We must have passed the bodies of over one hundred persons on this one high road, and as similar scenes were enacted throughout the length and breadth of the oasis some estimate of the numbers of innocent men, women, and children, who were butchered doubtless with many who were guilty of attacking the Italian troops in the rear, may be appreciated.

General Caneva's Reply.

In reply to these charges, General Caneva replies as follows in the *Daily Mail* :—

"If any reproach can be brought against us it can only be that we have erred on the side of too much consideration and indulgence towards the natives. A clear demonstration of this may be seen from the commander's orders and declarations, in which our soldiers were specially counselled and advised to treat the Arabs on the friendliest terms and to respect their principles, customs, religion, and their women.

"Since the day of landing the Governor has distributed money, hundreds of tons of corn, oats, and bread to the poor.

"The Arabs were informed by public criers that for all rifles brought by the steamer *Derma* and distributed by the Turks, 10 francs each would be paid for those returned. In fact, 2,000 of the rifles have been returned and paid for by us.

"Hundreds of local labourers were engaged for the work of landing baggage and stores and received generous payment. We even gave back arms to natives for their protection in the country. These natives were allowed to pass in and out through our trenches. The Arab caravans passed unmolested through our lines.

"On 23rd October, the Turks, together with a large number of mounted natives and about 5,000 Arabs, all armed with Mausers, attacked our lines and front in various places. The town Arabs and those of the oasis, suddenly producing more rifles, attacked us at our back. In many instances these attacks were of a most treacherous kind, the Arab workmen and labourers employed by us being the most prominent among the attackers, suddenly throwing down their tools and taking up rifles against us. Arabs, with rifles hidden under their *hagras* (garments) did not hesitate to walk up quietly to within a few yards of our soldiers and then fire on them. Even women concealed behind bushes and trees fired on us.

"In consequence of this treacherous treatment, not only our soldiers in the lines were shot but also the Ambulance Corps, the Field Ambulance, and the Red Cross sick and wounded were treacherously shot at and done to death with daggers.

"Shortly afterwards in the town shots were fired from the roofs and windows on our soldiers, and loud cries were raised in order to excite the population to revolt against the infidels.

"It was therefore necessary and a duty to guarantee at once our safety and the safety of the town. Consequently stringent and severe methods were at once put into force. We decided to shoot every man who fired against us, and all those who still persisted in retaining arms and ammunition in the face of our expressed orders (proclaimed by criers in town and country and printed notices in Arabic published days before) were arrested and taken as prisoners of war to Italy. All citizens were ordered to keep within doors to clear the streets in the event of a general rising and massacre.

"As a further proof of our humane methods it will suffice for me to state that every liberty and facility has been given to newspaper correspondents of all nationalities, who number not fewer than eighty and who were all able personally to witness the above events in every detail. Foreign correspondents, not only Italian, have testified and admired the discipline and kindness extended

to the natives by our soldiers, who have even adopted children abandoned by their parents in the oasis and are maintaining them."

AMBULANCE CORPS SLAUGHTERED.

Italian allegations of Arab barbarity to the wounded occur in a despatch to the *New York Herald*. The writer says :—

"I have seen old men, cripples, and youths skulking at the corners of narrow lanes and ambushed behind shrubbery, firing at the Italian soldiers. Four men attached to the Ambulance Corps were killed near the cavalry barracks by two women who fired from a cottage opposite. Numbers of women have been captured with cartridges concealed about their person.

"I withdrew from a heap of dead bodies a child of twelve years of age. He was seriously wounded, and I took him to hospital. He belonged to a family that had made a barricade out of a heap of ruins. Sheltered behind it, all of them, even the women, had been firing along the Bu Meliana route with the wildest savagery. This terrible nest of assassins, without distinction, was destroyed from a distance by the troops.

"Certainly, the repression was severe, but the Arabs have been guilty of treachery in its most repugnant forms. The Bersaglieri had often given their rations to the very people who on the 23rd sprang upon them. The first to be attacked were the ambulances. The Arabs slew with fiendish cruelty the surgeons and all assistants wearing the Red Cross badge, which was regarded as a sign of the Christian priesthood. All the members of the Rome ambulance fell in this way.

"After stripping the wounded, the Arabs killed them and atrociously mutilated the bodies. It is impossible to describe in a newspaper the fearful sights I have witnessed."

The Rights of the Invaded.

THE butcheries in Tripoli are a terrible business. Far more shocking to my mind, however, is the assumption which seems to underlie all the comments upon them—even the most indignant—that there may be some shadow of justification for them in overpowering military exigency, and that at all events they have the Law of War on their side. This assumption, which even Mr. Trevelyan seems to share, is little less than an atrocity in itself, and it ought not to be allowed to pass without protest. Civilised pugnacity is happily not quite so bad as it is here pictured. If the Italians have done what they are alleged to have done, they have certainly not the law, *quod* law, of civilised warfare on their side. It is true that some of the Great Powers—Russia and Germany, for instance—take the harsher view, but the principle they advocate has never been embodied in Treaty law, and hitherto Italy herself has loyally assisted Great Britain and France in resisting its acceptance.

The story of the diplomatic negotiations on this head may be worth recalling, if only as a corrective to the cynics.

In the old days, when nationalities scarcely existed outside their embodiment in kings and priests, and States were fashioned and wars waged chiefly to serve dynastic or religious interests, the notion that an invaded people had rights of any kind was of the faintest. Wars were generally conceived and conducted for conquest, and hence there was no necessity to assume a distinction between the rights of military occupation and those of annexation. The result was a generally accepted idea that once any portion of a foreign country was invaded and occupied, the inhabitants became *ipso facto* assimilated to the subjects of the invader, and hence had no right of patriotic resistance at all, while even outside the limits of actual occupation non-professional combatants were treated in the same way. This state of things lasted until 1874. Meanwhile some doubts as to the legitimacy of the prevailing theory had arisen, chiefly among the smaller States, and as a consequence of Napoleon's drastic Lombardy decrees and more particularly of the ruthless insistence on the old disabilities of the invaded by Germany during the war of 1870. By way of conciliating the public feeling thus aroused, the Russian Government proposed in 1874 a Conference on the Rules of Military Warfare. At first it was thought that the idea of the Tsar was to help the cause of the patriots and the humanitarians. It soon appeared, however, that his main object was to effect a compromise, which in the balance would strengthen the position of the great military states.

At the Conference, which duly met in Brussels in July 1874, the battle raged round the precise questions raised by the alleged Italian excesses in Tripoli. The Russian and German Governments both proposed to concede the legalisation of the *levée en masse* outside the limits of occupied territory, but within those limits they insisted on the enforcement of the old rule. This notwithstanding that it was acknowledged on all hands that occupation must in its essence be transitory and that it cannot be transformed into annexation by the mere *sic volo* of the occupant. In the original draft convention submitted to the Conference by Baron Jomini, the Russian representative, the claim of the great military states under this head was thus formulated :—

"Individuals belonging to the population of a country, in which the enemy's power is already established, who shall rise in arms against them, may be handed over to justice, and are not regarded as prisoners of war."

With this proposal the smaller States refused to agree, and they were supported by Great Britain, France, and Italy. Attempts at a compromise were made, but they were fruitless, and the upshot was that the proposed clause was dropped.

Although this left the Powers free to apply the old rule in all its primitive ferocity, if they so pleased, it had at any rate the compensating effect of showing that the rule was no longer an uncontested principle of international law. On this head some of the protests at the Conference are worth quoting. Here is what Baron Baude said on behalf of France:—

"Occupation does not constitute the right of possession. As long as a treaty of peace has not ceded an occupied country to the occupier, the inhabitants of the country are by right, if not in fact, subject to the laws which governed them before occupation, and it appears a strong measure to place them, so to speak, beyond the pale of the law. If, therefore, they rise, an armed resistance may be offered to them: if they be vanquished they cannot be treated otherwise than as belligerents."

The Dutch protest, which Lord Derby publicly praised, was not less emphatic:—

"No country can possibly admit that if the population of a *de facto* occupied district rise in arms against the established authority of the invader, they should be subject to the laws of war in force in the occupying army. . . . Holland repudiates the idea of any Government contemplating the delivering over in advance to the justice of the enemy men who from patriotic motives and at their own risk might expose themselves to all the dangers consequent upon a rising. If citizens are to be sacrificed for having attempted to defend their country at the peril of their lives, they need not find inscribed on the post at the which they are about to be shot the article of a treaty signed by their own Government, which had in advance condemned them to death."

In this view Switzerland concurred, her representative refusing to "admit that a population should be handed over as criminals to justice for having taken up arms against the enemy." The Italian protests were less rhetorical, but Baron Blanc took care to reserve the cases not dealt with in the proposed Convention, while it was on the motion of his colleague, Count Lanza, that the Russo-German clause was eventually rejected.

Notwithstanding this important amendment, the Convention, as ultimately adopted, was still calculated to operate very oppressively in favour of big battalions, and on this ground Lord Derby refused to ratify it. It consequently fell to the ground. Lord Derby, in a very striking despatch, reviewed the whole proceedings of the Conference, and emphatically declared himself on the side of the small States on the question of risings in occupied territory. Here is his own summary of British policy on the subject:—

"Above all, Her Majesty's Government refuse to be a party to any agreement, the effect of which would be to facilitate aggressive wars, and to paralyse the patriotic resistance of an invaded people."

The question was not allowed to rest in the unsatisfactory state in which it was left by the Brussels Conference. At the Hague Conference of 1899 it was again taken in hand, and this time the lead was taken by Great Britain on the basis of Lord Derby's statement of policy in 1874. Owing to the continued resistance of the great military states it was not found possible to establish the rights of the invaded in the precise form desired by the smaller States, but a compromise was arrived at which was understood at the time to afford a sufficient guarantee against such punitive excesses as the Italians are alleged to have committed in Tripoli. This was the result of a proposal brought forward by the British delegate, Sir John Ardagh, to add a fresh article to the Chapter "On the Qualifications of Belligerents" (Arts. I. and II.) which for the purposes of the new Convention had been borrowed textually from the abortive Convention of 1874. This article ran as follows:—

"Nothing in this chapter shall be considered as tending to diminish or suppress the right which belongs to the population of an invaded country to patriotically oppose the most energetic resistance to their invaders by every legitimate means."

Sir John Ardagh did not disguise from the Conference that the object of this article was to insure a measure of belligerent right to risings in occupied territories, and in this sense it was discussed. The Conference, however, was as hopelessly divided upon it as the preceding Conference had been on the affirmative proposal of the Russian and German Governments. Ultimately it was agreed that the proposal should be withdrawn, and that in its stead the following paragraph should be inserted in the preamble of the Convention:—

"It has not been possible to agree forthwith on provisions embracing all the circumstances which occur in practice. On the other hand, it could not be intended by the high contracting parties that the cases not provided for should, for want of a written provision, be left to the arbitrary judgment of the military commanders. Until a

more complete code of the laws of war is issued, the high contracting parties think it right to declare that in cases not included in the regulations adopted by them, populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law, as they result from the usages established between civilised nations, from the laws of humanity, and the requirements of the public conscience, they declare that it is in this sense especially that Articles I. and II. of the regulations adopted must be understood

This was accepted by Sir John Ardagh for the double reason that it was better than nothing and because the President stated, with the concurrence of the whole Conference, that the new formula meant precisely the same thing, and was as binding as the British proposal, with the sole difference that it left a certain necessary discretion to the commanders of invading armies in exceptionally hard cases. It should be added that here again the British attitude received in principle the support of the Italian representative and that Count Nigra even suggested the insertion of Sir John Ardagh's proposal in the final protocol as a gloss on the preamble

At the second Hague Conference, when the Convention was revised, no changes were made in the preamble or in the chapters on Belligerency and Occupations so far as the right of patriotic defence was concerned. The law on the subject is consequently still represented by the Ardagh compromise, which virtually admits the legitimacy of risings in occupied territory, and requires that their suppression shall at any rate be regulated by "the laws of humanity and the requirements of the public conscience."

One word in conclusion on the question of reprisals. Assuming that risings in occupied territories are contrary to the Rules of War, are reprisals, as distinct from judicial punishment, legal? This question is important because it appears that in Tripoli there was scarcely any pretence at judicial punishment, the Arabs being shot down without trial or investigation of any kind, and less on account of their alleged misdeeds than as a deterrent to the whole native population. The answer to this question is that reprisals have no sanction in Treaty Law. Russia attempted to secure their recognition in the abortive Convention of 1874, but failed, and since then no effort has been made to legalise them either by the two Hague Conferences or by any other international negotiation. To them, consequently, the preamble of the Conventions of 1899 and 1908 apply, that is to say, that if they are resorted to, it must be in accordance with "the laws of humanity and the requirements of the public conscience." This, at any rate, has hitherto been the view of Italy, who in 1874 cordially supported the Belgian proposal that since the principle of reprisals was "odious," the Russian draft article should be "sacrificed on the altar of humanity." Count Lanza, moreover, expressed the opinion that "fines should constitute the only means formally recognised of punishing violations of the laws and customs of war," and he furthermore stated emphatically on behalf of the Cabinet of Rome that "the violation of the laws of war by one of the parties cannot release the other from its obligations to observe them."

These are irrefragable sentiments, and it remains to be seen how they have been acted upon in Tripoli.

LUCIEN WOLF in *The Nation*

Dr. Dillon on Islam.

THE problem formed by a mixture of Islam and Constitutionalism, of cultured nationalists hungering for equal rights and of an uncultured tribe endeavouring to assimilate them, is insoluble, and as the existence of the Empire depends on its finding the right answer to this Sphinx question, one may well feel apprehensive for the fate of Turkey. The great powers are shaping their respective schemes in view of the various contingencies that may arise. But the main causes of Turkey's ailment lie deeper. I would sum them up as Islam, and all that Islam in the twentieth century involves.

Islam is a theocracy—Government by God in Heaven, represented by His human shadow upon earth, who rules in accordance with the Inspired Word. It is based upon inequality. The true believers are the full fledged citizens, or privileged subjects; the unbelievers are mere steerage passengers in the theocratic ship of State. Moreover, as the word is derived from the sacred writings, it can be applied fully only to the faithful who believe in those writings. The unbelievers have their own Scriptures. Hence, unity can no more exist among the various elements of the population than equality. Zeal for religion is the highest civic virtue conceivable by a true Moslem; but its existence is not reconcilable with religious equality, hardly even with religious toleration. Can these theories be said to harmonise with the doctrines of Constitutionalism? And, to pass from theory to practice, can the feeling of hatred or contempt for the Giaour be effectually suppressed with decanonising the Koran which is its sacred source?

To all those questions there is but one answer, and it is fatal to the theory of a Constitutional Turkey. Fire and water will not coalesce in politics any more easily than in physics. The Synthesis of Contradictories is more difficult to effect than the transmutation of metals.

Indian Mussalmans and the War.

THE situation for this country, it was declared, was exceedingly embarrassing and dangerous on account of the large number of Muhammadans within the Empire. We do not need to be reminded that the King-Emperor counts more Moslems as his subjects than the Sultan of Turkey, but this argument cuts both ways. If they are his faithful loyal subjects it is a contradiction in terms to appeal to the Islamic solidarity as a justification for our interfering in a matter that does not concern us, and which we have always regarded among the things that must some day inevitably happen. But the Muhammadan leaders here and in India exclaim that Italy has declared an unprovoked and unjust war on Turkey, and that if we do not hasten to extricate the Sultan from his difficulty by quarrelling with our excellent friends the Italians, we shall forfeit their esteem. We may reasonably hope that the Indian Muhammadans have more sense than to act so childish. We ourselves have had to wage war against Sunni Mussalmans, and to invade their territory as in Afghanistan. We have several times had to warn the Porte itself that encroachments at Koweit and in the Sinai peninsula would entail our declaring war on Turkey. We are in practical possession of Egypt—an old Turkish possession. We smashed the Khalifa, who was certainly a pillar of Islam. We did all these things without forfeiting the loyalty of India, and yet in comparison with any one of them the Italian descent on Tripoli is a small affair. How could we with any face at all say to Italy, "You are doing a very wicked thing in Tripoli" when we have ourselves done far worse? The Indian Muhammadans must show a little of that good common sense which has been so conspicuously absent at Constantinople.

It will do the Indian Muhammadans no harm to ask them to seriously consider some simple facts. As British fellow-subjects we have a great deal of good feeling towards them, and we have rejoiced at seeing evidence that they were going to devote their attention to educational questions so that they might raise their community socially and intellectually. But we can have no sympathy whatever with pan-Islamism, which would be the gravest possible menace to the British Empire, and we must firmly repel the suggestion that because the Turks are of the same creed as the Indian Muhammadans there is any call on us to go and help them through their troubles, whether our general policy points that way or not. The contrary is nearer the truth, and it might be argued that in expecting us to intervene in an affair which does not primarily concern us these Muhammadan leaders are themselves committing a kind of veiled treason to the British Empire, under which they enjoy so many advantages that their Turk co-religionists do not share.

Let us, however, offer them such consolation as the situation justifies. The loss of Tripoli will not make Turkey any the poorer or weaker. It will close an outlet for wasted force. The Muhammadan population of Tripoli will be just as free to follow their religious exercises under Italian rule as they were under Turkish. They will have the advantage of lighter taxation, and as Italy will stimulate trade and industry there will be more money to pay it. It cannot be doubted that the Tripolitans will be very much the gainers by the Italian annexation, just as has happened in those parts of old Muslim empires which have passed under the sways of England and France. But the Muhammadans are not satisfied with material considerations. They put forward a claim for moral injury. The dignity of the Sultan has been abased, and the descent on Tripoli is represented as the first scene in a drama which is to witness the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the conversion of the faithful Muslims into gangs of wandering Jews.

It is rather difficult to treat this argument seriously. The sixty or seventy million Muslims subject to our rule have revealed no errant inclinations. They have remained with remarkable constancy in the places that knew them. And if there is a plot to expel the Turks from Europe, surely the remonstrances are misdirected when sent to London. Ought they not to be dispatched to Berlin and Vienna? When this crisis springs up in the Near East it will be time enough to discuss and judge the action of this country. At the present moment we are only considering the Tripolitan question, which in itself is a very small affair so far as the Muhammadans are concerned. What we wish the British Muhammadans to remember is that their view of the situation is only one element in the problem, and that for the moment it is not the most important. It has to be taken into account, but we must be allowed to shape our course by considerations nearer home.—Y in the *Forthnightly*

Turkey and Egypt.

THE following passage occurs in Lord Cromer's "Modern Egypt" (vol. II, pp. 264-266), showing the relation in which Egypt stands to Turkey:—"The relations between the Sultan and the Khedive are laid down in a variety of Firmans dating from 1841 to 1897. Of these the most recent is naturally the most important. It was issued to Abbas II, on 27th March 1898. ... The

Khedive cannot abandon to a third party any of the territorial rights of the Sultan. ... Traditional Turkish jealousy of Egypt is shown by the provision that the Egyptian army cannot, under ordinary circumstances, exceed 18,000 men. If, however, Turkey is at war, the Egyptian army may be called upon to fight in the cause of the Sultan, in which case it may be increased according to the requirements of the moment."

Letters to the Press.

To All Friends of Peace.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—“What purpose,” a friend recently said to me, “was served by the two Peace Conferences solemnly held at The Hague, which were attended by delegates from the two hemispheres? What real purpose is served by the Peace Societies of Europe and America, at whose meetings so many good people agree in condemning war and extolling arbitration? To what purpose are prizes awarded every year to those who have done best in the interests of peace? To what purpose the Universal Peace Congress, held annually in one of the capitals of the civilised world? To what purpose so many words and speeches on behalf of peace? What is the good of all this if in case of conflict, even of war, everyone remains silent and indifferent?”

I replied: “We peacemakers, soldiers of peace, have, alas! at our disposal no other weapons but speeches and our pens, which, unfortunately, are so often useless in these cases.”

“That is true,” he answered. “But every soldier neglecting to make use of his arms in case of necessity would be severely judged.”

As a delegate myself at the first Peace Conference, and President and member of several Peace Societies, without wishing to judge or condemn anybody, I humbly submit these questions and reflections to the pacifists of the entire world, hoping that they will find an echo and a satisfactory answer amongst them.

(PRINCE) MIRZA RIZA KHAN.

Danichug, Monaco

A Matter for Inquiry.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION."

SIR,—The following document, in the shape of a letter from the Turkish Prime Minister to M. Emile Vandervelde, appears to have escaped notice in England. But we have surely interest in becoming acquainted with it. I give a translation of it below, in part.—

“In the recent adventure Italy is not the only guilty party, the other Powers are accomplices, since the blow which has been struck was a blow prepared by them. Their representatives take us by the throat and say: ‘First accept the occupation as an accomplished fact, then we shall help you to settle the affair.’ This inconceivable attitude on the part of Europe affects us as much as the loss of Tripoli, if we are to lose it, because it will give rise in the East to suspicion, despair, and disgust. The East will no longer have any faith in civilisation, in the plighted word, in treaties signed by Europe. This contradiction between words and acts is, in the eyes of Orientals, a crime of lese-morality. The Young Turkish party, which aimed so loyally at making Europe liked by the people, to cause the people to adopt European progress and to throw a bridge between the West and the world of Islam, will fail in that effort through Europe’s fault. Now, after the brutal Italian assault, undertaken with the knowledge of the Powers, our internal opponents blame us for having flattered European civilisation for having boasted of the advantages which should have flowed therefrom for us, they have reached the point of declaring that real progress consists in increasing our bayonets and our ships of war, and true patriotism to consist in sacrificing everything to the war budget. This is where Europe has brought us, and especially France and England, thanks to their secret understandings with Italy.”

This communication, signed by Ahmed Riza, shows that the Turkish Parliament is of opinion that the British and French Governments were cognisant of Italian intentions and approved them. If the Moslem world becomes persuaded that this is the truth, the consequences may be of the most momentous character to our rule in India and elsewhere. The national interest obviously requires that the mystery should be cleared up. To the denials of our Foreign Office, the Turks oppose an equally categorical assertion. But the matter is surely susceptible of proof on one side or the other, and the nation has the right to know precisely where it stands.—Yours, etc.,

E. D. MORSE.

5th November 1911.

S. P.—*Le Cri de Paris* is not what you might call a high-class paper, but its opening article, devoted to foreign affairs, not

2nd December.

Intrequently contains interesting information. In the issue of 17th November one may read what follows:

"In August last our Ambassador in Tripoli, and for good reasons, the imminence of the annexation of Tripoli by Italy. Summoned to take part with M. Cambon in the governmental conferences relating to the Franco-German conflict, he made no allusion whatever to the eventuality of an expedition. King Victor Emmanuel himself, in the course of a conversation he had barely seven weeks ago with two foreign diplomats, foresaw the possibility of an annexation only in a distant future. The formal counsel to occupy Tripoli was sent to Rome by the Foreign Office towards the middle of September. It was the very moment when the discussions between M. Cambon and M. de Kiderlen Wächter had assumed such a character of bitterness that a rupture might be considered very probable. The British Ambassador in Rome informed the Italian Cabinet that if it did not make up its mind to act in Tripoli, the Foreign Office would consider itself entitled to take action in Cyrenaica in order to prevent Germany from penetrating there first. At the same time he informed M. Barrère (French Ambassador at Rome) of the step he proposed to take, and asked him to support it. Both succeeded in convincing the Italian Government that the time had come to act in Tripoli. They made the Italian Government understand that Germany, too much busied with France, would take good care not to alienate Italy entirely at such a moment, by opposing her veto."

A couple of weeks ago, a particularly well-informed friend in Italy, in the course of a letter, informed me that, contrary to the general view, King Victor Emmanuel was against the war, but had "been overborne." In regard to the rumour about Cyrenaica, to the effect that Germany was actually negotiating with the Turkish Government a lease of Benghazi as a coaling station when Italy took the action she did, a rumour which has been formally denied by the Turkish Embassy in London, a friend, who has been spending several months in Tripoli, tells me that the number of Germans in Tripoli was six, in addition to the Consul, and that the German Consul, whom he personally knew, far from encouraging his compatriots to obtain a footing in the Tripolitaine, had been sending home report after report, discouraging German enterprises in the country which offered, in his opinion, no openings of a promising character.

Press Opinion.

The "Spectator."

We have stated the case against the Italians. We must now deal with the statement issued by the Italian Prime Minister on Wednesday, which, if the facts given can be substantiated, offers a complete defence for the Italians. The Prime Minister begins by recounting the sudden rising of the Arabs on 23rd October much as we have told it. He goes on to say that "in consequence it became an imperative necessity to purge the oasis of the traitors and to punish those of them who had committed some special criminal acts." Accordingly "those who during the fighting or immediately after were found with arms in hand were shot" (The carrying of arms ought not always to be a sign of guilt, but in the case where a population is supposed to have given up its arms one can hardly blame the Italians for taking the bearing of arms as a sign that those who bore them had been using them.) In addition we are told that those who after a regular trial were found guilty of murder or other criminal acts of the kind were shot. Then follows the point which we must regard as crucial. The Prime Minister, speaking, of course, on the information he has received from Tripoli, declares that "other Arabs were arrested to the number of 2,000, because they had connived at the treachery, or because they had contravened the order of the Governor for the surrender of all arms, and these prisoners were transported to the Italian islands." He goes on to say that on the days following the 23rd some fresh partial outbreaks of revolt occurred and were repressed in the same way. "Therefore there was no systematic slaughter of unarmed people of women and children. There was no indiscriminate repression." Finally we are told that as the attack on the advanced posts did not reach all the walls of the gardens, plantations, and everything which in the oasis might offer a shelter to rebels were demolished. "This was not done until all inoffensive Arabs, the women and children had been removed from the oasis and brought in towards Tripoli." Signor Giolitti concludes by declaring, what we are afraid is only too likely to be true, that acts of atrocious infamy were perpetrated on wounded Italian soldiers. He mentions also how two companies of Bersaglieri of about 400 men lost more than 300 killed and had only 14 wounded. This, no doubt, points to the two companies having been ambuscaded and massacred. He further says that on the 23rd and the 26th the Italians lost altogether 374 killed and only 150 wounded. "It will be evident," he continues, "that such a result would have been impossible unless our wounded had been massacred in the unfair fight."

Which are we to believe? The official version or the reports of the correspondents? The first impulse of most English readers will be to disbelieve the official version, and to say that of course the

Prime Minister has got to make the best defence he can for a terrible blunder. Though ourselves by no means inclined to swallow either this or any other official explanation wholesale, we should strongly advise our readers to suspend judgment. Though the official version may gloss over acts of Italian barbarity, it must also be remembered that the *Times* and Reuter's correspondents could not have seen with their own eyes the general massacre which they describe, and which they no doubt genuinely believed to have taken place. In all such cases men have to act upon information received from others. No man can see 4,000 people killed. But the Arabs and the Italians were very greatly excited, and we may be sure that in their reports they exaggerated what was done in the confused fighting in the gardens. When people are perturbed by danger and horrified by the shedding of blood they soon lose the sense of proportion and even the power of counting. The shooting of 30 or 40 men might easily be exaggerated into tales of wholesale destruction and the slaughter of thousands. As we have said, the crucial point is the official statement that 2,000 prisoners were taken on the day in question. If that can be proved a great deal will have been done to clear the character of the Italian army, as we most sincerely hope and believe it will be cleared. The taking of those prisoners will show that the Italians acted as civilized troops ought to have acted in the very trying circumstances in which they were placed. Whilst the firing was going on they would most naturally have retaliated upon the men of the suburb with all the strength at their command, and would also most naturally have shot all citizens, hitherto believed to be peaceful and unarmed, who were treacherously attacking them in the rear. As soon, however, as the Turkish attack in front had been repulsed, the proper plan would have been for the Italian officers to attempt to get hold of the ringleaders in the insurrection and make an example of them, while at the same time giving protection to the general population of the oasis. The final step would have been to clear the oasis of its inhabitants, since it would be absolutely impossible to trust them again or to expect the Italian soldiers to fight with foes who were ready to stab them in the back. The clearing of the oasis should have meant, however, not the killing but simply the taking prisoners of the inhabitants. This in effect is what the Italian Prime Minister tells us did happen. If that is so, then the Italian military authorities will have nothing to be ashamed of.

Though it may seem a somewhat lame and conventional conclusion, we expect that on full investigation the truth will be found to lie between the two reports. In all probability the massacre was not nearly as bad as the correspondents first imagined it to be, and next, that though no orders were given to the Italian troops to perpetrate anything in the nature of a massacre, the fierce southern blood led them to make their reprisals far more vehement than was necessary. No one who has seen an Italian crowd in a state of excitement over some comparatively trivial matter will wonder that men who had been treated as the men in the Italian trenches were treated, and whose minds had been further inflamed, as no doubt they were, by the butchery of their wounded, showed very little patience or self-control, either in clearing the oasis or in selecting the persons who were to be made an example. British people are seldom judiciously minded when it is a question of humanity, and we cannot profess to regret this altogether, for the unchaining of the blood lust is horrible and to be condemned even when there is excuse or explanation for it. At the same time we most sincerely trust that people here will keep their heads in this matter and not let sentiment run away with their sense of justice. We do not wish to say anything in prejudice of the Turks, but it would be foolish to forget that fanatical Moslems do not fight with kid gloves. As the Armenian massacres, and still more the recent massacre at Adana, show, they can be terribly cruel in their methods. Two wrongs do not make a right, but in view of what the Turks have done to Christians so recently and of their methods of fighting in Tripoli which have come under the eyes of the Italian troops, it would be most unfair to expect those troops to consider matters in the calm and philosophic spirit in which we consider them in England. One must never forget, too, that the Turk and the North African Arabs play a very different part in the popular imagination of the peoples of the Mediterranean, and especially of the Southern Italians, from the part they play here. The ordinary Italian private soldier has been taught from his youth to regard the Turk and the Arab as ancient enemies who oppressed him, and ravaged his coasts, and destroyed his ships, and bore his women and children into captivity. Hence the Italian often goes into battle with a traditional feeling, akin to that of the Crusader, which it is very difficult for our people to realize. Still, when all is said and done, the Italian authorities will be making the greatest possible mistake if they do not keep their troops better in hand and do everything in their power to avoid a repetition of what took place between 23rd and 26th October. The more they avoid military executions the better it will be for the prospects of their army and their future government. They mean to stop in Tripoli, and therefore they have got to live with the Mohammedans who inhabit it. The less, then, they inflame the hatred of the population and give cause for bitter memories the better. Cruelty and unnecessary bloodshed are as bad from the military and political point of view as from the moral.

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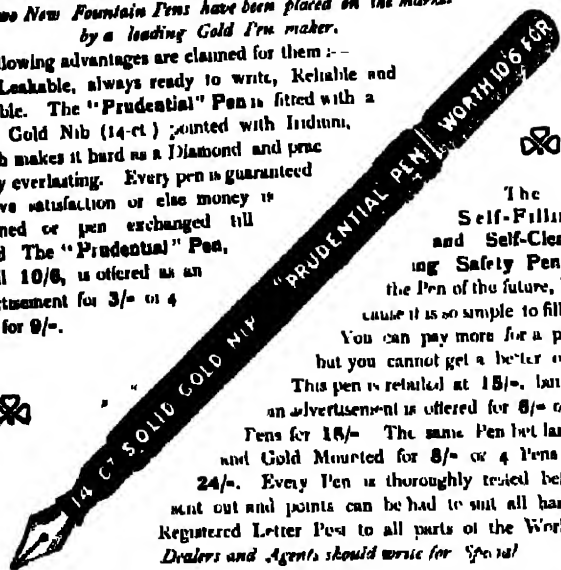
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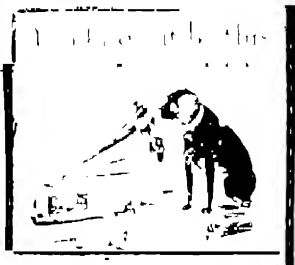
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13" x 9" x 6"	20-10	" " " "	29-6
	18-0	" " " "	25-10

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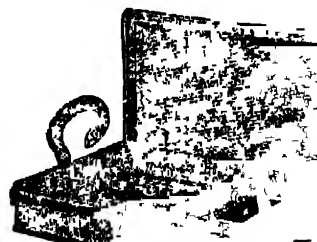
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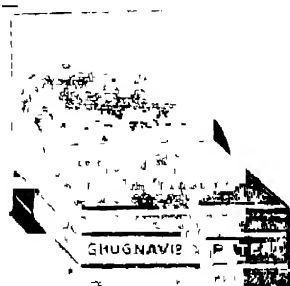


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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of December at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Royal Visit.

THE King-Emperor and Queen-Emress arrived at Bombay at 30 A.M. on the 2nd. On their Imperial Majesties' arrival a salute of 101 guns was fired from His Majesty's ships in harbour. At 10-45 A.M. the King-Emperor gave an audience to the Governor-General and received the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies station. At 11-15 A.M. the Governor of Bombay arrived on board H.M.S. *Medina*, when he had the honour of being presented to Their Imperial Majesties by the Governor-General. The Governor-General remained to luncheon with Their Imperial Majesties. After luncheon, the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress disembarked from H.M.S. *Medina* and landed at the Apollo Bunder, where they were received

by the Governor-General, who had preceded Their Imperial Majesties. A salute of 101 guns was fired from H.M.S. ships in harbour and from the saluting battery as the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress landed and a Naval guard-of-honour from on the ships of the East Indies Squadron was mounted at the pier head. After the King-Emperor had inspected the guard-of-honour Their Imperial Majesties proceeded to the *dais* within the pavilion when the President of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay had the honour of being presented to Their Imperial Majesties. The President then read an address of welcome to Their Imperial Majesties to which His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to reply.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress left the *dais* and proceeded to their carriages. A Royal procession was formed in the following order and drove through the city of Bombay:—

1ST CARRIAGE.—The King-Emperor and the Queen-Emress

2ND CARRIAGE.—The Governor-General and the Marquis of Crewe.

3RD CARRIAGE.—The Mistress of the Robes, the Duke of Fock, the Lord-in-Waiting, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

4th CARRIAGE.—The Governor of Bombay, Lady Clarke, Lord Stamfordham, Lieutenant-General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

5th CARRIAGE.—The Countess of Shaftesbury, the Lord High Steward, Sir Edward Henry, Rear-Admiral Sir Colin Keppel.

6th CARRIAGE.—The Hon. Venetia Baring, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Dunlop-Smith, Commander Sir Charles Cust, the Hon. Sir Derek Keppel.

7th CARRIAGE.—Captain B. Godfrey Fausett, R.N., Sir Richard Havelock Charles, Mr. F. H. Lucas, the Hon. John Fortescue.

The following Equerries were in attendance on horseback: Major-General Sir Stuart Beatson, Major the Lord Charles Fitzmaurice, Major Clive Wigram.

On coming back at the Apollo Bunder, the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress proceeded to the landing stage, where a guard-of-honour of the Norfolk Regiment was mounted. After, His Imperial Majesty had inspected the guard-of-honour, Their Imperial Majesties re-embarked and returned to H.M.S. *Medina*. Another salute was fired as Their Imperial Majesties left the landing stage.

The King-Emperor and the Queen-Emress gave a dinner party on board the *Medina* on the night of the 2nd.

On the morning of the 3rd the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress attended Divine Service on board H.M.S. *Medina*.

At 1 P.M. the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress landed at the Apollo Bunder and motored to Government House, where Their Imperial Majesties honoured the Governor and Lady Clarke with a visit and remained to luncheon. Their Imperial Majesties returned to H.M.S. *Medina* after luncheon.

In the afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress again landed and drove from the Apollo Bunder to attend Divine Service at the Cathedral.

The Governor of Bombay and other distinguished personages had the honour of dining with the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress on board H.M.S. *Medina* on the evening of the 3rd.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress landed on the morning of the 4th at 9-30 A.M. and drove to the Children's Fête in the grounds of the Old Bombay Exhibition.

On arrival at the Fête the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress were received by the Governor of Bombay, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and General Secretary of the Royal Visit Fund Committee and by the Chairman and General Secretary of the Old Bombay Exhibition Committee. Guards-of-honour of the Bombay Volunteer Rifles and Cadets of the same corps were mounted at the entrance and within the arena. The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress having mounted the dais, overlooking the stadium, the National Anthem was sung by the children of the European, Gujarati, Marathi and Urdu Schools in the languages of their respective schools. Their Imperial Majesties then drove through the Exhibition grounds, and, after inspecting the exhibits of the Old Bombay Exhibition, returned to Apollo Bunder, and thence on board H.M.S. *Medina*.

On the afternoon of the 5th the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress, attended by the members of their Household, visited the Caves of Elephanta.

At 10 P.M. Their Imperial Majesties, attended by the Mistress of the Robes, the Marquis of Crewe, the Duke of Teck, the Lord High Steward and Rear-Admiral Sir Colin Keppel left H.M.S. *Medina*.

Their Imperial Majesties landed at the Apollo Bunder at 10-15 P.M. a salute was fired and Their Imperial Majesties drove through gaily illuminated streets, Esplanade and Hornby Roads which were lined with troops and thronged with eager spectators, who heartily cheered as Their Majesties passed. On arrival at the station Their Majesties were received by His Excellency Sir George Clarke and conducted to the Royal train.

Their Majesties shook hands with those present and the Royal train steamed out of the station at 10-45 P.M. amidst cheers.

His Majesty the King's Reply to the Aden Address.

I THANK you on behalf of the Queen-Empress and myself for your loyal address and for the hearty welcome which the community of Aden has extended to us. No more fitting spot could have been chosen on which to give expression to these sentiments of personal attachment and devotion than here beneath the statue of my beloved grandmother, Queen Victoria. It is a source of sincere pleasure to us to revisit your famous port and to assure ourselves of its continued progress and prosperity. Situated on the threshold of India and forming a connecting link between Great Britain and Australia, Aden is an object of peculiar interest to the whole of the British Empire, and the responsibilities which you as citizens of the Empire are called upon to assume become year by year of increasing importance. I have learnt with great satisfaction of the steady expansion of your trade and I trust that the investigations which are now in course of completion will give you the improved and adequate water supply upon which your health and well-being so largely depend. The reclamations which have been made upon the sea will afford space which you require for the developments of your town, and I rejoice at the decision to reserve a portion of them for a recreation ground. We thank you for your good wishes and prayers on our behalf, and you may rest assured that we shall ever feel the warmest interest in your welfare and prosperity.

Address presented to H. M. the King by the Municipality of Bombay.

To His Most Excellent Imperial Majesty King George the Fifth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and to Her Excellent and Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTIES,—We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, crave leave, in the name and on behalf of all its inhabitants, to approach Your Imperial Majesties on your landing on the shores of India with an expression of our deep-rooted loyalty and our pride and joy on this great and auspicious occasion.

The event is one unprecedented in the annals not merely of India but of the world-wide Empire over which Your Majesties hold sway. Never before have Rulers left the centre of the Empire to visit their Dominions beyond the seas. We recognise the significance of your advent; we realise that your determination to announce your Coronation in person to your Indian people is a proclamation to the world of the great position which India holds in the Empire and in the sympathies of the Royal House and a demonstration that the Crown is the living bond uniting many different races in varying climes under the flag which stands for ideals of justice, righteousness, and progress.

We claim that our City has a peculiar title to the honour of being the first in India wherein the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress set their feet. The Dower of a Royal alliance, Bombay represents no chance settlement acquired by purchase from petty Chiefs or selected by merchants fugitive from other centres. Its

importance and future greatness were foreseen by the sagacity of statesmen and its acquisition by a Treaty of State constitutes the first intervention by the Royal Government of England in the administration of the land of India. We proudly claim that the high hopes entertained by the statesmen who acquired the Island and by the Governors who founded and administered the City have met with rich fulfilment, and that this City constitutes the strongest link between the civilizations of the East and West, which it has ever been the aim of the British Government to weld into one harmonious system.

We remember with joy that Your Majesties are no strangers in our midst. When you came among us six years ago, Your Majesties spared no pains to become acquainted with our people and problems, our arts and industries. We rejoice to think that since your visit a steady advance has been made in the realisation of high civic ideals. The natural vicissitudes of a commercial and industrial centre have affected but not retarded a material progress which has gone hand in hand with a lively desire to ameliorate the conditions under which our poorer citizens live, and to develop the natural advantages of the Island. We rejoice to think that Bombay is broad-based upon the firmest of foundations in being united within itself, and that the diverse races and classes whom we represent are actuated by a strong sense of common citizenship.

In the gracious presence of Your Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress, the people of India, regarding Your Imperial Majesty as the lofty embodiment of the highest ideals of womanhood, will recognise, with renewed feeling of gratitude and affection, your interest in them, as evinced by this second visit to their shores.

The advent of Your Imperial Majesties, as a visible indication of your assumption of the Sovereignty of the Empire, cannot fail to leave an indelible impression on the hearts of your Indian subjects. It is our fervent prayer that the reign of Your Majesties, fortified by a knowledge of the Indian people, instinct with sympathy for them in their sorrows no less than in their joys, and imbued with a love for them inherited from your revered predecessors, the Queen-Empress Victoria and the King-Emperor Edward the Seventh, may be fraught with the richest blessings for all united under the Imperial Crown.

His Majesty's Reply.

You have rightly said that I am no stranger among you and I can heartily respond that I feel myself no stranger in your beautiful city. Six years ago I arrived, indeed, as a new-comer. But the recollection of your cordial and sympathetic greeting is still fresh in my memory. The wondrous aspect disclosed by the approach to your shores, the first glimpse of the palms rising, as it were, from the bosom of the sea, have not been forgotten and have lost none of their fascination for me. From Bombay I set forth in 1905 encouraged by your affectionate welcome, to traverse at any rate a part of this vast country and to strive to gain some knowledge of its people. Such knowledge as I acquired could not but deepen my sympathy with all races and creeds, and when through the lamented death of my beloved father I was called to the Throne of my ancestors one of my first and most earnest desires was to revisit my good subjects in India. It is with feelings of no common emotion that I find myself here again to-day with the Queen-Empress at my side and that desire fulfilled. And I come with a heart full of gratitude that the anxiety due to a threatened scarcity in certain areas of the Presidency has, thanks to favourable and opportune rains, been happily dispelled and that there is every prospect of your land being blessed with a good spring harvest.

Your eloquent address has recalled to me that Bombay was once the dower of a British Queen. As such Humphrey Cook took it over two hundred and fifty years ago—a mere fishing village. You, gentlemen, and your forefathers, have made it a jewel of the British Crown. I see again with joy the rich setting of its beautiful and stately buildings. I note also the less conspicuous but also more profitable improvement lately effected. But above all, I recognise with pride your efforts to heighten what must always be the supreme lustre of such a jewel as this—the peace, happiness and prosperity of all classes of the citizens.

From my heart I thank you for the generous reception accorded to the Queen-Empress and myself to-day. We earnestly pray that God's blessings may rest upon our Indian Empire and that peace and prosperity may be ever vouchsafed to its people.

The State Entry in Delhi.

Delhi, the ancient capital of Hindus and Moghuls, had the honour of receiving the King-Emperor and Queen Empress, on 7th December morning, and right royally the event came to pass.

On the railway platform in front was a large company of high officials, both Civil and Military, headed by the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge. A guard-of-honour of the second Battalion of the Royal Berkshire Regiment, was drawn up opposite the King's carriage. The weather favoured the occasion. The Royal

special hauled by a huge engine slid smoothly in. The King-Emperor in Field Marshal's uniform, with the Star of India ribbon was the first to alight.

The Hon'ble Diamond Hardinge, daughter of Lord Hardinge presented a bouquet of flowers to the Queen-Empress. Their Excellencies, the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge, advanced and received Their Imperial Majesties. All was excitement and commotion. The guard-of-honour presented arms. The band struck up the National Anthem. The Royal salute boomed out from the ramparts of the old Fort and notified the Royal arrival to hundreds of thousands waiting along the route. His Excellency the Governor-General then introduced to Their Imperial Majesties the members of their Indian staff and presented high officials, present on the platform. After the presentations, Their Imperial Majesties left the station, walked through the Selimgarh bastion into the Fort to the Reception Tent, in which the Ruling Chiefs awaited them. Their Imperial Majesties then entered the Reception Tent and the Ruling Chiefs were presented one by one, by the Master of the Ceremonies assisted by the local Political Officers. When the Chiefs had been presented, Their Imperial Majesties proceeded in procession by the following route, which was lined throughout by troops.—Delhi Gate of the Fort, Khas Road, round the Jumma Masjid, Esplanade Road, Chandni Chowk, Fattchpur Bazar, Queen's Road, Dufferin Bridge, Mori Gate, Boulevard Road, Rajpur Road, and Chauburja Road through the Pavilion on the Ridge to the King-Emperor's Camp. The procession was formed in three parts in the following order.—(a) Procession of high officials. (b) The Royal Procession. (c) Procession of Ruling Chiefs. On reaching the Ridge Pavilion, the Governors and others alighted and took their seats among the Representatives of British India assembled there to welcome Their Imperial Majesties. When Their Imperial Majesties reached the Pavilion on the Ridge, the Representatives of British India, there assembled, rose and remained standing. The Queen-Empress's carriage was drawn up alongside the King-Emperor on his left; and the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Legislative Council the Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins approached on the right and read the following address of loyal welcome and devotion to Their Imperial Majesties on behalf of British India. In reply, His Imperial Majesty said:—

In the name of the Queen-Empress and on my behalf, I heartily thank you for your loyal and beautiful address, the words of which have deeply touched us. They recall those countless messages of affectionate devotion with which India in common with all parts of my Dominions greeted us on our Coronation in England and which have been repeated by all classes and creeds of my Indian subjects since our arrival in your country. I know from my Governor-General what strength and support he receives from the wise experience of his Legislative Council, the chosen representatives of British India.

I much appreciate the welcome—the welcome you offer us on behalf of its peoples.

Rest assured that there is no wish nearer to our hearts than that in the words of your address, the Indian Empire may continue steadily to advance in the ways of peace, prosperity and contentment.

King-Emperor's Camp, Bombay, 17-45 State.

To SECRETARY, MUSLIM LEAGUE, LUCKNOW.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress have received with much gratification the message of welcome to the shores of this ancient land from the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I am commanded to ask that you will make known the heartfelt thanks of their Imperial Majesties for the kind sentiments of devotion and good-will to which your telegram gives expression.

STAMFORDHAM

To

SECRETARY, MUSLIM UNIVERSITY FUND COMMITTEE.

The Private Secretary is commanded to convey their Imperial Majesties' thanks to the Committee for their loyal telegrams.

The Week.

Persia.

AFTER a stormy sitting, the Mejliss has approved of the Cabinet formed by Samsam-es-Sultanh, the new Premier. Vosuq Dauleh is the new Foreign Minister. The decision was hastened by the Russian ultimatum, which following so quickly after Persia's compliance with the Russian demands according to Great Britain's advice, has caused consternation in official circles.

The Russian ultimatum includes the complaint with reference to Mr. Shuster's publication in Persian of his letter to the *Times*, which the ultimatum declares incites Persians against Russia.

A *Times* message from Teheran states that the ultimatum also demands that Persia's future relations with Britain and Russia shall

be regulated so as to confirm that the real interests of both those countries are understood. Great Britain, the message says, has been fully consulted in the matter and certain portions of the ultimatum are written in the name of both Powers.

The St. Petersburg Government has resolved temporarily to enforce the Cossacks guard of the Consulate at Khoi in Persia by a small detachment of infantry and artillery.

The *Noroye Viemyn*, commenting on Sir Edward Grey's speech eulogises the sobriety of its tone and also the great courage of British foreign policy. The paper says the speech also testifies that Russian action in Persia will be unopposed in the letter and spirit of the Convention.

Russia has sent a fresh ultimatum to Persia demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, the American Treasurer-General, and Mr. Lecoffre, a British subject, to whom Mr. Shuster gave an appointment at Tabriz, and also the payment of the expenses of the army of occupation. In the event of Persia failing to reply within 48 hours, Russian troops will advance.

There are at present six thousand Russian troops in Persia.

At question time in the House of Commons on the 1st, Sir Edward Grey said: "The effect, direct or indirect, of the action of Russia may take a very serious form in Persia. Russia has given assurances to Great Britain with regard to the provisional character of the step now being taken." Sir Edward affirmed that he had no reflection to make on the energy and good intentions of Mr. Shuster, but his persistence in appointing British officials in North Persia made things impossible.

The present crisis makes it urgent to find a solution at Teheran to avert the recurrence of incidents calculated to disturb the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which both earnestly desire should be unimpaired. Government is giving its serious attention to the question as to how a solution can best be secured in consultation with Russia. Sir Edward Grey in his speech on Persia also said he had already been in communication with Russia and would continue to do his utmost to promote a settlement in the best interests of the three countries.

Mr. Dillon asked if it were true that Russia had used the name of the British Government in delivering the ultimatum. If so, was it with the consent of the British Government?

Sir Edward Grey in asking that notice might be given of that question, added: "We expressed the opinion that Mr. Shuster's action made things impossible and that there ought to be a consultation with the British and Russian Governments before foreigners were appointed on behalf of the Persian Government. I certainly expressed that opinion but am not aware how far it has been used by the Russian Government at Teheran."

Major Anstruther Gray: "Is the Russian occupation purely temporary and provisional?"

Sir Edward Grey: "I have already said we have had assurances to that effect but it is plain that a situation has arisen demanding the serious attention of both Governments with regard to its ultimate possible consequences in Persia."

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 1st.—The Mejliss is sitting in secret session to consider the Russian ultimatum. The members who have been interviewed declare that the Mejliss is opposed to the acceptance of the Russian demands. Persia, they say, will not be frightened into abandoning her sovereign rights.

The Persian Government asked for an extension of the time limit, on the 1st, but Russia refused.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 2nd.—The speeches in the Mejliss during the debate on the Russian ultimatum were dignified and moderate, but firmly patriotic and unanimous in declaring that Persia cannot surrender her independence, which the members of the Mejliss had taken their oath to maintain.

Russia has handed a further note to the Persian Government with regard to Shua-es-Sultanh's property, stating that Shua-es-Sultanh's mother is under Russian protection, which has been extended to all her property.

The Persian Foreign Office declares that this note shows that Russia is attempting to enforce her pretensions as to the protection of Persian subjects, for which she has no justification.

Intense excitement prevails in the bazaar. The shops are closed. Thousands of young men are marching past the Legations holding demonstrations, and shouting "Death or Liberty."

Telegrams reaching the Government from the provinces assure the Government of unquestioned support. A general boycott of Russian goods has commenced.

The Mejliss has refused the Russian demands although Sir Edward Grey sent an urgent telegram advising Persia to comply. The Russian troops at Resht have been ordered to advance on Teheran.

The members of the Mejliss explain their decision to refuse the Russian demands on the ground that Great Britain's advice up to

the present only led to the humiliation of Persia. They believe that Sir Edward Grey has been misinformed and hope that their attitude will arouse the attention of Europe and lead to an impartial enquiry. They say further, that compliance with Russian demands would be abject cowardice and national suicide.

Mr. Shuster, in a long cablegram to the *New York World*, says, that Russia's demand for his dismissal is due to his refusal to betray Persia. He declares he has faithfully fulfilled his contract to the Sovereign and the Nation, but every step taken towards effective Financial Reform has been consistently fought by Russia with England's sanctimonious acquiescence.

According to Persian telegrams the Russian demands include the immediate settlement of all pending questions.

Mr. Shuster's guard has been strengthened owing to the rising excitement in the Capital.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—Mr Shuster interviewed on the 1st December rebutted Sir Edward Grey's accusation that he was endeavouring to Anglicise the Persian service. He said he would gladly have appointed qualified Russians if there had been any available. The action of Great Britain and Russia has obliged Mr Shuster to dispense with the services of British subjects in the revenue administration, among the appointments affected being those of Mr Hayrock, at Ispahan, and Mr Schindler, at Shiraz.

Ala-ed-Dauleh, ex-Governor of Fars, who was suspected of intriguing with a view to the return of the ex-Shah, was assassinated on the 1st. Seven shots were fired at him.

Nosr ed-Dauleh, a former opponent of the Constitutional movement, has also been assassinated.

A message from Teheran states that Haji Mohamad Tarr, a reactionary, was assassinated on the 1st December.

It is reported also that Prince Firman Firma has been assassinated at Kazvin.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reviewing the events in Persia says that in view of the increasing internal disorder the Russian occupation of certain parts of the country appears to be unavoidable. The paper adds "All we have to consider is that order shall soon be re-established and maintained."

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent wires.—Interviewed by a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* on the Persian situation, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali dwelt on the interest taken by Indian Muhammadans in Persian affairs. It would be a matter of the deepest regret to those who like himself had laboured many years to bind the loyalty of Indian Muhammadans to the Throne if that loyalty were weakened by the impression that England had been party to the dismemberment of Persia. He hoped the British Government would endeavour to maintain Persia's integrity and independence and that Russia would withdraw her troops and leave the country to regenerate itself. The report that the ex-Shah was going to join the Russian troops advancing on Teheran filled him with anxiety. If the ex-Shah were placed on the Persian throne, there would be an end of Persian regeneration and the development of constitutional *regime*. He hoped the British Government would discountenance any such proposal which would be nothing short of a catastrophe.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 4th.—Two thousand Russian troops have arrived at a place thirty miles south of Resht and a further 200 at Kazvin, where they disarmed the local Persian Militia. Twenty five others have arrived at Teheran to reinforce the Russian Legion Guard.

The *Times* on the 4th says that the occupation of Teheran may be only a matter of days. The journal considers that disappearance is the only service Mr. Shuster could still render his Persian clients. Anglo-Russian co-operation, says the *Times*, was never more indispensable than at present.

The *Times* absolutely confides in the sincerity of Russian assurances that military intervention is only temporary; but says that some form of Government is necessary to enable Russia to carry out assurances.

The *Times* trusts it will be possible to establish a practical Government with the boy Shah, reigning on the throne on lines devised in a generous spirit by British and Russian statesmanship.

Reuter learns that the assurances which have reached London confirm the conviction held in British official quarters that the despatch of Russian troops to Persia is for the specific purpose of obtaining satisfaction of Russian demands and does not conceal any intention of permanent occupation or interference in Persia's internal affairs, the Russian Government being determined to adhere to the spirit and letter of the Anglo-Russian Convention.

At question time in the House of Commons, on the 4th, Mr Acland stated that Great Britain was informed regarding the Russian ultimatum before it was sent, but as the events which occasioned its despatch primarily concerned Russia, the consent of

Great Britain was not required. In view, however, of Mr. Shuster's action, Great Britain was unable to object to the demand respecting him and the appointment of foreign officers.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Morrell asked whether there was anything to show that Mr. Shuster's work had been unsatisfactory to the Persian Government or the people.

Mr. Acland replied that the British Minister had reported that severe tension had existed between the Ministers and Mr. Shuster for weeks past and had recently caused the resignation of three Ministers. Mr. Acland had no information respecting the feeling of the people but Mr. Shuster had the support of the Mejliss.

On a motion for the adjournment of the House, Mr. Morrell asked for a fuller explanation of Great Britain's attitude to Persia.

Mr. Acland replied that the Government had not made representations to Russia regarding two of the demands but on the third that Persia pay the expenses of the expedition, the British Government had made representations pointing out that Persia was unable to pay the indemnity without a loan and that this burden would make it harder to secure order on the southern roads and trade routes, which was very necessary in the interests of British trade.

Mr. Dillon asked if Russia had used Great Britain's name in the ultimatum.

Mr. Acland "No."

Mr. Acland added that Sir Edward Grey would make a full statement on the Persian question next week.

It is reported that the Porte has appealed to the Powers urging them to respect the independence of Persia.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 4th.—The Mejliss has despatched cablegrams appealing specially to the British House of Commons and the Duma, and generally to the world's Parliaments in connection with Russian action. Women are most active in the demonstrations which are being held. They take part in the processions and harangue the crowds from the mosques and in squares, and indulge in window smashing in order to enforce the Russian boycott. The Persian Women's Society has wired to the Suffragists Committee in London asking for the help of English women.

Reuter wires from Bushire on the 5th.—Owing to Russian action in Persia Russian goods and shipping are being boycotted here.

A *Times* message from Teheran states that the feeling on the 5th was specially directed against Great Britain. The Mullahs in the mosque accused Great Britain of hypocrisy in declaring her neutrality.

A boycott of English merchandise has begun at Ispahan and Shiraz.

Lord Lamington is going to visit Persia shortly to study the general situation.

At question time Mr. Acland stated that the Government would still adhere to the Declaration of Teheran of 1907. The Government had not done and would not do anything to depart from it. Russia had given the most categorical assurances that her action was purely provisional and that she did not intend to infringe the principles of the Agreement.

A telegram to the *Morning Post* from Teheran states that Persia on Monday presented an ultimatum to Russia demanding that troops do not proceed beyond Kazvin and that further reinforcements be countermanded. Unless the terms are acceded to within thirty hours Persia will take the offensive.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 6th.—It is confirmed that the Porte has circularised the Powers respecting Persia and Macedonia, calling attention to the grave consequences which may result from the present state of affairs. The Porte hopes that a solution will be found so as to safeguard Persian national independence.

Sir Edward Grey speaking at Plymouth said that Persia was in the throes of a severe crisis which was occupying the attention of the Government whose views would be fully explained next week.

At a meeting of the Persian residents in India a resolution was carried unanimously to the effect that fifty thousand Persians of all creeds residing in India are intensely agitated over Russian aggression on Persia and appeal to the great Powers for preserving the integrity of Persia and saving the constitution the interest of humanity and progress.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Russian Ambassador has assured the Porte that Russia has no ulterior designs on Persia and that the troops will be withdrawn immediately the ultimatum is complied with.

Official despatches from the Provinces show, that the people are determined to resist the Russian advance.

The *Syndicate de la Presse Persane*, Teheran has sent the following message for communication to the Indian press:—"The

TETE À TETE



THE GREAT moment to which India had been looking forward with such eager hope and joy has at last arrived, and Their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, have safely reached our shores amidst the universal rejoicings of the Indian people. The magnificent reception and loyal greetings that awaited them at Bombay—the elaborate and gigantic scheme of decoration that transformed the city into a veritable queen of loveliness, wearing its festive robes of arch and festoon steeped in variegated hue, and the surging crowds of enthusiastic spectators dressed in holiday attire, alive with the solemn wonder of the moment and pulsating with a common emotion—are a reflex of the depth and fervour of the feelings which animate the entire Indian people in welcoming their Sovereign Lord. The event has raised India to a plane of self-consciousness, never attained before in the history of British Rule; and the teeming millions of this vast continent find themselves to-day united with the strong bonds of common loyalty and gratitude and stirred with a common hope. In the person of their King-Emperor they do not simply recognise the might and majesty of the great Empire to which they have the privilege to belong, but they feel in this imperial solicitude for their welfare a renewal of the august pledge that they will continue to enjoy for evermore the blessings of peace, progress and justice, on which that great Empire has been reared. In every part of this country, amongst every sort and condition of men, from the lowest to the highest, amongst peasants and princes alike, the auspicious event of the Royal visit is the one common theme. It has drawn the hearts together. It has brought visibly before the Indian mind the unity of Imperial citizenship. In the crucible of a common emotion it has for once obliterated the distinctions of colour and creed and made unmistakably clear the ideals and purpose of the beneficent mission, with which Providence has charged England in her relations with India. The first words of the Sovereign, in response to the loyal greetings of his Indian subjects in Bombay, have struck a touchingly human note. They breathe deep sympathy and love for the country and its people, and have gone straight to the hearts. There is nothing conventional about them, none of the spirit of formality that one quite naturally associates with royal utterances on ceremonial occasions. The whole speech is instinct with the heartfelt solicitude of a Sovereign for his subjects, his affection and kindly regard for his own people, a humanity that loves to share common joys and common griefs. It is our fervent hope that the visit of the King-Emperor and his Imperial Consort may end as happily as it has begun, and when the time comes for them to say good-bye to the Indian people, they may have the satisfaction of feeling that the reception accorded to them in India has been as heartfelt and enthusiastic as any that may await them in any other part of the Empire.

IF THE Royal visit has led the popular mind to indulge in Utopian meditations, fancy free, one can readily sympathise with such aberrations and bless the hearts that have so much capacity for sheer hope. The minds of the masses may still be a virgin soil, but the hearts that can invest the British Sovereign with the character of an earthly Providence are the greatest assets of the British Rule in India. It is, however, with infinite surprise and not a little suspicion that one comes across an uncanny journalist, with his head developed out of all proportion, diving into the depths of the popular feeling and dragging out some "boon" for his own edification as well as that of his world. The "boons," for instance, which satisfy the Bengalee politician's programme and are bounded within his political or sentimental horizon, would be, if granted, little short of an affliction or a calamity. A serious discussion has been going on the round of a section of the Bengalee

Press about doing away with the so-called Partition of Bengal as a "Coronation Boon." But the worthy folk who entertain any such hopes forget that a "boon" worth the name should please all and injure none, and that the King-Emperor would not inflict a wrong on other communities to please his loving and loyal subjects the Bengalees. The demand for the reversal of the Partition as a "boon" is, therefore, not only silly but mischievous, for it raises hopes and expectations which in the nature of the case can never be fulfilled. Such disappointments, the logical results of false hopes nurtured on popular credulity, invariably breed dissatisfaction. All this cannot but be embarrassing to the Government and not a little troublesome to the people.

OUR Allahabad contemporary is aping the manners of the London *Times*, but the thunder and lightning of the *Pioneer* suggest all the banality of Brock's pyrotechnic display. After attempting to kill sedition among other communities and in the end creating not a little on its own account, it has turned its attention towards its "friends", the Mussalmans. Its recent opposition towards the Moslem University was a foregone conclusion after the student's strike at Aligarh and the departure of Mr. Archbold, who left the College unwept, unhonoured and unsung. After its pontifical expression of opinion on the war in full it distinguished itself mightily as the pioneer of a new humanity which revels in the murder of women and children, of the aged and the infirm, of the halt and the blind. And now we have its comments on Persia and the attitude of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali. Before long our Allahabad contemporary will have a distinguishing record of having opposed every community of India in every useful movement, of having choked every righteous thought and throttled every generous instinct and noble impulse. Printing House Square may well fear and tremble for its well-earned reputation, if the *Pioneer* continues to distinguish itself in the manner in each succeeding issue. To come to closer quarters, the *Pioneer* characterises Mr. Ameer Ali's loyal and friendly warning to the Government and the country of his present domicile as threats of the loss of Muhammadan loyalty. At this rate, there would be no more disloyal body in India than the C. I. D., and every reconnoitring party in time of war that gives news of the enemy's movements would stand condemned of high treason. We ask if the friends of the Government have no duty to perform in the way of warning it of coming dangers? Are they to leave the officials to their polo and their bridge, hoping that in some mysterious manner they would discover in their gynakhana and their clubs, between chukkers and rubbers, the inmost thoughts of many millions, who are so near to them and yet, alas, so far? To many English officials and journalists the only Indians intimately known are bearers and khansamas. On second thought we fear we are somewhat unjust in this estimate of editorial and official omniscience. It is not only the khansama that is known to them but also the would-be Khan Bahadur. It is through this refractory medium that India is visible to Anglo-India. But even at that a sympathetic questioning of the sewer-on of buttons or the dispenser of whisky pegs would disclose that this man too has a soul and that perhaps he has subscribed a week's salary for the relief of his suffering co-religionists abroad. But omniscient editors, who can evolve an agreeable or a disagreeable world, as their fancy takes them, out of their inner consciousness, need not demean themselves by talking sympathetically to a dusky servant. No wonder then that, according to the *Pioneer*, "no intelligent Indian Muhammadans believe that Persia is to be dismembered, and that all intelligent Muhammadans who have followed the course of affairs for the last two years are aware that Persia has brought outside interference on herself." But what makes the *Pioneer* think there is such a thing at all as an intelligent Muhammadan? Evidently the *Pioneer* has a corner in intelligence and left none for the imbeciles of Islam. Were this Diogenes of journalism to step out of its tub of isolation and search for intelligent Muhammadans according to its own interpretation, it would find precious few, and we can take our oath for it that they would all be found in the ranks of Khan Bahadurs Apparent and Khan Bahadurs Presumptive. We shall not enter at this stage into a controversy about the rights and wrongs of the matter beyond saying that *Punch* was not only humorous but also prophetic when it pictured the Anglo-Russian Convention as an arrangement between the bear and the lion, whereby the bear was to take the upper part of the Persian cat's body and the lion the lower half, leaving the middle for another occasion. In *Punch* it was then an intelligent anticipation of future events, but in the Indian Mussalmans it is even to-day a positive sign of lack of intelligence. Of course the arrival of an honest American, who knows not how to tolerate humbug and sham and who cannot disguise disagreeable truths in diplomatic euphemisms, has precipitated matters by his loyalty to Persia rather than to Russia. Just as the grant of the Constitution to Turkey, which forestalled the recovery of the sick man, precipitated the independence of Bulgaria, the severance of East Roumania, and the annex-

tion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russia must act to-day or Russia must lose Persia for ever. And Russia knows this as well as Indian Mussalmans and the *Pioneer*. Such are the realities of the situation that have become inevitable, however the *Pioneer* or Russia may disguise them. As for Mr. Ameer Ali, the head and front of his offending is to believe, as after a long career of loyal and devoted service in the cause of Anglo-Muhammadan unity of feeling he had every right to believe, that British diplomacy can take an account of Muhammadan interests and Muhammadan sentiments. To talk of the interests of the whole Empire in this connection, as if they demand the Russian occupation of Persia, is the height of sanctimonious humbug. A Government that has spent millions to keep the solid wall of a friendly Afghanistan between its forces and Muscovite bayonets on one side of India, stands self-condemned in any case by removing the barrier of a friendly Persia on another side. If Persia goes we in India shall feel the pinch of it far more than we do of the loss of our opium revenue, and instead of having done a righteous act, as in China, we should have tarnished our reputation by an unrighteous one. We should like to see the Commander-in-Chief who would dare disband a single soldier in India after that to find money for education and sanitation. Would the terrible Terriers of Lord Haldane do the sentry duty for us on the Persian border? We should think not. But then, what could please the *Pioneer* more than a meagre educational budget? All this, however, is nothing compared to the *Pioneer's* remarks about Muhammadan sentiment not preventing British intervention in Egypt in 1882 and in Afghanistan in 1878, and about Mussalman soldiers being as anxious to be employed in those campaigns as the Sikhs and the Gurkhas. So loyalty is to be rewarded by paying less respect to it than to treason. Our Allahabad contemporary thus qualifying itself for the title of the pioneer of sedition even in a community that has not only stood aloof from mischievous agitation but has in its loyal zeal created not a few enemies. To approve of Sir Edward Carson's threats in Ulster, if Home Rule is established, and then to talk of Muhammadan sentiment in India as a sort of fortress in the rear which may turn hostile, may appear to the *Pioneer* as highly consistent. But, happily for the world, it is not always guided by such misguided journals, and it can judge for itself what to think of Moslem loyalty. In the long run, self-interest is the guiding principle of mankind, for even though less lofty, self-interest wears the least. In that sense Moslem loyalty is also interested. But if loyalties can be compared, we have no hesitation in saying that Moslem loyalty has always been the most disinterested. But to regard Moslem sentiment as deserving of no deference is to tell seventy million people that they have duties, and these in abundance, but that they have no rights at all. If anything could weaken the Moslem sense of duty it would be the recognition of rightlessness. This, however, is a subject with which we have amply dealt before, and it needs no further elaboration. But the remarks of the *Pioneer* on the Moslem League and the insinuation that Mr. Ameer Ali does not so much warn the Government as excite the Mussalmans is a dishonourable libel unworthy of any journal. We remember that when Mr. Tilak was indicted for sedition, among other things, he pleaded that Anglo-Indian newspapers had invited reprisals by their violent attacks on Indians. That is of course no justification for sedition. But it can explain it if the Mussalmans lose their mental balance and the more thoughtless and impulsive among them become seduced from their loyalty to a Government which, with all its faults, has proved a blessing for India, and not less but more so for the Mussalmans. The *Pioneer* could justly rejoice then at its handiwork, for it would not be Mr. Ameer Ali but the *Pioneer* that would have paved the way for sedition and its sure and certain consequences, death, damnation, and disaster. It is needless to disguise the fact that the times are critical. We, therefore, implore Moslem leaders to exert their utmost influence to calm the people and to remind them that Great Britain has a conscience and a fund of prudence as well as strength and that, God willing, she will not let them slumber. It is at times such as this that the good sense, self-control, and devotion of a great and loyal community stand out in bold relief against the pettiness and the imprudence of would-be statesmen and the din and clamour of pampered journalists. We are confident that these great qualities of the Mussalmans will not desert them at the juncture when their King is in their midst, and no better opportunity could have presented itself to the Mussalmans of showing the intensity, the strength, and the true inwardness of their loyalty. Sir Edward Grey and the *Pioneer* seem to challenge their loyalty. The gauntlet has been thrown down. Let it not be left lying on the ground.

Now that the press correspondents have left Tripoli, either as a protest to the Italian ways of warfare or in utter disgust of Italian methods of censorship, the task of enlightening the world about the fortunes of the "civilising mission" has once again fallen to the lot of romantic "Rome." After a few spasmodic efforts to catch its early accent, it has recovered the old trick, and

begun to regale the world once more with the tales of Italian prowess and victories. The Turks and Arabs have been so many times repulsed "with heavy losses" that we have begun seriously to doubt if there remains a single Turkish Soldier alive to be repulsed. Perhaps it is merely the ghosts of the victims of the massacres that are fighting the Italians, who have not yet been able to shake off the mad delirium of blood. "Rome" informs us that the main Turkish position has been taken, that enormous quantities of stores and ammunitions, guns and camp equipment have been captured. An extract from the *Tamir* which is reproduced elsewhere, had, however, already prepared us for the the movement of the Turkish forces towards the hinterland. It appears that the withdrawal of the force from Ain Zara has been claimed as an Italian victory. However, the real war has yet to begin. We need not predict about the future. Time is certainly on the side of the Turks. For the present we can only wait and see.

THE 25th Session of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference, after four days' usual labour of deliberation and debate, came to a close on the 7th instant at Delhi. In the absence of H. H. the Aga Khan who, through unavoidable circumstances, could not reach in time to preside over the

Conference, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami was elected President for the Session. With a scholar of his attainments and ripe educational experience to guide its deliberations, the success of the Conference was assured, at any rate, in regard to its primary function of taking an accurate stock of the Moslem educational situation in this country. We still await with eagerness to learn of the measures discussed and elaborated for translating pious hopes and ideas into practice, for the co-ordination of educational work and activities throughout India, and for the final completion of a great fabric of communal education, complete from apex to base, worthy of the importance of communal ideals and adequately satisfying all communal needs. Though it has done a work of great educative value during the last quarter of a century, the Conference is as yet an organisation innocent of method. It has done its work as propagandist, very necessary in its own way, but the time has come when the preacher and the poet should give place to the expert and the specialist, with business capacity and trained experience for carrying out the necessary measures in detail and for the elaboration of ways and means. It is eminently desirable at this stage that there should be a thorough remodelling of the constitution of the Conference and a revision of its programme, its policy and its methods in the light of the past experience and with an eye to practical results. Indeed, the matter is so urgent, particularly in view of the far-reaching and momentous issues recently brought to a head in the field of Indian education, that the Mussalmans can not leave the guidance of their educational affairs to raw enthusiasm or goodwill tempered with accident. We reserve the consideration of this great question till our next.

It must have been a source of great joy and self-gratulation to the Mussalmans assembled at Delhi that the dream which moved them with the urgency of "life and death question" on the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage of 1903, is, thanks to

The Moslem University.

the impassioned appeal of a devoted leader and the earnest response of the whole community, within a measurable distance of being fulfilled. The leaders of the community who dispersed last year at Nagpur, inspired with the hope of the firm resolve with which H. H. the Aga Khan had offered to work for the creation of the Moslem University, carried with them the inspiration of hope with, however, not a little uncertainty and doubt. The work done during the year now coming to a close, the marvellous success of the appeal, the outburst of fine enthusiasm, the toil, devotion and unselfish service of thousands in response to the great communal call and the revelation of a latent unity of ideals and aspirations that move the Mussalmans of India to-day have astonished even the chronic pessimist among them and removed the future of the community from the dreary region of doubt. But, as the Aga Khan has observed in his thoughtful and eloquent message to the Conference, it is only the initial stage of the great undertaking that has been entered upon. "Tremendous and almost superhuman sacrifices and efforts should be made by us if we wish to make it a complete and an unqualified success. No great task has ever succeeded without great sacrifices on the part of its promoters. Our desires will be fulfilled in proportion to our sacrifices." These are words of profound wisdom which the Mussalmans will do well to take to heart. The promises in aid of the University Fund should be speedily made good, for it is on its financial aspect that the fate of the whole undertaking ultimately depends. To quote H. H. the Aga Khan, "I hope the whole of Islam in India will rise to the great occasion and rally round and help this great cause without any delay. The minimum sum required must be found immediately." We are sure the great scheme with which the future of the Mussalmans is so intimately bound up will not be

allowed to fall through for want of a few lakhs. Apart, however, from the financial aspect of the matter, which is of primary importance, there are weighty questions about the scope, methods, curricula and organisation of the University teaching which still await solution and will demand the ceaseless and united labours of the best intellects in the community. The whole undertaking is enormous; and we hope the necessary enthusiasm, energy, sustained devotion and above all the best intellectual resources will be ungrudgingly applied to the task. Its success will be a great constructive achievement. Its failure will brand the whole community with incapacity and shame. The University is not to be an isolated seat of higher learning. It ought to be a nerve-centre, so to speak, of a thoroughly-organised system covering every aspect of Moslem education from the elementary to the highest, with the parts united to the whole and responsive to the energy and stimulus of the common centre. As the Aga Khan observed, "To make our system of education successful and to be attended with satisfactory and far-reaching effects, we must rest it on a solid base, so that our superstructure may not give way under the stress of higher learning. I have more than once expressed my opinion that in addition to the University we must establish first class provincial colleges to be affiliated to the great University and prepare men of learning who may by and by take rank as servants and capable teachers in the University."

THE pronouncements of H. H. the Aga Khan and Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami on the vital question of Primary Education will be read with considerable interest throughout the country. The President of the Delhi Conference dwelt on the question of cost, which will have to be met by fresh taxation; and while emphasising the need of primary education for Moslem children, he pointed out the mistake of allowing it "to pass altogether out of your hands into those of a State Department." About this observation of the President there can hardly be two opinions. The Moslem children have their special needs, and as we pointed out sometime ago, no scheme of compulsory primary education can be acceptable to the Mussalmans unless those needs are adequately provided for. His Highness The Aga Khan in his eloquent plea for free and compulsory education of the masses dwelt with equal emphasis on the need of so devising it that "its benefit may extend equally to the minorities as well as the majorities of the Indian communities." We are sure when the time comes for the adoption of compulsory primary education, the interests of the Moslem children will be safeguarded by legislative provision. The Aga Khan recognised with great pleasure and enthusiasm the remarkable growth of enlightened public opinion in favour of compulsory primary education. It is an omen of happy augury for the country. The best interests of the Indian people, their development into a common nationality, depend on the widespread extension of mass education. No efforts for educating the masses can hope to succeed unless there is a generous and whole-hearted co-operation between the public and the State. For, as the Aga Khan observed, "no country can ever flourish or make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is absent." And, obviously enough, it is the duty of the Government to recognise this principle by means of legislation. His Highness' demand for compulsion has, however, jarred on the susceptibilities of our Calcutta contemporary, the *Statesman*, which, between its dread of "Sectarian Universities" and its horror of compulsory primary education, has so often tumbled into inconsistencies and was driven, only a short time ago, to accept Sanitary Reform as the lesser evil. This time it has eagerly lighted on a doubt as to "whether in modern times a university has been set up with a more complete absence of the foundation than the institution on which the Aga Khan has set his heart." We wonder how the existing universities can keep themselves going. Surely, they do not draw their scholars from the Moon. As a matter of fact the supply of students desirous of getting university education has been, thanks to the daily growing numbers of those receiving primary and secondary education, much greater than the demand, and Aligarh alone has had to refuse hundreds of fresh applicants every year for want of accommodation. Yet it is argued in all seriousness that the foundation is completely absent. Primary education, we are told, should not be made compulsory because the country is not ripe for it and there are no funds for the purpose. University education on communal lines should not be organised because there is a "complete absence" of primary and secondary education. To such futilities of argument and inconsistencies are sometimes the "Friends of India" driven. It would be a great relief to all concerned and a fortunate day for the country when

this vicious circle of argument, at present so much in vogue in some quarters, is finally and completely broken.

It is a pleasure to see that a spirit of mutual amity and good will is beginning to manifest itself in the relations of the Hindus and the Mussalmans, at any rate, as far as their most prominent leaders are concerned. Both of these great communities are at the moment engaged in devising educational schemes of surpassing interest and magnitude, which are bound to exercise incalculable influence on the future development of the country. The opposition of certain vested interests and the scepticism of cold, calculating philosophers notwithstanding, the movements for the Hindu and the Moslem Universities have roused a degree of enthusiasm and genuine desire for educational reform that have never been witnessed in the history of India before. The very strength and volume of public opinion in favour of the movements is in itself a guarantee that they embody a live issue and touch the broad interests of the communities at some deep and vital point. How gratifying it is, therefore, to see that both the Hindu and the Moslem leaders should be disposed towards each other in these great undertakings in a spirit of mutual sympathy and regard. If the same spirit is allowed to broaden its range and to ultimately develop into neighbouring helpfulness and tolerance in every day affairs of life, a "united Indian nation" would cease to be the platform aspiration that it is to-day. The contribution of Rs. 5,000 made by His Highness the Aga Khan to the Hindu University and the generous promise of the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga to contribute Rs. 20,000 to the Moslem University have a value far in excess of their material price. Let us hope these silver links will grow into moral bonds of love and union more enduring than silver and gold. The Aga Khan, while sincerely and gratefully thanking the Maharaja for his generous donation, says that "My greatest ambition is to see Hindus and Moslems love each other and each help the faith of the other." This is, we are sure, the ambition of every true well-wisher and genuine patriot of this country.



Selection.

The Wandering Dove.

It was the Snow-white Dove of Peace
Passed by on fluttering wing,
"Sweet Dove," said I,
"Now whither fly
As swift as anything?"
As Snow-white Dove gazed down at me
I saw its feathers swell,
As with a sigh
It made reply
"I'm blamed if I can tell"
"I cannot roost in Germany,
Their war talk breaks my rest.
And, as I've feared,
In France they've reared
A fort above my nest
In Spain explosions scare me stiff,
In Greece the bursting shot
Swish round my legs
And crack my eggs,
And Portugal's too hot.
"In Italy—well, you can see
That I'm not welcome there;
The Turks, no doubt
Would chuck me out.
I am in wild despair.
Alas, in all this world no place,
Adjacent or outlying,
Seems fit for me;
It's plain to see
That I must keep on flying."

—New York World.

The Comrade.

The Agony of Persia.

THANKS to the ruthless and unsparing thoroughness of the Muscovite aggression and the crude imbecility of the British Foreign Office, the liberty and independence of Persia is fast coming to a tragic end. There is not a statesman with lofty purpose and strength of conviction, not a giant among the puny and garrulous tribe of those that sit in the seats of the mighty, who could chastise the conscience of Europe with the scourge of his moral wrath. Paltry men with petty minds and hearts of flint, aping the accent and manner of the wise and the great of old, have come to dominate the counsels of the civilised world. Faith they have none, hopes and fears of humanity move them not. They are a race nurtured on the soulless creed of Efficiency, in the atmosphere peculiar to the business Syndicate and the Trust. Even in their wars of conquest and ruthless extermination they have none of the magnificent idealism of stark and sheer force, but have developed a business jargon peculiarly their own. They divide a helpless and weak country into "spheres of influence" amongst themselves and try to "penetrate it peacefully" in order to "develop its resources" and, at the end, when the race of "native savages" has been thoroughly beggared and deprived of its power and liberty, it is seriously invited to be grateful to them for bearing its burden and to admire the "triumph of civilisation." Vainly the white man's burden of sins is appalling, beyond redemption. Italy has already given us an object lesson of what that burden can be. The blood of the martyrs spilled on the desert sands of Tripoli, the innocent victims of a ferocious blood-lust, whose dwelling is among the tombs and whose silence is heard only of God, have won for her, like her Borgias, the eternity of infamy as the scarlet figure of modern history.

Russia would seem to be bent on a far more inhuman achievement. A united and independent nation is not to be destroyed at a stroke. It is to be slowly and with exquisite tortures bled to death. The Persian Meghiss, representing the hopes and aspirations of a race whose annals, as glorious as any on record, date back to 3,000 years, has won the respect of the world by maintaining national honour and dignity even in its last gasps of freedom. Of a truth, it cannot hand over the independence and freedom of the country which it had sworn to maintain. The provinces support the Meghiss in its decision. Thousands of young men are marching about in the streets of Teheran at this supreme crisis in their national destiny, shouting "death or liberty." Even women are reported to have been forced out of the privacy of their harems and are ready to join in the defence of their country's honour and freedom. All that is fine and manly and noble in the spirit and genius of the nation has been stirred to its depths. The aggressor has let loose his hungry legions on the country and they are rapidly pressing on Teheran. Armed resistance there can be none. But the dead-weight of repression and tyranny cannot permanently keep down the spirit of freedom. A united nation saturated with love of liberty cannot be enslaved with ease.

None, however, can lightly ignore the crushing and soul-destroying burden of the ruthless despotism that Russia is determined to impose on Persia. In fact it is the very efforts of the Persian people to cleanse their administration of despotic abuses strengthen the country, and evolve a system of just, equitable, and truly national government that have developed the Russian menace to such fearful dimensions. After reading Mr Shuster's letter to the *Times*, the second part of which is reproduced in our issue of to-day, no unbiased student of affairs in the Middle East can for a moment doubt the aim and objective of Russian methods and diplomacy. The letter lay bare an amount of interference, coercion and high-handedness on the part of Russia that would strike as outrageous or utterly incredible in the face of the Declaration of Teheran of 1907. The *Times*, with its usual solicitude for the susceptibilities of Russia and its flank retort of all international bargains that seem inconvenient for the moment or begin to militate against its grasping designs of Jungo Imperialism, had tried to besmirch not only the noble traditions of the British Press, but the fair name of England by declaring that "Persia was not independent in the full sense of the term." It not only meant a justification of all what Russia was doing, but aggravated the whole situation by a wicked outrage on the conscience of nations. In order that the mischievous enormity of the methods, which suit the *Times* in trying to promote the interests of the Empire, may be seen in their true light, we quote the assurance given to Persia by the British representative in Teheran on 5th September 1907, when the Anglo-Russian Convention was concluded. The solemn Declaration, amongst other things, assured Persia that—

"The object of the two Powers (Russia and England) in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever, the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations

was not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests."

These words, especially the lines we have italicised, are plain as plain can be, and happily conceal no juggling and diplomatic subtlety. In fact diplomatic language can hardly rise to greater emphasis and clearness than this. Yet it is this unequivocal assurance for Persia's independence and freedom from interference in her internal affairs that the *Times*, the most solemn-faced custodian of Imperial prestige and honour, has sought to repudiate. As for the methods and attitude of Russia—the dictator of the *Times* and the keeper of its conscience—they read like a satirical commentary on the words of the Declaration we have italicised. And because they were resented and opposed by the one strong man who had been serving his Government with honesty, zeal and devotion, the assurances of solemn treaties are to be set aside, the *Times* must support Russia, Sir Edward Grey must shuffle and equivocate, Mr. Shuster must go to the wall, and Russia must "intervene on the pretext of safeguarding her interests." Mr Shuster in a long cablegram to the *New York World* is reported to have said that "Russia's demand for his dismissal is due to his refusal to betray Persia." He declares he has faithfully fulfilled his contract to the Sovereign and the nation, but every step taken towards effective financial reform has been consistently fought by Russia with England's sanctioning acquiescence.

History has hardly anything to show more filthy or base than the gruesome diplomatic drama now being enacted at Teheran. The earnest efforts of a once virile race to equip itself in accordance with the requirements of progressive races, and take its place worthily in the comity of civilised nations, are being thwarted with an energy of determination that is defiantly brutal and base. The one Power that could stay the hand of the spoiler has already surrendered its right of moral veto and has sunk into a mere instrument of Russian designs. The British Foreign Policy has lost its sense of moral judgment in the hands of Sir Edward Grey. It has been divorced from the liberal traditions of helpfulness to struggling nationalities which shed unpeishable splendour on British history and constitute the living glory of the British race. It has been degraded to cold, cynical moves and countermoves on the diplomatic chess-board and has utterly forgotten that the figures it deals with are made of flesh and blood. The interference of Russia is to be condoned because the hands of British statesmen are tied down by an illegal Convention. The voice of liberty is to be gagged, even the mother of Parliaments is to be muzzled because the exigencies of diplomacy are fearfully vacating and inexorable.

Sir Edward Grey has announced his intention of making a statement on Persian affairs in the House of Commons. We await his pronouncement with all the anxiety of those who would like to know that British policy towards Persia has been absolutely free from Russian dominance. The facts of the situation are, however, ugly and compromising, and we cannot see how the British Foreign Minister can exonerate himself at least from a sort of passive complicity in the development of the Russian schemes for occupying Northern Persia. The logical simplicity with which Russian designs have matured, step by step and act by act, culminating in the despatch of the army of occupation now marching on Teheran, had either failed to impress Sir Edward with the sense of coming events, or was ignored in a spirit of nonchalance, or even acquiesced in in conscious imbecility. In any case we can not be supposed to admire the ignorance, or indifference or helplessness of the Minister when the understanding "to assure for ever the independence of Persia" is about to result in the planting of Russian Cossacks in the heart of Teheran, to be followed, in the natural course, by a formal annexation on the basis of the *fait accompli*.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the great *Times* are assuring the world that "military intervention is only temporary" and that "Government would still adhere to the Declaration of Teheran of 1907. The Government had not done, and would not do, anything to depart from it. Russia had given most categorical assurances that her action was purely provisional, and that she did not intend to infringe the principles of the Agreement." Is the Declaration of Teheran still intact after all that Russia has done? So far its beneficent intentions have brought about a military intervention. Who knows but that it may survive to bless the ultimate annexation of the unfortunate country with its ghastly mockery of words. Russian "assurances" have a grim knack of avenging themselves on those who have the misfortune to take them seriously. "Provisional" actions are not unknown to have grown into permanent necessities. Even liberal England has found her "provisional" presence in Egypt to be an indefinite call on her civilising mission, and there is no lack of those among her statesmen who advocate the "regularising" of her connection with the country, i.e., annexing it finally and for ever. We do not know what the "provisional action" of the destroyer of Poland and Finland and Central Asian States amounts to. There are already veiled hints forthcoming in abundance that some sort of serious tampering is contemplated with the Persian constitution and system of govern-

ment. Sir Edward Grey has thrown out an ominous indication of the direction in which the joint Anglo-Russian action is to move in the present crisis. Replying to questions in the House of Commons on the 1st December he is reported to have said that "the effect, direct or indirect, of the action of Russia may take a very serious form . . . The present crisis makes it urgent to find a situation at Teheran to avert a recurrence of the incidents calculated to disturb the Anglo-Russian Agreement . . . It is plain a situation has arisen demanding the serious attention of both Governments with regard to its ultimate possible consequences in Persia." These words are portentous and full of menace. The action of Russia "taking a very serious form" and the "ultimate possible consequences" of the situation in Persia hold out scant hope that Persia will emerge out of the crisis without her liberty of action crippled or even her sovereign rights in some measure reduced. The *Times* is still more portentous, if indeed it can ever be less, and we read that "it will be possible to establish a practical Government with the boy Shah remaining on the throne on the lines devised in a generous spirit by British and Russian statesmanship." It is plain that what the *Times* call a "practical government" is nothing more than a body of dignified clerks set up to register the decrees of British and Russian residents at Teheran. The solitude of the boy Shah would be pathetic, were it not so transparently mercenary. Some puppet of national "authority" has been declared to be indispensable in all schemes of Colonial expansions, in order to save appearances and cheat reality. The "generous spirit" in which a "practical government" of an independent country is to be devised by the signatories of the Anglo-Russian Convention or perhaps by the leader-writer of the *Times* is, we may take it, not far removed from the spirit that has hitherto sustained the white man in bearing his tremendous burdens.

Persia stands firm in her resolve to reject the humiliating demands of her powerful and greatest enemy. She also stands to lose her independence. The next few days will reveal the spirit in which England discharges her serious responsibility in the matter. England's action will decide the fate of Persia. And it is not too much to say that Persia's fate will decide the future position of England in the affairs of the East. It is really incredible to imagine that the prospect of Russian boundaries marching along Indian Frontiers and almost enveloping Afghanistan does not seriously alarm British statesmen. With the disappearance of Persia will go for ever the security of the Indian Empire and the prestige of the British name. The reputation of England as the great friend of freedom is one of her greatest moral assets. It is a force of incalculable good in her relations with the East.

The Indian Mussalmans can never think of Persia and her people without deep emotion. They owe to the country and its great men of old, its poets, philosophers, men of letters, a debt which they can never repay and will never forget. Their civilisation in India was mainly Persian in origin, and they feel a spiritual and intellectual affinity with the people of Iran more deep and lasting by far than any that binds them to their own countrymen of other races and creeds. The influences of Persian life and culture permeated even some of the most important aspects of Hindu life, and have left a permanent impression Hindu literature, language, manners, and spirituality. The heart of every Indian, and particularly of every Mussalman, goes out in deep sympathy to Persia in the troubles and misfortunes that beset her. They hope that the British Government will yet rise to the occasion and save her from the ruthless designs of an unscrupulous foe. The destruction of her national liberties, when she is earnestly striving for peace, progress and reform, will be a calamity that will stir the feelings of the Indian Mussalmans, as of every lover of human freedom, to their depths. We trust, however, to the ultimate righteousness of British statesmanship that such a calamity will be averted.

Petty Despotism in the U. P.

WE RECEIVED some time ago a copy of the humble petition of Mumtaz Hosain, Sub-Overseer, Betwa Canal, Jhansi Division, to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. The facts disclosed therein and vouched for by official records tell a sad tale of petty despotism in the most Bahadur of all bureaucracies in India. It seems that the Sub-Overseer who has petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor had somehow offended the Assistant Engineer, a Mr. A. E. Lewis, who had occasionally reported the Sub-Overseer to the Executive Engineer about wrong measurements, which, however, had turned out, on the admission of Mr. Lewis himself, to be correct. Evidently enraged at this Mr. Lewis, it is alleged, once told the petitioner that he had spoken to the Superintending Engineer against him and had been asked to report the slightest fault of the Sub-Overseer, which, he was assured, would procure his reduction. How far this is true we do not know, but if it is,—and the subsequent action of Mr. Nethersole, both as Superintending Engineer and as Chief Engineer does not in any way contradict it—then it seems clear that armed with such an assurance Mr. Lewis felt himself to be the master of the situation.

The petition goes on to say that "on 23rd March 1907, Mr. Lewis checked petitioner's work and rebuked him at the outset that he was dishonest and that his measurements were all wrong, and began to alter the figures in the measurement book, and when the petitioner told him that he was not dishonest and that his measurements were correct, Mr. Lewis caught hold of his neck, struck him with his cane, called him names, pushed him down his horse and dragged him on by the neck for a long distance." This was reported to the Superintending Engineer through the proper channel, but, strangely enough, it was the Sub-Overseer that was suspended, and the Executive Engineer was ordered to "proceed to the spot and personally check the measurements made by the Sub-Overseer, and checked by Mr. Lewis, as it is on this point that the whole matter turns." Later the Superintending Engineer made an enquiry in person and noted down on the 6th May that "the Executive Engineer had checked the measurements as directed in my note of the 13th April 1907, with the result that he found the Sub-Overseer's measurements correct, as checked by Mr. Lewis, the alteration made by him in one or two items only being very petty." He (Mumtaz Hosain) is therefore released from suspension from the date of 5th May. He is to draw full pay for the whole period under suspension except for five days, for which he will draw half pay only as punishment for absenting himself from duty. The whole period will count as service towards pension. Not satisfied with this, Mumtaz Hosain applied on the 15th May to the Superintending Engineer, who wrote on the 18th June to the Executive Engineer that the Sub-Overseer "should be informed that the act of insubordination for which I punished him by allowing only half pay for five days was not that of reporting the circumstances of the case to the Executive Engineer, as he was quite right to do, but that of absenting himself." Thereupon Mumtaz Hosain applied on the 29th July to the Chief Engineer. On the 21st November, 1907, the Executive Engineer informed him that with reference to his petition to the Chief Engineer "the Superintending Engineer, on reconsideration of his case, has been pleased to order that the words 'except for five days for which he will draw half pay only as punishment for absenting himself from duty' be expunged from para 6 of Superintending Engineer's note dated 6th May, 1907."

Thus it appears that all that Mumtaz Hosain succeeded in doing during eight months since the incident of 23rd March 1907 was that he escaped punishment for the savage assaults which Mr. Lewis had made on him in one of his recurring attacks of uncontrollable rage. But, although a Sub-Overseer drawing a salary of Rs. 60 per month only, Mumtaz Hosain—who had served for twenty-two years in the Department without having been punished as the Superintending Engineer had at first done, and, of course, without any incidents of brutal assaults such as that of Mr. Lewis—was a very respectable and well-connected person. Despairing of receiving justice from Mr. Nethersole, the Superintending Engineer, or any higher officer of the Department, he filed a Civil Suit against Mr. Lewis in order to put the fear of God into that unruly person. This he did exactly a year after the assault, so that no one can say that he had not used considerable patience in the matter. But this was too much for Mr. Nethersole, who wrote to Mumtaz Hosain on the 17th May, 1908, as follows:—"It has come to my notice that you have instituted a Civil Suit claiming damages against Mr. Lewis, in respect to his action as your Superior Officer, the whole circumstances of the case having been already fully investigated by me and my orders thereon having been communicated to you officially. Your action in thus defying the authority of your Departmental Superior is highly improper and I hereby warn you that if persisted in, it will, in my opinion, render you liable for forfeiture of hon. on your appointment in Government Service, and its privileges from 23rd March, 1908, the date on which you instituted the suit. You are hereby placed under suspension from that date and are directed to at once submit a written explanation of your conduct. I further call on you for an immediate explanation as to why notice of your intention to institute this suit was not lodged as it should have been under Section 424 C. P. C."

Here is a warning of dismissal, an instant suspension and a demand for two immediate explanations, all rolled into one. When the Sub-Overseer asked for being released from suspension he was informed that the Superintending Engineer awaited the result of the civil case "if you allow it to proceed"—a very significant *if*, indeed—before submitting the whole case to the Chief Engineer with his own opinion for orders. The same application was again submitted on the 10th November, 1908, after the case had been decided in favour of Mumtaz Hosain, but he was informed that nothing further could be done as "the proceedings in the civil courts are not yet terminated." One could have thought from this that Mr. Nethersole could form no opinion in the matter till the case was decided, and the departmental action would depend on the result of the suit, a decree for Mumtaz Hosain settling the matter in his favour.

But evidently that was not the way Mr. Nethersole thought. In February, 1910, the High Court finally decided the case. The

proceedings of this case must be somewhat curious reading for it is alleged that Mr Lewis stated before the Chief Justice that he was entitled to make use of *any* means to make his subordinates work, whereupon the Chief Justice is said to have told him that the use of cane or fists was contraband cargo even for an official of the United Provinces. (*Indo "Law Journal"* 8th April 1910, Mumtaz Hosain vs. Lewis). The High Court judgment states as follows.—"The plaintiff (Mumtaz Hosain) is apparently a man of respectable position in life. . . . The defendant (Mr Lewis) struck him twice with a cane, pushed him along by the back of his neck, called him names, indirectly threatened him with being tied up and thrown into the canal, and afterwards tried to set him on his horse when he refused to get on it. All this has been found by the learned Judge, but he says that the plaintiff's conduct afforded considerable justification for the defendant's acts. I do not think this is so. There was some provocation no doubt but it was not so great as to justify the treatment meted out to the plaintiff by the defendant. The circumstance that he was a man of violent temper did not mitigate his conduct." As for the law points raised by Mr. Nethersole, the High Court decided that "a public officer has no right to use insulting language to the subordinates, and he has no right to commit assaults upon them. If he exceeds his rights and uses defamatory language which is actionable, or assaults or hurts a subordinate he is responsible in damages as any ordinary person would be liable. The Court below was entirely in error in the view which it took that a public officer was entitled to notice of an action for any such assaults or defamation as is alleged in this case. We therefore must allow the appeal."

But what was the net results of so much ado? Was Mumtaz Hosain reinstated and Mr Lewis dismissed or otherwise punished? Not a bit. Although the case was decided in February, 1910, the Department, it is alleged, took no notice of Mumtaz Hosain for about six months. In August, 1910, the Superintending Engineer sent for him at Jhansi and informed him in writing that he was required to submit his explanation to the charges brought against him. The petitioner states that no written charges were, however, given to him for explanation for a month, but on the 10th September, 1910, the then Superintending Engineer (Mr. Bailow) promised that orders would shortly be passed about his suspension and allowance as soon as the case was forwarded to the Chief Engineer. Mumtaz Hosain, after waiting for 4 or 5 months, kept on submitting reminders by registered post to the Superintendent Engineer, Jhansi, in February and March, 1911, and, receiving no reply, submitted two reminders to the Chief Engineer in April and May, 1911, and again reminded him by reply prepaid telegrams twice in May and June, 1911. But all to no effect. He then went to Naini Tal to wait on the Chief Engineer and stayed there for 10 days, saw the Chief Engineer several times, but received no orders.

On the 28th June, 1911, he received an order from the Chief Engineer demanding his explanation of three charges. But having wasted many months in doing nothing, the Chief Engineer felt inclined to make up for lost time and wanted the Sub-Overseer's explanation within a week. Mumtaz Hosain, however, submitted his explanation in time. But what were the charges? The first was *insubordination*, because the Sub-Overseer had stated *more than four years ago* in his petition dated 23rd March, 1907, in which he complained of Mr. Lewis' assault, that Mr Lewis had deliberately and intentionally under measured his work. The second was *insubordination*, because in his application to the Superintending Engineer he had ventured to submit that if the authorities of his Department had done justice according to the facts on record, he would not have perhaps dared to give any further trouble to Mr. Lewis. The third charge was also of *insubordination and disrespect to his superiors*, because in his application to the Chief Engineer he had said that his explanation which deserved perusal was not taken into consideration and Mr. Lewis had been favoured by the Department. Whether these charges are at all serious we shall leave the reader to judge for himself. But it is noteworthy that Mr. Nethersole himself had officially stated in dealing with this case he had not found Mumtaz Hosain guilty of any offence other than that of absenting himself from duty—a charge which was evidently disproved, for the punishment awarded by Mr. Nethersole was subsequently cancelled—and that the act of insubordination for which he was originally punished was not that of "reporting the circumstances of the case to the Executive Engineer as he was quite right to do." Now, the first charge is none other than our old friend, the insubordination of "reporting the circumstances of the case to the Executive Engineer, as he was quite right to do," and it has taken the Department more than four years to discover it by a careful microscopic examination. The other charges do not appear to us to be any more substantial, and the utmost that can be said—if the facts stated in the petition are true—is that after having been treated most unjustly by the department, the Sub-Overseer did not thank the benign officers for the injustice done to him, but, on the contrary, expressed the truth a little too directly for official susceptibilities.

Whatever the nature of the charges, no right thinking man can say that the result of the whole case does any credit to the

Department's reputation for justice. *The Sub-Overseer has been dismissed.* Need we add that the Chief Engineer who passed these orders was no other than Mr. Nethersole who as Superintending Engineer is alleged to have all along shielded Mr. Lewis and threatened the Sub-Overseer with awful consequences if after having been brutally assaulted by a habitually ill-tempered superior, he sought justice in the highest court of judicature which the Government of His Majesty has established for the protection of life and limb from the fury of ruffians. After this it will not surprise us to know that Mr. Nethersole will be knighted in the forthcoming Durbar for his impartial justice to his subordinates, and that Mr. Lewis will be promoted for the meekness of his manners and for promoting loyalty throughout the British Empire. We have dealt with this case at such length not because we have any knowledge of Mr. Mumtaz Hosain other than what the copy of his petition supplies, or that we have any reason to think ill of Messrs. Lewis and Nethersole. What has moved us to write is the fact that such cases are unhappily of a somewhat frequent occurrence in the United Provinces, and we feel that the matter should forcibly be brought to the notice of higher authorities in the year of the Coronation Durbar for redress of an only too general grievance.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
M. Jalaluddin, Esq., Jalapahar, Darjeeling	5	0	0
Chaudhri Noorul Haq, Esq., Calcutta	2	0	0
Two Muslim Girls out of their "Idi"	3	0	0
Mohamed Ali, Esq., Calcutta	5	0	0
Hafiz Ahmed, Esq., Aligarh	50	0	0
Mrs. Mohamed Ali, Calcutta (by sale of Kurban skins)	2	12	0
Fazlur Rahman, Esq., Kara Parsuraj, Patna	2	0	0
Ifkharuddin Ahmed, Esq., Mairala	4	8	0
Mohamed Hanif, Esq., Aligarh	50	0	0
Azizur Rahman, Esq., Unao	10	0	0
Mohamed Junaid, Esq., Jaunpur	10	7	0
M. Basit Ali, Esq., Budann	21	0	0
Naimuddin Khan, Esq., Aligarh	5	0	0
Babu Rafiullah Khan Sahib, Aligarh	10	0	0
Professor Abdul Haq Haqqi Baghdadi, Aligarh	10	0	0
Shah Mustafa Ahmed, Esq., Aligarh	150	0	0
S. Mohamed Ali, Esq., Bhopal	2	0	0
Prof. Nawab Ali, Baroda	5	0	0
S. Raza Ali, Esq., Bashi	50	0	0
Ifkhar Ahmed Shah, Esq., Bahraich	5	0	0
Haji Bashir Ahmed Khan Sahib Wana, Ghazipur	20	8	0
Amount received during the week	370	3	0
Amount previously acknowledged	1,246	0	0
Total	Rs. 1,616	3	0

Anglo-Russian Policy in Persia.

(FROM THE "TIMES")

II. A better example of Russia's open hostility to the Persian Government could hardly be found than the very recent actions of the Russian Consul-General at Teheran, Pozidonow, with all the details of which I am personally familiar. The facts are still fresh in the public mind, but it may be noted that the arrest and brutal treatment of a few Treasury gendarmes by a superior force of Russian Cossacks, led by two Russian Consular officers in full uniform, and the subsequent incarceration of the Persian gendarmes in the Russian Consulate General, is but a fair sample of Russia's real attitude. When it is remembered that this was done in the face of the Convention of 1907, whereby Britain and Russia mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and that Russia has completely ignored the Persian protest over this incident, and that Britain, the other signatory, has quietly looked on, the real value to Persia of the famous Convention in question becomes immediately apparent.

To Persia's protest demanding the removal of these three Consular officers the Russian Legation returned the ludicrous answer that in certain instances in Mazanderan and Veran the Russian sovereignty had been insulted, in that, certain insurgents in arms in the field against the Government having hoisted a Russian flag over themselves, they should not have been touched. Presumably, they should have been allowed to attack the Government forces in peace.

I could go further and cite the attempts made by Russia to prevent any arrangements by which Persia might emerge from her present state of financial bondage to Russia, and the claims of Britain that under the rescript of Nasir-ud-Din Shah of 1888 the Persian Government itself has no right to build railroads in the south, that right being reserved to Britain, but the list grows too long.

THE CASE OF MAJOR STOKES.

I do want to mention the Stokes case, not because it is transcendently important in itself, but because of the noxious principle which both Britain and Russia have laboured to have established

with Persia's acquiescence. The British Minister here wrote me on 22nd July that he was authorized by his Government to tell me "that Major Stokes before accepting the command of the *gendarmerie* (Treasury) will have to resign his commission in the Indian Army."

As the original tender made by me to Major Stokes did not mention that he would be required to resign from the British service, and as the situation would have been equally well met from Persia's standpoint by his being seconded for three years, I naturally assumed that on his tendering his resignation, which he immediately did by cable, it would be accepted. To my intense surprise I learned that the reply of the British Government was the presentation of a *note verbale* on 8th August to the Persian Foreign Office "warning the Persian Government that they ought not to persist in the appointment of Major Stokes, unless he is not to be employed in Northern Persia. If the Persian Government do persist, His Majesty's Government will recognize Russia's right (*vis-à-vis*) to take such steps as she thinks are necessary in order that her interests in Northern Persia may be safeguarded."

A mere trifling threat between friends, this.

This was followed on 19th August by another Note repeating "the warning given on the 8th instant to the effect that unless Major Stokes is not to be employed in North Persia the Persian Government ought not to persist in the appointment, and if they do persist His Majesty's Government will recognize the right of Russia to take what steps she thinks necessary (*vis-à-vis*) to safeguard her interests in North Persia."

Is it at all pertinent to inquire here just what are those undefined "interests" in Northern Persia on which so much stress is thus laid? Certainly they are not defined in the Convention of 1907, and it is equally clear that the Persian Government does not know them; nor did the British Government know of them as late as 22nd July. Otherwise how could she have contemplated accepting Major Stokes's resignation from the Indian Army in order that he might sign the contract offered him?

To complete the record it should be mentioned that the Russian Legation on 19th August addressed a memorandum to the Persian Foreign Office stating that "the Imperial Government of Russia, for reasons explained at the time to the Persian Government, considers the engagement by the latter of Major Stokes as chief of the armed forces—called *gendarmerie*—for the collection of taxes as incompatible with its interests, and I am charged to protest against that appointment. Failing satisfaction, the Imperial Government would reserve to itself the right to take such measures as it might judge to be necessary for the safeguarding of its interests in the North of Persia."

LETTER TO THE BRITISH MINISTER.

On learning of the first Note presented to the Persian Government by the British Legation, I expressed the following views to the British Minister here—

I beg leave to address you, unofficially, on a subject of great importance to my work here. I have been intensely surprised to learn this evening that your Government has conveyed to the Persian Foreign Minister a Note of warning or protest against my proposed employment of Major Stokes in the Treasury *gendarmerie*. You are doubtless aware of the course of this matter up to the present. Need I say that in view of the tone of the communication which your Government authorized you to address to me on July 22nd last, in effect that Major Stokes could accept the position upon resigning from the Indian Army, the apparent *volte-face* indicated by their Note of to-day is almost incomprehensible?

Does your Government quite realize the position in which it is placing me before the Persian people and their Government in now suddenly joining with another Power to prevent the exercise of the most elemental act of sovereignty by this country, whose independence and integrity both of those foreign Powers have solemnly pledged themselves, jointly and severally, to respect?

My personal feelings are of no importance, but the success or failure of my mission here is of moment both to Persia, which entrusted her financial affairs to my care, and to my countrymen, who are not unnaturally interested in the creditable accomplishment of my task.

Before accepting this work I was given clearly to understand that neither of the two principal Powers having interests here offered any objection to my undertaking it, and surely such a statement was something more than an empty pledge.

No one, I am assured, knows better than yourself that the choice of Major Stokes was actuated by no political motive in the faintest degree and no thinking person could suspect me of any intention to engage in political jockeying here—a thing which would only make me ridiculous and spell absolute ruin for my work.

What then am I to think when I see the first vital step which I undertake in the task of bringing order out of chaos here obstructed and relentlessly opposed by the very two nations who have time and again professed their sincere desire to see the progress and prosperity of the stricken country which I am seeking to serve?

Does your Foreign Office fully realize that in adopting its most recent attitude in this affair it is inevitably producing the impression on the Persian people that it is in reality opposed to the successful accomplishment of my work, in addition to forcing me to assume

that I can count on no friendly moral assistance from your Government in a vital matter of this kind?

If this were a normal place, where well-trained, capable, and experienced men could be had in comparative abundance, the result (though not the principle of your Government's objections) might not be so bad; but here where, as you know, good men are extremely scarce, the attitude adopted amounts to a virtual veto of my efforts and a nullification of my chances of success.

I hope and trust that in some manner your Government may be brought to see the matter in this light, apart from what I am frank to say seems to me a totally uncalled-for interference in the purely routine and internal affairs of the financial organization which I am endeavouring to build up.

Personally, I feel so strongly on the subject that I am forced to contemplate the necessity of setting right my own countrymen, at least, with a formal public statement of all my experiences in this connexion since arriving at Teheran. Needless to say, such a course would be much to my regret, but there is such a thing as just dealing even between Governments and individuals, and certainly in this case I feel that my own record is sufficiently clear to bear the light of the most thorough inspection.

From a review of this incident, it is manifest that, unless the Convention of 1907 is a farce or a deception, by its own terms it has no bearing whatever on the proposed appointment of Major Stokes as a financial aide to the Treasurer-General.

First, because the preamble of that document, as published to the world, avows that Britain and Russia mutually engage to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and declares the sincere desire of the two signatories for the preservation of order throughout that country and its peaceful development. Yet one of the primary elements of sovereignty is the right to manage internal affairs, at least within the limitations of the law of nations, and surely the appointment of its own officials by any country can be considered as nothing else.

Secondly, the plain purpose of the Convention was that neither signatory Power should seek for herself, or support in favour of her subjects, any concessions of a political or commercial nature—such as concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc.—within the so-called sphere of influence of the other Power.

But this is no case of a "concession." Major Stokes is not a bank or a railroad, or a political or a commercial concession of any kind, and the voluntary tender to him of a post in the Persian service can, by no stretch of the imagination, be converted into a "seeking" or "supporting" by Britain of such a concession.

The second fallacy in the position of the two Powers lies in the fact that the British Foreign Office itself never thought of construing Major Stokes's appointment into a violation of even the so-called "spirit of the Convention" until Russia raised the point. The proof of this has been cited above.

Without in any manner recognizing the application or validity of the Convention as relating to herself, Persia might point out that where the language of a document is plain and clear there is no room for interpretations of the spirit.

BRITISH ACTION IN SOUTHERN PERSIA.

Now that the forces of Mohamet Ali and Salar-ed-Dowleh have just been routed and dispersed, and before the Persian Government can get a breathing-space after all the anxiety, expense, and difficulty from which it might have been spared by a due observance of the Protocol regarding efficacious measures against the agitations of Mohamet Ali, the announcement is made that Britain proposes to send two regiments of Indian Cavalry to Southern Persia to strengthen various Consular guards. The reason stated is the unsafe condition of the southern roads and the disorders at Shiraz. Regarding the latter, it might be mentioned that the prolonged asylum granted up to a short time ago by the British Consulate at Shiraz to Ghavam-ol-Molk, the sworn foe of the Kashghais, has tended in no small degree to render the task of the Persian Central Government in restoring order there more difficult, especially in view of the continued efforts of the Ghavam's son to stir up the Arab tribes against the late Governor, Nizam-es-Saltaneh.

The generally expected effect of this incursion of Indian troops into Southern Persia at this time will be the despatch of even larger forces of foreign troops into Northern Persia on even smaller pretexts.

I have so far confined myself to incidents occurring during the five months of my stay here, but this account by no means exhausts the evidences of the unfriendly attitude of Russia and Britain toward Persia. The spectacle given to the world last winter, when the British and Russian Legations stooped to personal insults and had the footsteps of the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs clogged by their uniformed Legation servants, on the ground that the pension of the ex Shah was in arrears, was sufficiently indicative of the disposition of the two Powers and their representatives at Teheran towards the Persian Government.

In all the cases cited above the Persian Foreign Office has lodged formal protests against the evident violations of her sovereignty and her dignity, and in but few if in any instances has even a pretence of reparation or satisfaction been made.

The War Supplement.

News of the War.

INTENSE indignation has been caused by the discovery in a mosque near Henni of the bodies of seventeen Bersaglieri, all horribly mutilated. Several of the men had been crucified and others burned alive.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 30th November.—In order to deter sniping, a party of Italians from Benghazi surprised a body of Arabs and engaged them. Fierce and prolonged fighting resulted, the Arabs eventually being almost wiped out. The Italian casualties were 12 killed and 30 wounded.

A message from Rome on the 3rd December states that the Italians at Tripoli yesterday drove off a considerable force of Turkish Regulars, who were aided by Arabs, at the point of the bayonet. The artillery further shelled the fugitives. The Italian casualties were eight killed and seventeen wounded, while the Turks suffered heavy loss.

A thousand Turks and Arabs attacked Derna on the 2nd but were repulsed by the Italian artillery.

Reuter wires from Perim on the 30th November.—The Italian warships are bombarding Mocha Fort at Sheikh Said. Italy affirms that the bombardment of Mocha was due to the Turk collecting and organising a raid on Eritrea.

During the bombardment of Mocha, one man was killed and one wounded. Two dhows were also sunk and a few huts burned. Afterwards the cruiser sank twelve dhows and bombarded Duiab, where there are 1,250 Turks with five guns. Three soldiers were slightly wounded at Sheikh Said.

Reuter wires from Cairo on the 5th.—The steamer *Garos Abdu*, which is at Suez reports that an Italian cruiser twice fired across her bows in the Red Sea. She was not boarded and was signalled to proceed.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—The Bulgarian revolutionists blew up a mosque in the town of Ishtib in Macedonia with dynamite on the 5th. Twelve were killed and thirteen wounded. The Porte has sent a circular to the Powers calling attention to the outrages in Macedonia and the renewed activity of the Macedo-Bulgarian revolutionary organisation.

A frontier correspondent states that the Amir has sanctioned the opening of subscription lists in aid of the sick and wounded Turkish soldiers in Tripoli. An officer in the Afghan Army is circulating an appeal among the officials, military officers and well-to-do classes in Kabul.

According to a frontier correspondent, the Amir of Kabul is showing particular interest in both Turkish and Persian politics at the present time. He is sending six Afghan and two Turkish officers of his army to Teheran and Constantinople with orders to supply a regular service of newsletters.

The sale of ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid's jewels lasted three days, the amount realised being £200,000.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 5th.—The Italians report a general advance on the 4th, during which they captured the enemy's main position at Ainara, eight guns and ammunition, all the provisions and camp equipment. The enemy are now in full retreat to the south and west. The Italian casualties, it is stated, do not exceed a hundred. The enemy, however, lost several hundred killed alone. The despatch further declares that this victory ends the period of warfare proper, henceforth there will only be guerilla operations. Tripoli and the oasis have been freed and the Turks are definitely cut off from the sea and victualling bases.

The Turks made a night attack on the fort of Benghazi on the 3rd instant taking the garrison by surprise. A number of Arabs crowded into the gateway, but were instantly killed. The enemy were eventually repulsed with severe loss. The Italians lost three killed and five wounded. A fresh attack on the 4th instant was repulsed, the Turks and Arabs losing heavily.

Reuter wired from Rome.—Following Monday's victory the Italians after an aeroplane reconnaissance cleared the Arabs out of the neighbourhood of Ainara and engaged three thousand Turks and Arabs some five miles from Ainara. But on the artillery coming up, the Turks fled leaving much ammunition, grain and other stores.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—As the result of rioting following on the blowing up of a mosque at Ishtib on December 5th, fourteen Bulgarians were killed and 157 wounded.



The Euphemisms of Massacre.

Turkey (at Tripoli): "When I was charged with this kind of thing in Bulgaria, nobody excused me on the ground of 'Military Exigencies'!"

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Malta, November 12

From trustworthy information from Tripoli it appears that on the afternoon of the 9th instant the Turks boldly advanced to the Italian line of defence, concentrating their attack near the Karamanli tombs. The Turks were only driven back on the 10th instant.

Heavy rains are greatly hampering the Italian movements. Troops are still arriving and are immediately sent to the front. Yesterday being the King of Italy's birthday was destined for a renewal of the advance.

Rome, November 10.

According to a Tripoli telegram sent off early this morning, the usual ineffective artillery attack was delivered by the Turks on the northern front of the Italian line yesterday. The eastern front was frequently attacked by small bodies of Arabs. The engagement finished by nightfall.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, November 11.

From early morning until sunset yesterday there was heavy firing. One of the Italian cruisers shelled Ain Zara, where the Turks were gathered. Long and severe fighting took place at Shara Shatt, Mesri, and Bomelane Wells, which were attacked simultaneously by the Turks.

To-day the oasis will again be cleared of rebels, who have evidently been recruited from the town of Tripoli. The Italian warships are watching the coast at the Tunis frontier. They have dispersed some caravans escorted by armed men and destroyed the barracks near Romleh.

The various services to prevent the spread of cholera in Tripoli are being well organized. A concentration camp has been formed in the gardens outside the town.

A wireless telegram from Benghazi states that there is nothing fresh there or at Derna and Tobruk.

LATER

The progress of to-day's attack on the Italian position around Tripoli is shown in the following further official despatches —

Tripoli, November 10.

12.5 P.M.

Since early this morning there have been repeated petty attacks on our east front, which extended by degrees along the south east front. Half way through the morning these petty attacks developed into a more general attack, which still appears to be assuming considerable proportions.

1.40 P.M.

The attack this morning was carried out by remarkably large bodies of Arabs and Turks, supported by artillery, and was directed principally against our extreme left. Shortly after midday, however,



(London Opinion.)

In Search of an Epithet.

The Ex-Sultan (to King Victor Emanuel) "They used to label me Abdul the Damned. They'll be calling you something nasty you go on like this."

the enemy had been repulsed all along the line, having been beaten back by the combined fire of our artillery on land and sea and by the quick-firing guns and rifle fire from the trenches.

The firing of the fleet in conjunction with that of the batteries posted at the Hamudieh Fort proved most effective.

No casualties have yet been reported from our entrenchments. —(Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, November 13.

Some concern is felt in Italy regarding the reinforcements alleged to have been received by the Turks in Tripoli. These reinforcements are supposed to consist of men as well as arms and ammunition. No argument seems to persuade general opinion, as manifested in the Press, of the impossibility of such reinforcements arriving by way of Egypt, though to-day some newspapers admit that it is possible that ships may elude the blockade and land supplies on the coast of Cyrenaica. Nevertheless the common belief seems to be that the enemy before Tripoli is receiving assistance from outside, and that such assistance reaches it from the Egyptian frontier and in lesser degree from the Tunisian. No complaint is made as to the good faith of either the English or French authorities, but the

alleged fact is used as a further argument why the Powers should intervene to compel Turkey to end the war. Indeed, the question of this friendly intervention is one that now chiefly occupies attention.

Rome, November 13.

There was fresh fighting at Tripoli yesterday. In the early hours of the morning the Italian southern front was attacked between the Cavalry barracks and the Homellane Wells. The attack was made by a battalion of Turkish Regular troops, supported by artillery, but was checked 600 yards from the Italian positions, being repulsed chiefly by the artillery. The Turks left five dead, including an officer, and carried with them many wounded. The Italian casualties were two men slightly wounded.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon another similar attack was delivered and was repulsed without loss on the Italian side. Little information can be gathered regarding the strength and movements of the enemy owing to the very rigorous measures adopted by the Turks against any one suspected of spying. —(Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, November 10.

A certain impatience is manifesting itself in Italian opinion, which is sometimes directed against the Government, sometimes against the other Powers, and more often, perhaps, against both. The *Giornale d'Italia*, for instance, declares that, unless Turkey is persuaded by the other Powers to hear reason and to come to terms, Italy will be forced to resort to energetic naval action in the Aegean. The *Giornale*, however, is an Opposition journal, whose suggestions are not intended to facilitate matters for the Government. The *Messaggero*, on the other hand, protests vigorously against the support given to Turkey by the German and Austrian Press as only calculated to strengthen the useless obstinacy of Turkey and to injure the friendly relations of Italy with her allies. In almost every newspaper there is expressed the conviction that the next step should be taken by the Powers to oblige Turkey to yield. One might almost say that there is some expectation that the Powers will take this step.

One can only trust that, should this expectation be disappointed, Italy will be content to possess her soul in patience. Unfortunately patience is not a virtue of which one sees much evidence at the present moment. It is hardly even practised by the Premier, who, in his intolerance of unfair criticism, must needs rush into print in foreign journals. His is a bad example to set to a country which is so obviously required to play a waiting game at the present moment. Nor is it a very good example in other ways. Indeed, such is Italian impatience of criticism of any kind that nothing short of absolute unanimity of praise and approval seems to satisfy it.

The Italian Ministerial Press, for example, quotes with gratitude the kindly appreciations of the leading English newspapers and expresses the utmost satisfaction with the words uttered by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons and by Mr. Asquith at the Guildhall. Yet almost simultaneously the same Ministerial papers will break out into a frenzy of denunciation, blended with ancient calumnies about the Boer War, because a single English member of Parliament or journalist goes to the other extreme of blame.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, November 10.

Yussuf Shetwan Bey, Deputy for Benghazi, has informed a local journal that he and a colleague, Mansur Pasha, succeeded in arming the population of the Littoral for 300 kilometres before the arrival of the Italian Fleet. The capture of Benghazi must have cost the Italians dear in field officers, 40 or 50 of whom were killed, according to the Deputy, for "we were informed that each time the Italians fired a single cannon shot this signified the death of a field officer." Shetwan Bey later decided to leave for Constantinople for private reasons, and succeeded in obtaining a passage in the special steamer sent by the Italian Government to repatriate Ottoman officials. He has announced his intention of returning to Cyrenaica as soon as possible.

The *Agence Ottomane* to-night publishes an "official telegram" from the Turkish headquarters announcing that the Italian 83rd Regiment, just arrived from Milan, has been badly cut up, having lost 200 killed and 85 prisoners.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, November 11.

Extensive preparations are being made for the defence of the Dardanelles, Besika Bay, Smyrna, and Salonika against possible Italian attack. A quick-firing field battery has been sent to both Smyrna and Salonika to strengthen the defences, and the fortress artillery regiments in the Dardanelles have been brought up to their full war strength.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, November 12.

The official news received from Tripoli during the last two or three days is less favourable. Fighting continues in the vicinity of

the Hamidieh Fort, where the Turks and Arabs have suffered considerable losses owing to the superiority of the Italian artillery

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, November 14.

I learn that the Government, while it has not made any formal declaration to the neutral Powers as to its intentions with regard to Italian subjects resident in Turkey in the event of an attack by the enemy's fleet, has given it to be understood that it will only resort to their expulsion should the coast towns be bombarded, or should Italy declare a blockade of the Dardanelles. This severe measure will not be taken if the action of the Italians is confined to the islands. Italian warships have been reported off Dedeagatch to day.

November 14.

The Government appears to have decided in principle to order the officials who have returned from Tripoli and Cyrenaica to rejoin their posts. This decision is obviously to be regarded in the nature of a protest against Italy's declaration of the annexation of the province, but the execution of it is likely to cause some difficulties, since the Turks are now only able to enter the country from Tunis or Egypt, and officials returning to Cyrenaica by land have to face a long and rather difficult journey across the Marmarian Steppe.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, November 15.

The *Times*, in a leading article which has caused considerable comment, hints that the public must henceforth not expect news of victories on the African coast, where the Italian position is too strong to be attacked with any hope of success. A guerrilla campaign in the interior will furnish Turkey with the best means of wearying out her adversary by prolonging the war.

The *Times* received a telegram from the Sherif Ali Yusuf, president of the Red Crescent Society and editor of *Al Moawad*, dated Cairo, 15th November. He protests against the action of the Italian Government in withdrawing permission for a Red Crescent expedition to land in Tripoli. This expedition has been organized by Ali Yusuf for the succour of the wounded on both sides. The refusal on the part of the Italian authorities will, he states, entail a journey overland of from 25 to 37 days instead of by sea of from three to four days.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, November 15.

In reply to complaints in the Italian Press to the effect that the French authorities in Tunis have allowed Turkish officers to cross the frontier into Tripoli, the *Temps* this evening explains that it is impossible to keep effective watch over a boundary which is not delimited by any natural feature. The inhabitants of the border region, moreover, are allied by sympathy of race and religion with the Arabs who are resisting the Italian invasion. These natives do not recognize the existence of any political boundaries. According to the Italian Press, arms and munitions of war have likewise been conveyed across the border. While these charges are not explicitly denied, responsibility is not admitted in either case.

(FROM THE "POSTER'S" CORRESPONDENT)

London, November 15.

LAST week some of the newspapers described the position at Tripoli as a stalemate. This week we have something like an admission from the combatants that that is a correct description, while the correspondent whom the *Central News* has succeeded in getting into the Turkish camp, writes that if Turkey stands firm she must win that the Arabs are rallying to the cause, and that the army daily receives reinforcement of men and adequate provisions. The *Times* admits that "the Italian position is too strong to be attacked with any hope of success." On the Italian side nothing seems to have been done towards dislodging the Turks and Arabs from their position in the oases. The aeroplanes so far as we can learn have done no more bomb dropping, while a reflection on their scouting seems to lie in the statement from Rome "that little information can be gathered regarding the strength and movements of the enemy owing to the very rigorous measures adopted by the Turks against anyone suspected of spying." The Young Turk central committee has sent a telegram to Sharif Abdullah Muthahab in Mecca thanking him for his offer to send volunteers for service against Italy and for stating that "a way has been found whereby soldiers, officers, surgeons, weapons, ammunition and medical supplies can be conveyed to Tripoli." It is firmly believed in Italy that that is the case, and the more she is convinced of this and of the existence of a stalemate at Tripoli the greater is her temptation to end the war by extending it. Hence we have renewed threats or action by her fleet against Asiatic Turkey, and even hints that she may not be able to observe her self-denying ordinance concerning the Balkans. The *Corriere Della Sera* and other Italian papers are anxious for intervention by the Powers and point out that it is in their interest to do anything that may be necessary to prevent the raising of the whole Turkish question in its most acute form. According to one story the Powers are already protesting that they will not have extension, and of course buying Italy off is not the only way of preventing it.

There has been no material change in the military situation during the last few days. What is described as the fiercest battle of the campaign took place on the 10th November, when the Turks and Arabs made another of their desperate assaults on Tripoli. They were not successful, but whether they were repulsed or whether they managed to establish themselves a few yards nearer to the enemy's outposts is not clear. The Italian authorities continue to publish accounts of victories which throw the imaginative prowess of Baron Munchausen completely into the shade, and produce a feeling of disgust through the peninsula. Educated Italians can hardly be expected to swallow such statements as that their forces inflicted enormous losses upon the enemy, performed prodigies of heroism and captured many of their guns, while the Italian casualties amounted to no more than one soldier killed. Conversely at Constantinople, the occurrence of Turkish reverses is admitted, so it is probable that matters are going sufficiently well with the Muslims to render them less desirous of falsifying facts. The Muslims are receiving supplies from somewhere. It is asserted that these come through Egypt and Tunis, but this is denied. The important fact, however, is that supplies are coming in, the how and the where are immaterial. Meanwhile, the situation in Tripoli is graphically set out by Mr. Stead in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle*. Thirty-five thousand Italian troops are penned up like rats in a cage in a cholera-stricken camp, lying between the desert and the deep sea. The "conquering host" of the invading army is beset with hastily constructed defences. Four miles of barbed wire entanglements, earthworks and brick walls have been thrown up to prevent the Turks and the Arabs rushing the town. By day and by night the non-combatant pound the desert with nine inch shells. Never a sun sets or rises but the wearied, harassed defenders await with dread a fresh attack from the intrepid sons of the desert. Cholera, bred of the unburied corpses of the great massacre, is avenging the slain, and the Italian exchequer is spending two millions sterling a week in order to afford Europe, Asia and Africa this edifying spectacle of military impotence. In Italy itself commerce, industry and finance are feeling the pinch of the war acutely. Everywhere a terrible shortness of money is becoming prevalent. Even the largest and best established firms are making payments very slowly, and there is the utmost unwillingness on the part of everyone to pay cash for anything. Italy generally exports to Turkey coloured cottons to the value of £2,000,000 sterling a year, and nearly the whole of this trade is at a standstill.

London Protest Meeting.

A LARGELY attended meeting was held on the 7th November at Whitefield's Tabernacle to protest against the war in Libya. The Rev. Thomas Yates presided. Letters were read from the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Clarke, Lord Avebury, Lord Wendale, Lord Courtney, Lord Beaumont, Lord Numburgholme, Lord Ronaldshay, M.P., and others sympathising with the object of the meeting. The Bishop of Winchester wrote that they might indeed regret upon his sympathy.

Mr. W. J. Stead said that he wanted the war stopped for the sake of civilization and humanity, and also for the sake of Italy herself. She was now a byword to the world, a slave to the passion of cold blooded murder. If the war was not stopped now Italy would go from bad to worse. She thought it would be a military promenade, but it was costing her two millions sterling a week. Italy had declared that the war would be confined to Tripoli, and we must keep her to that.

Mr. Cunningham Graham said that they had seen Italy emerge from slavery and clericalism. She was the Benjamin of Europe. If then her loved son did wrong should they not argue with him, and as a last resort beat him with a rod and save his soul alive? (laughter)

His Excellency Munshir Shikou Pasha said that, as a Christian and as one who had always been a friend of Italy, his opinions were quite unbiased and impartial. He told his hearers to look upon the present events from the point of view of the nations of the East and the Moslems in particular. The Moslem faith constituted such a strong bond of union that as soon as the war broke out the Imam Yahia (Sheikh of the Yemen), who had been fighting the Turkish Government for years, not only laid down his arms, but offered to fight in the interests of the Turkish Khedivate. (Applause) It was natural that people bound by such a strong tie should think that in this case there would be the same cohesion among the Christian, and that the Christian nations of Europe would seem to be one and of the same opinion. It was, therefore, regrettable that they should consider Italy's action as countenanced by all Christian nations. Did his hearers approve of Italy's action, or did they wish to dissociate themselves from the atrocities perpetrated by Italy's army? (Prolonged applause) The poor Moslem Arabs, despised and looked upon as semi-savage, afforded a brilliant example of courage and chivalry as compared with the atrocities perpetrated by a so-called civilised army. He could not believe that the Italian nation would approve or permit such terrible deeds if they knew the true facts of

the case. All those interested in these unfortunate events hoped that Italy, as a nation, when acquainted with the real state of affairs, would try and make amends for the fearful crimes that had been committed against the poor natives of Tripoli, whose only fault was that they were defending their liberty and their country. (Prolonged applause.)

A resolution was passed condemning the action of Italy as a violation of the public law of Europe, and declaring that it was the imperative duty of the British Government not to allow any annexation of territory by Italy until her case was justified by an international tribunal.

Tasks of the Rival Forces.

(By the "Times" Military Correspondent.)

WHEN Continental armies find themselves suddenly confronted with conditions in which British forces normally operate the difficulties of colonial campaigns begin for the first time to be apprehended.

It is not an easy task that lies before Italy. She has approximately 24,000 men at Tripoli, 15,000 at Benghazi and Derna, 3,000 at Khoms (Lebda) and Misrata, and under 3,000 at Tobruk. There are now three divisions in North Africa, and a fourth is in course of preparation. The security of Italy's hold upon the coast town is guaranteed by the guns of her fleet. But for practical purposes her garrisons are for the moment invested, and no preparations have been completed for marching into the interior.

At Tripoli itself General Caneva's troops at first occupied and entrenched a line about five miles long encircling the town on the desert side, with its flanks resting on the sea, and supported in fine weather by the gun fire of the ships. After the affairs of 23rd and 26th October it was discovered that the left flank of this position was not proof against night surprises. The forts at Heni to the east of the town, and at Sidi Mesri to the south-east, were abandoned. This withdrawal, naturally claimed by the Turks as a success, will allow General Caneva to hold his lines with a smaller body of troops when he or General Frugoni marches out to drive the enemy away from the immediate vicinity of the town, an operation which has been unduly delayed. The Turks are now firmly established at the eastern end of the Tripoli oasis, and the first operation will be to drive them out.

THE NEEDS OF AN INLAND CAMPAIGN

But far-reaching operations into the interior require large numbers of camels, and as the confidence of Italy in Arab support appears to have been misplaced, the necessary means of transport must be drawn from other quarters, and the organization of desert columns will take time and cost money. In Tripoli, as in old days in Spain, small armies are liable to be beaten and large armies to be starved. Although the forces investing Tripoli and other towns occupied by Italy will probably be brushed aside by the first act of vigour on the part of the invaders, the affirmation of conquest by occupation will not be easy in view of the unexpected strength of the opposition. Had the regular Turkish garrison alone been in question and had some of the tribes rallied to Italy, a march into the interior would have been a practicable operation. But against the combined Arab, Berber, and Turkish levies, and in view of difficulties in feeding and especially watering troops and transport belonging to large columns, penetration promises to be anything but peaceful and far from easy. There is also this difficulty—namely, that the strength of the opposition cannot easily be estimated. In improvised armies like those under Colonel Neshat Bey the strength fluctuates from lack of organized commissariat, and where 5,000 men may be found to-day 50,000 may be found to-morrow. The strength of Arabian columns must render success assured against the maximum opposition, and in view of difficulties connected with supply, water, and ammunition this is not an easy matter to arrange.

It is also to be observed that the Sultan's levies in Tripoli are not led by a Khalifa who sees visions and dreams dreams, but by a body of devoted and intelligent young Turkish officers who know Tripoli well, and must be expected to create all the difficulties in the path of an Italian advance that circumstance permits. Fanaticism directed by modern military science is a much more potent instrument than fanaticism alone, and it must be remembered that many of the most patriotic young Turkish officers were exiled in Tripoli under the old regime, and not only learnt to know the country well, but to gain the confidence of the natives by devotion to their education and social progress. Had not this unfortunate affair of the repression of the Arab rising in the Tripoli oasis occurred, the natural bend of the Arab as trader might possibly have reasserted itself, but the strife is now embittered beyond measure, and the campaign will be fought out with no mercy on either side.

THREATENED ACTION IN THE AEGEAN

The very real difficulties of penetration cause Italians to ask themselves whether a decision should not be sought elsewhere. Warned off the Adriatic by Austrian menaces, Italy turns to the

Aegean and thinks of the seizure of Turkish islands, the blockade of the Dardanelles, and the bombardment or even occupation of Smyrna and Salonika. The objection to this policy is that the seizure of islands will have little effect, and that the other operations, besides incommoding neutral nations, will not necessarily be decisive even if successful. Nevertheless, the decision of the Italian Council of Ministers on 2nd November according to the *communiqué* issued to the Stefani Agency, was that the war is to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour, and in support of this policy the class of 1889 has been recalled to the colours partly to reinforce the expedition, and partly to increase the peace strength of the army in Italy, depleted as this has naturally been by the despatch of troops to Africa.

There is no immediate indication that any military expedition will be sent into the Aegean, though this operation must have been very fully considered. It is likely that the effect of maritime pressure will first be tried, and that the Italian Navy, which has carried out its duty with considerable credit hitherto, and has worked most cordially with the army, will be given the opportunity of gaining fresh distinction. The effect of such maritime pressure will be watched with deep interest in England from the academical as well as the practical standpoint, and it will be well that our diplomatic and consular agents should study its commercial consequences with care.

But so long as really decisive military operations cannot be carried out against the seat of Turkish power, no final solution of Italy's problem will necessarily be found, and meantime the cost of the war, and the inconvenience of withdrawing large numbers of reservists from civil life, must cause Italy considerable embarrassment. The calculation of the *Tribuna* that the war will only cost 100 million lire if prolonged for several months is likely to be falsified, and the boast that extraordinary expenditure be met by ordinary means without fresh taxation or loans is not much in accord with our experience. Maritime pressure is a powerful instrument against a country with vast sea-borne trade and merchant fleets, but Turkey is not in this category of Powers, and the process of attrition is liable to be very prolonged. For all these reasons the termination of the war is very desirable in Italy's interest, but at present the enthusiasm of the whole country for the war and the lyrics of Italian correspondents prevent these considerations from receiving the honour of public recognition.

THE TURKISH POSITION

Now if we turn to the situation on the Turkish side, it must be clear that no sane soldier can expect to recover the lost coast towns in face of the Italian Fleet, and, further, that the exaggerated reports of Turkish victories, if not solely disseminated in the interest of financiers, were only permitted to put flesh heart into the policy of resistance. Since the dismissal of the feeble Munir, the Turkish resistance in Tripoli has been conducted with marked resolution, and we must believe, until evidence is given to the contrary, that it will continue to be directed with energy and with judgment.

Putting aside rumours and false reports, we must ask ourselves how the local defence can be best conducted to wear out the patience of the invaders. It was obviously a sound thing to do, if adequate forces were available, to close in upon the coast towns and to prevent the Italians as long as possible from extending their sway and inducing local tribes to desert the Turkish cause. The moral effect of this strategy has not been inconsiderable. The devotion with which these poor and hastily-raised levies have penned in the large forces of Italy and have dominated the desert routes is most meritorious. But when the Italians advance it will not be a Turkish interest to fight and get beaten in a general action. To give way in front, to fill in the wells, and to remove all the camels and live stock will be the natural policy to be pursued, accompanied by constant and harassing attacks by day and night upon convoys and lines of communication. Very unpleasant, indeed, in such a country, will be the position of an invader in such circumstances, and the probable superiority of the enemy in mounted troops will be an additional cause of disquiet to the Italian command. On the other hand, Turkish Tripoli is more or less marooned, and the supply of ammunition may run out. Patriotism may impose a general action, in which the heart may be crushed out of the defence. The constancy of certain tribes may not be proof against Italian solicitations, and in the end, if Italy remains firm and shrinks from no sacrifice, only one result is to be expected.

DEFENSIVE MEASURES IN THE AEGEAN

The Turkish War Ministry and Mahmud Shekret Pasha have lost so much credit by the neglect of Tripoli that we must expect to find the strongest resistance to an Italian landing, not only on the mainland of Turkish continental territory, but in the islands whose garrisons have naturally been reinforced since a campaign in the Aegean was first mentioned. The Turkish Navy, for what it is worth, is still almost intact, and may find opportunities for raids and surprises from the cover of its sheltering ports. Nothing would suit the Turkish book better than the landing of an Italian expeditionary force in Turkey in Europe or in Asia Minor, while

the bombardment of coast towns may meet with a better reply than from the venerable guns of the Tripoli forts. There is little in the military situation at the present moment, and still less in the Decree of annexation published in Rome to offer any inducement to the Turks to make terms of peace, and there are many reasons for prolonging the war, not only in order to "stagger humanity" but in order to make Italy pay dearly for her enterprise, and to trust to the chapter of accidents to provoke outside intervention.

Enver Bey at Tripoli.

THE military explanation of the present Turkish successes in Tripoli lies in the fact that the great military genius of Young Turkey, the man who overthrew the Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1908, Major Enver Bey, has arrived at the front, says the *Standard*. Those who recollect the details of that sensational revolution are aware that the activity, the personality, and the strategical sense possessed by Enver Bey were the direct cause of its achievement.

Of what kind is this man who concentrates in his own personality the military genius of Turkey, who has the success of the revolution to his credit in the eyes of the general public of Turkey, and whose arrival at the Tripolitan front has already coincided with such disaster for Italy? Enver Bey is of middle height, not much darker in skin than a European, wearing pince-nez, a dandy, exquisitely careful of the most precise appointments of dress, reticent, social, a favourite with women. But the question which is chiefly arousing speculation at present is how he reached Tripoli. That he eluded the vigilance of the Italians by some deep-laid wile is, however, only one inheritance of the skill acquired by the Turkish officers while they prepared the attack on the Sultan. For that despot's espionage had defeated its object, had created an antagonism of secret subtleties, and had instructed the prospective revolutionaries in protean changes of personality. Turkish officers masqueraded as tramps, as pedlars, as strolling players, disseminating their principles. So Enver Bey has only been acting a part in which he was already trained, and his arrival at the Tripolitan front is just a proof that his ability has not diminished. Some believe that he crossed to Egypt by sea, and was thus able to reach Tripoli. Others say that he took the Anatolian Railway, then proceeded by the railway running down to Mecca, and then took ship along the coast of Egypt. In any case, Enver Bey has arrived at the front, and Italian reverses have commenced, just as the checkmating of the Sultan commenced when Enver Bey was in the Macedonian hills, Arabs and Turks are in military conjunction, just as all the warring tribes of Turkey grew into immediate and unaccustomed conjunction by the influence of Enver Bey when the Sultan was to be attacked.

The Cross, the Crescent, and the Golden Calf.

A FEATURE, not devoid of considerable piquancy, of the present Italian campaign in Tripoli is the wonderful and sympathetic interest shown for it by the Vatican. From the very beginning, several months ago, the agitation for the immediate realisation of the Tripolitan dream was led by clerical journals, and when war was at last declared it was greeted by them as a new Crusade. The Pope himself showed his approval of the campaign by sending to the Admiral in command of the navy, a rose and the Apostolic Delegate, whose reporting the occupation of Tripoli to the Holy See, and following him, Cardinal Vannutelli, openly extolled the act as that of raising the Cross of Christendom over the Islamic Crescent. In a word, the Quirinal's buccaneering stroke has found enormous favour with the Vatican, and for once the two have grasped each other's hand in hearty agreement.

What could be the reason for this singular attitude of the Holy See? Generally there is not much love lost between it and the Quirinal, and to have, in addition, found a ground for a *rapprochement* in a war of conquest strikes one as doubly odd. Affairs of this world, however, remain intensely human under all circumstances, and if we probe deeply enough we can find an explanation of the present riddle. It is, as everywhere else with modern Imperialist enthusiasm, the financial interests which supply the key to the situation. It is an open secret that the chief driving force in the present action of the Italian Government has been the Banco di Roma, a vast credit institution with a paid-up capital of over £4,000,000 to which a further £2,000,000 are soon to be added by the absorption of a Ligurian bank. The Banco di Roma has played in the Tripolitan affair a part not unlike that of the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas in the case of Morocco.

For a considerable number of years past the Banco di Roma has been "pacifically" penetrating Tripoli by acquiring enormous tracts of land, establishing or financing corn mills and other industrial undertakings, seeking phosphates and minerals, and generally "fructifying" the country which was destined one day to fall into the lap of Italy. At the head of it stands an exceedingly energetic gentleman, Signor Pacelli, a friend of Baron Sonnino, the well-known Conservative leader and proprietor of the *Giornale d'Italia*. He is not only a very shrewd business man but also a trusty son of the Church, and has succeeded in getting most of the dignitaries surrounding the Holy See interested in his work. In fact, the chief portion of the capital of which he disposes through his bank has come from various congregations and even the Vatican itself, and in Tripoli he acts in close co-operation with the Capucin order, which is established there, and with the Franciscan Abbot Rossetti, who is the Apostolic Prefect (soon destined to become the first Bishop, of Tripoli).

Unfortunately, the Turks have all along failed grievously to understand the importance of Signor Pacelli and his clerico-financial connexions. According to Turkish law, for instance, banks and similar corporative institutions cannot own real estate, and all entreaties of Signor Pacelli to make his enterprise an exception to the rule or to change the rule itself proved of no avail. Signor Pacelli had to act through individual agents or inscribe the properties in his own name, which, of course, greatly hampered the transaction of business. On the other hand, try as he might, the Porte would not grant him any monopolist concessions, and he had much to suffer through the competition of the English, the French, and, especially, the Germans. One of the latter, a certain Herr von Lochow, has succeeded, after considerable efforts, in obtaining hold of a large tract of land near Ben Ghazi for farming purposes, to the great detriment of Signor Pacelli's flour mill, which had cost nearly a million lire, and a financial syndicate, led by Herren Weickert and Jencke, have established a banking concern, whose operations within a short time exceeded even those of the Banco di Roma.

Through these and similar causes Signor Pacelli became involved in considerable difficulties, and it is scarcely surprising that he and those who were working with him should have come to the conclusion that nothing short of driving out the Turks from Tripoli could remedy the unfortunate state of things. Accordingly we see Father Rossetti coming down to Rome specially to visit the Consulta and offer to it, in express agreement with his superiors, every assistance that the Catholic Missions in Tripoli could give to the task of occupying the country, and the *Giornale d'Italia*, the chief clerical organ in Rome immediately opening a campaign against Turkey in the name of Christianity and the higher patriotism of the Italian people. The result, now before us, the country round Tripoli according to the *Times* correspondent, has been turned into a "human abattoir." But the Bishops in Italy are celebrating the victory of the Cross—and the Banco di Roma is rejoicing in the prospect of higher dividends when the shambles are cleaned up.

♪ S.—Since the above was written Herr von Lochow has been expelled from Tripoli by the new masters.

—BEN GHAZI in Egypt.

Cross-Examination.

GENERAL CANEVA

Q.—Please define treachery.

A.—It is treachery for any Arab to carry arms or even to have them in his house when we, the exponents of civilisation, are invading his country.

Q.—Why?

A.—Obviously, when a civilising, emancipating army has raided a country, piratically or not piratically according to your point of view, natives must recognise that if they resist our efforts on their behalf, they commit an act of rebellion and render themselves liable to summary execution.

Q.—That, of course, is admitted. All through history every insurgent has been recognised as a hero when he succeeds and a traitor when he fails. But I am trying to extract from you a definition of treachery. Suppose the Arabs or the Turks or the Austrians had suddenly made a raid upon Rome and hoisted their flag over the Quirinal, would you or would you not regard your compatriots as very fine fellows indeed if they fought in the last ditch to repel the invaders?

A.—Naturally, we should all have died in the last ditch.

Q.—But once the alien flag had begun to float, the survivors of you would have been rightly regarded as criminals if they ventured to fire from their bedroom windows at processions of conquerors?

A.—Personally, of course, I should have applauded them. But I consider that, according to the rules of war, they would have exposed themselves to rigorous treatment. I know exactly what is at

the back of your mind, and I admit that I admire those Arabs who went on fighting for their religion and country when the rules of war indicated that they ought to throw up their bonnets in honour of the advent of civilisation. I will even go so far as to say that I envy them a glorious death, which may almost be regarded as a martyrdom. You know our old proverb: What sweetness and decorum there is in dying for the fatherland.

Q.—It is very difficult to cross-examine you when you answer me so politely. I am reminded of the epigram about the late Lord Lytton, who was said to have the manners of an Italian organ-grinder and the morals of his monkey. May I fall into your exquisite attitude and suggest with perfect courtesy that it will be very difficult for you to define the exact moment when patriotism ends and rebellion begins in the case of foreign invasion?

A.—I entirely agree. Utterly impossible. But may I submit that it is mistaken kindness to carry on a campaign in a spirit of rose-water? As you are evidently alluding to the business in Tripoli, I will admit quite frankly that we are in a tight corner. Unless we kill everyone we can get hold of we shall probably be thrown back into the sea. My contention is that, in view of immediate possibilities—nay, probabilities—our only chance is to stamp out every threat of insurrection.

Q.—As a matter of immediate policy, you may be perfectly right. With regard to the future, are you not sowing the seeds of exasperation which may endure for generations?

A.—We are willing to take risks.

Q.—I admit the courage of your troops, but I am questioning the wisdom of your policy?

A.—It may sound cynical, but there may be no future generations to bear resentment.

Q.—I see. The old Roman plan of creating a solitude and calling it peace. Have you calculated how long it will take you to complete the solitude? Have you thought of the resentments of all Moslems against all Europeans all over the world?

A.—No, I am only concerned with the Empire of Italy.

Q.—That is an admission that you are not good Europeans. To return to your horror of Arab treachery. Do you agree with one of your friends, who regarded it as the equivalent of ingratitude?

A.—Yes, I adopt the attitude of Giolitti that we exposed ourselves to grave risks in order to save the lives and property of the enemy; that our humanitarian sentiments have been above all praise and are generally admired.

Q.—Hum! I am not now concerned with your sentiments. Your actions are more to the point. Are you aware that the correspondents of the *Times*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Excelsior*, *Reuter*, and many other eye-witnesses accuse you of unspeakable barbarity?

A.—Pooh! Fantastic charges, the outcome of international jealousy—a campaign of delumination.

Q.—But not convincing evidence of general admiration?

A.—I am content to rely upon the sympathy of Sir Edward Grey, who deprecated all public discussion as a violation of British neutrality.

Q.—Yes, his boasted continuity of foreign policy has departed a long way from Gladstone's depreciation of Bulgarian atrocities?

A.—Body of Barchus, you are surely not suggesting that the crimes of the unspeakable Turks can be mentioned in the same breath as our pacificatory mission in Tripoli!

Q.—Perhaps not. They showed some mercy. Your whole sale carnage.

A.—My dear Sir.

Q.—Now listen to me for a few moments. Have you read the report of Herbert Montague, a British officer, how he found 120 women and children with their hands and feet bound, mutilated, pierced, and torn; how he entered a mosque filled with the bodies of women and children mutilated almost beyond recognition, how he attributed all this savagery to revenge for your losses in fair fight?

A.—You must discount all that. The officer was admittedly accompanying the Turkish troops.

Q.—Well then, have you read the reports of the *Daily Mirror* correspondents, who accompanied your forces and, could have no prejudices against you? Here is Mr Magee's story: "All the afternoon prisoners were being brought in in batches. There was no attempt at inquiring into individual cases, nothing approaching a trial or court-martial. The soldiers who had caught prisoners shot them in batches as fast as they were brought in. Some prisoners maintained that they had been gathering dates. They were marched off and shot in the back just like the others. I saw scores of women and children brought into the house, but I never saw one of them leave it again. I can only imagine what happened. There were also any number of poor old infirm men and cripples."

A.—Stop. This is too bad. We welcome your correspondents into our lines, afford them every facility, and this is their return for our kindness.

Q.—You can scarcely expect a decent Englishman to draw a veil over such horrors as these. But you cannot even rely upon the solidarity of the Latin races in face of such hideous, cowardly carnage. Listen to M. Cossira, the special correspondent of the *Paris Excelsior*: "I cannot rid my eyes of it, and am still sick and trembling with fever. Who could ever have imagined what we have had to look on? The rush to assassinate—the beheadings of old men, women, and children; the executions by heaps—the piles of mangled flesh smoking under the wool of the burnouses, like a human incense burnt before the ruined altar of a dearly bought victory? I hurried away to escape the sight, and passed an Arab village. A native family was there round a burnt-out fire, where they were about to eat. They were all dead."

"One little girl had thrust her head into a box not to see anything; another had fallen back on to a cactus bush."

If this does not convince you, listen to the correspondent from Frankfurt.—

"The troops were even ordered to fire on women and children."

"Thus far at least 3,000 natives have been executed or shot down."

A.—Oh, yes, all very melodramatic. Will you realise that we had been exposed to a treacherous fire from people we had befriended—

Q.—From women and children and cripples?

A.—Not impossibly. Anyhow, we had been exasperated. We had to teach the rebels a lesson.

Q.—Rebels? My dear General, you are only in possession of a small strip of coast. The native population owes allegiance to the Sultan. It is idle to talk of rebels. They would be traitors if they acquiesced in your alien invasion. Just because they do not wear very distinctive uniforms, just because their skins are perhaps infinitesimally dusker than your own, are you to be allowed to butcher them wholesale, to mutilate their women and children with Sadie savagery?

A.—Warfare has never excluded regrettable incidents.

Q.—But we have had Peace Conferences supported even by insufficiently civilised countries like your own. The conscience of Europe deprecates campaigns like those of Wallenstein and Tilly and Oliver Cromwell and the Duke of Cumberland, with wholesale massacre and rapine and dashing babies' heads against flagstones. What is your claim to revive them, oh you pioneers of civilisation, you protagonists of humanity?

A.—You are losing your temper. A war cannot be conducted like a duel or a boxing-match. Besides, Tripoli is one of the Barbary States.

Q.—It was never really Barbary till you invaded it?

—The Watch Dog

Hakki Pasha.

A VERY UNCONVINCING article appears in *Al-Ahram* in defence of Hakki Pasha. From the extracts which we translate the attack on the Grand Vizier appears difficult to answer.—

One of the charges brought against Hakki Pasha is this. Ibrahim Pasha, the late Governor of Tripoli, had sent a communication to the Ministry in which he had, among other matters, advised Turkish authorities taking military precautions and other necessary measures in view of the subtle scheming of Italy and her unholy designs. And when the Minister of War laid the communication before Parliament he said that no alterations could be made in the measures already in force in regard to strengthening the military position. If, however, the Foreign Minister and the Grand Vizier agreed with the Governor of Tripoli, he, too, he added, would be prepared to take the same view. Both the Grand Vizier and the Foreign Minister replied that the diplomatic relations of the Empire were absolutely free from any danger or complication, and that, in view of the existing relations with Italy, they could never be led to believe that Italy, too, would create a rupture of the relations by attacking Tripoli.

But the matter did not rest there. On the contrary, the upright and pure-natured Governor was forced to write that the measures advocated by him should be adopted or he would have to resign. He tendered his resignation in view of the much circulated rumour that his relations with the Italians were strained. He considered that his resignation might possibly calm down the inordinate desires and ambitions which were furiously raging in the heart of Italy. The world, however, knows that the only reason of Italian hostility and rage is the marvellous intellectual ability, military experience, and uncommon strength of Ibrahim Pasha.

But a still greater charge is brought against Hakki Pasha. Kazim Bey, the Ottoman Ambassador in Rome, had sent more than ten communications to the Ministry, warning against the possible Italian invasion of Tripoli—a conclusion at which he had arrived after watching and following with consummate ability the military movements and preparations in Italy—and urging the Government to take the necessary military precautions in view of the contingency. But it is regrettable that Hakki Pasha had some of the communications destroyed through Rifaat Pasha, and others through some other members of his Ministry, and told them that as long as he was in power it was impossible for Italy to lift her gaze towards such an extensive vilayet as Tripoli, inasmuch as, in the first place, his own relations with the Italian Government and his knowledge or mastery of Italian diplomacy would be enough to keep down its aggressive designs, and, secondly, he could not believe that the Great Powers, with their boasts about civilisation and welfare of humanity and their anxiety to maintain the peace of the world before anything else, would trample all international rights and mutual treaties under foot and consider it lawful to wantonly plunge mankind in untold misery and suffering.

This is the epitome of the views and opinions of the politicians and statesmen of the country. In addition to this they ascribe the same reason to the resignation of Kazim Bey, *viz.*, that he thought he would thus escape all responsibility in the matter. If these unpleasant revelations are true, then the Grand Vizier and after him Rifaat Pasha shall have to account to Parliament. Kazim Bey is absolutely blameless, for he had informed the Ministry beforehand of the evil and dishonest designs of Italy. But Hakki Pasha and the members of his Ministry did not pay the slightest heed to his warnings. It is the same Hakki Pasha who had with great complacency reassured the other Ministers that nothing serious would happen. Shall he not now be brought to book? And will he try to wipe off the stain of mismanagement and incapacity before Parliament?

Dr. Dillon in the Contemporary.

HAKKI PASHA has some claim to the two fold distinction of being Young Turkey's evil genius and her champion bridge-player. A man of average talents, narrow horizons, short views, inordinate vanity, and considerable capacity for work marred by long fits of indolence, he was peculiarly qualified to play the part of tool to a wily politician, and in that capacity he systematically furthered the designs of Germany on the one hand and those of Italy on the other, to the irreparable detriment of his Cabinet, his party, and his country. It is superfluous to say that there is no reason to impute to him any but excellent motives. In social circles in Rome, where for some years he represented his Sovereign as Ambassador, he had acquired a reputation for qualities which had nothing in common with Statecraft, and when he rose to the highest office at home as the nominee of the Committee of Union and Progress, he was flattered, atmosphere, and finally bewitched by the honey-tongued Ambassador of Italy, who having discerned the weakness of the statesman and the genius of the bridge-player, skilfully played upon these qualities. The countrymen or Cavour made the Grand Vizier regard himself as a latter-day Messiah, and believe that deliverance for Turkey would come from him alone. So firmly convinced did Hakki Pasha at last become that he was the providential man, and that his *role* was understood and his influence appreciated by the Italian Government, that he seriously believed he held Italy in the hollow of his hand: and on this assumption he built a part of his policy as upon a granite foundation. Some six or seven months ago, there was question of withdrawing some of the troops from Tripoli and transferring them to the Yemen. The War Minister, Mahmoud Shekret Pasha, hesitated. But it was pointed out to him that the number of men to be removed from the African vilayet was relatively small, and that a system of recruitment could at once be adopted which would in time yield a much larger contingent—some 12,000 soldiers. In time. But was it safe? He asked. Was there any likelihood that an untoward event would happen in the meanwhile? Would Italy, for instance, choose that moment of inadequate defence to make good Tittoni's threat and occupy Tripoli? The question, natural enough on the lips of a prudent Minister like Mahmoud Shekret, was emphatically negatived by the Grand Vizier, who smiled away the doubts and misgivings of his colleague. "Have no fear of Italy. I know Italy like my pocket. I am in very close touch with her Ambassador. He is our tame cat. I can always have the right strings pulled in Rome. Don't fear the Italians. We shall win the trick and the rubber." *Vanitas Vanitatum*.

The Germans cajoled Hakki Pasha in a similar way. It is only fair to note, however, that they were, so to say, knocking at an open door; for Hakki had been converted to the true Teutonic faith by the War Minister, who admires the Germans as a military nation, and is grateful to them for supplying warships for the Turkish Navy and money for the improvement of the Turkish land forces. I had a long and interesting talk with Mahmoud Shekret Pasha a few days

ago, and I feel sure that his partiality for Germany is rooted in his love for the military virtues of that people. It certainly has not its source in any cunningly woven political schemes or narrow-minded prejudices. For Mahmoud Shekret is not a diplomatist; he is a true-hearted warrior who loves his profession ardently; and he has striven perseveringly, and with a certain measure of success, to imbue his officers with the same spirit. Consequently, a Germanophile feeling sprang up in the Turkish army, which has its counterpart in the Committee of Union and Progress. It is this feeling which Hakki Pasha when occupying the post of Grand Vizier fostered, intensified and hurriedly translated into fateful political acts.

Press Opinion.

The "Nation."

THE nature of the excesses perpetrated on the Arab population of Tripoli and the suburban oasis on 23rd October and the following days has been placed beyond a doubt by the combined testimony of British and German war correspondents during the week. What happened is intelligible enough, but this is not one of those cases where to understand is to pardon anything. The Italian invasion took the Arabs by surprise. It found them helpless, and they gave in their submission; but they submitted with a natural resentment in their hearts, and they naturally—and, in the eyes of any one who cares a jot for national liberty, rightly—took the first opportunity of revolting. That opportunity came with the premature extension of the Italian lines, and on 23rd October the Italians in the oasis found themselves caught between the fires of the Turks in the front and the Arabs in the rear. Nothing but the very small number of the troops whom the Turks and Arabs had at command could have saved the Italian army. As it was they suffered severely. Panic overtook them, and having saved themselves, they gave way to indiscriminate massacre. Had they court-martialled and shot only those taken with arms in their hands, or only those convicted of fighting against them after surrendering, their conduct could not have been condemned in the existing state of international law. That this was all that occurred is, in fact, the official Italian defence. But its complete untruth is proved by the united testimony of the correspondents—men accustomed to war, and not as a race given to "sentimentalism"—who have been so horrified by what they have seen that several have headed in their papers, and refused any further association with an army capable of such deeds. Neither age nor sex was spared. Mr. McCullagh declares that about 400 women and children were shot and 4,000 men, "whereof not a hundred were guilty." Details of cold-blooded cruelty are added. "Cripples and blind beggars have been deliberately shot; sick people whose houses were burned were left on the ground and refused even a drop of water. There has not been the faintest pretence of justice."

These horrors have stirred the country with a rare unanimity of feeling. The general indignation can express itself faintly in newspapers, or here and there at a public meeting. The one place in which it can find no utterance is the House of Commons. When a private member seeks to raise the issue, he is blocked by the forms of the House. When he ventures to refer to the vilest of actions in plain but moderate English, a pained "hush" goes up from the Treasury Bench, and the Foreign Secretary of a party which still holds the name of Gladstone in honour snub and silences a man who dares to utter the name of humanity in the desecrated atmosphere of European diplomacy. The Chancelleries of Europe have divorced themselves from all human feeling. Engaged in their interminable game of chess with one another, they have long forgotten that the pawns are made of flesh and blood. They have made of their mutual dealings a mystery which they know will bear no inquiry, and however close their hands may be to one another's throats, they make common cause against the people who can merely suffer for their blunders and misdeeds. Sir Edward Grey accepts the Italian defence as if it were authoritative. The denial of the accused party is treated as though it were the impartial judgment of a supreme tribunal. No wonder that his single pronouncement outweighs in Italian ears all the just protestation of popular feeling. It has given much satisfaction, we read, and that is what we might expect. This official whitewashing not only obliterates the past, it sets the Italians free to repeat their monstrosities, and so, in effect, we learn that the Government, whose panic-stricken troops in Tripoli are hemmed in by a mere handful of devoted Turks and Arabs, have solemnly annexed the entire province, and will claim the right accordingly to treat as rebels all natives who resist their utterly unwarranted aggression.

But what, it may be asked, could Sir Edward Grey have done? At the moment when he was first questioned on the subject, he might legitimately have said that further information was desirable before a final judgment could be formed. Since that information has come in, it became the first duty of anyone speaking for this country to give moderate and restrained, but decisive expression to the general

regret that the Italian troops should have been led into excesses contrary to the laws of war and the simple dictates of human feeling. Beyond this it was not for the moment necessary to proceed. The next step would lie with the Turkish Government, who could and should bring this matter before The Hague tribunal. As Mr. Lucien Wolf shows on another page, the excesses committed by the Italians are condemned by The Hague Convention, and not only was the Italian Government a party to that Convention, but it was among those who supported the British Government in the endeavour to extend more effective protection to the rights of an invaded territory. The Hague tribunal will never be fully effective until representatives of its Court accompany every invading army, and are at hand to receive and report complaints. But even now an effective statement of complaint would not be without its effect. Though The Hague has no power to enforce its decisions, there is, in despite of the Chancelleries, such a thing as public opinion in Europe, and no Power could endure to have its misdeeds exposed and judicially condemned without taking measures against the guilty officers.

It is said that all countries are tarred with the same brush, and in this there is, unfortunately, an element of truth. But the question is not one of satisfying our moral feelings by indignant reprobation of Italy. It is a question of the common safety of Europe. Every country, unfortunately, is exposed to the chances of war and invasion. It is the interest of every country that such civilised restrictions as have been, with slow and painful effort, imposed on belligerents should be jealously guarded and upheld. It is the interest of every people as against the Governments that the rights of populations in an occupied or invaded territory should be preserved and extended. The harshness which existing rules of war allow is maintained in the interests of Governments and is intended to facilitate invasion. The greater the acknowledged rights of the inhabitants, the greater the difficulties of successful invasion and the stronger the obstacles to aggressive warfare. If the action of the Italian Government passes uncriticised and unchecked, then every population in Europe, however peaceful, is exposed to the chance of an invasion, which, according to the precedent of this war, may take place at three or four days' notice, without previous quarrel, with no offence given, and may bring among it an army that, without effective or permanent occupation, may proceed at once to declare the whole territory its own, to treat as rebels all who resist, and to make any outbreak of resistance a sufficient excuse for indiscriminate massacre. This is not merely a reversion to barbarism, for barbarians are by no means uniformly so ruthless. It is a reversion to the methods of the Huns, carried out with the weapons of modern science.

(*Nation*)

The "Spectator."

TURKISH statesmen will be guilty of a capital error if they think they can save Turkey by an adroit diplomacy. Turkey can only be saved by internal regeneration, by the establishment of sound government, by the development of the material resources of the Empire, by the improvement of her financial position, by strengthening her military forces, and finally by a general concentration of effort. Turkey can only prosper if her neighbours respect her, and they will only respect her if she is a strong and well organized State. At the present moment the Turks are face to face with a most difficult position, and no man who feels the love of country in his own heart can fail to have a strong sense of sympathy for them. True patriotism, the love of a man for his native land and for his nation rather than merely for his tribe, has only recently sprung up in Turkey, but we do not doubt for a moment its genuineness. There is therefore something specially pathetic in the situation of the men who so passionately desire to save and serve their country as do the better section of Turkish politicians. Can they accomplish this? It is difficult, but we believe they can if only they are willing to recognize facts, and to build upon them, instead of trying to recreate Turkey on a foundation of paradox. No doubt the advice which sincere friends of Turkey must give her will sound very bitter advice, and no doubt the first impulse of her rulers will be to reject it with scorn; but nevertheless we are not only convinced that it is sound advice, but we mean, however disagreeable the task, to set it forth in the hope that it may not fall altogether on deaf ears.

The first necessity before Turkey is to abandon the idea that she will, or can, gain anything by a tortuous and provocative diplomacy, or by doing what so large a number of her statesmen seem to desire at present, that is, by trying to set the Powers of Europe by the ears, partly with a view to revenge and partly with a vague idea that somehow her position will become more secure in the welter of a great European conflict. All this is pure delusion. In the first place the diplomats of Europe are not stupid but very astute men, and they will very easily see through the simple if Machiavellian policy of Turkey. When one man tries for his own interest to play off other men against each other and to get them to fight among themselves, the persons involved are always able and generally willing to put their heads together and say, "This man is not playing the game. He is trying to make us wound each other for his own

benefit. That makes him the enemy of all of us. Let us combine to destroy him and divide his inheritance, or, at any rate, the bulk of it. That will teach him a well-deserved lesson." But even if this is not done at once, and the maker of strife succeeds for a time, it is usually only for a time (unless, of course, he is possessed of great physical strength of his own). After the conflict had gone on for a short time, and the embroiled Powers were getting tired of quarrelling, they would always have open to them the opportunity of stopping the strife by partitioning Turkey. In the end Turkey is certain to suffer, even if others suffer with her, as the result of trying to sow dissension among the Powers. Equally futile is the notion that Turkey should put herself up to auction and accept something in the nature of a protective alliance with the Power that would pay the highest price. Here, again, the end would only be the destruction of Turkish independence. In diplomacy nothing will pay the Turks so well as honesty and straightforwardness.

The next thing necessary for Turkey is, the concentration of national effort on her internal affairs. To accomplish this, nay, to begin it, she must as soon as possible put an end to the war in Tripoli. A frank and absolute abandonment of those overseas possessions which she is not in a position to develop or even to protect is essential to her welfare. Tripoli, as the Italians have shown, was only hers on sufferance, and therefore, as far as the strength of Turkey goes, the sooner she is rid of so dangerous a possession the better. We know, of course, that this is a very hard saying, and we recognize that it is very difficult for a Government to act upon it; but nevertheless this must not prevent the real friends of Turkey from telling her the truth. The sooner she acquiesces in the Italian annexation of Tripoli and takes from them that payment for the Turkish works of all kinds existing in chief towns to which she is entitled, and further, obtains a capitalization of whatever tribute went from Tripoli towards the Turkish debt, she will not have weakened but immensely strengthened herself. If Turkey is wise she will take advantage of this crisis in her fate to make a similar renunciation in regard to a nominal possession which is of even less use to her than Tripoli, namely, Crete. Crete is of no value to Turkey, directly or indirectly. Her only conceivable advantage in retaining her shadowy suzerainty is the possibility of being able to use the island as an apple of discord. But as we have shown already, Turkey will never be able to get anything substantial out of the embroilment of the Powers. If she "cuts her loss," not only in Tripoli but in Crete, she will have greatly strengthened herself. It is true, of course, that the Government which adopts this heroic policy of conservative surgery will for a time be very unpopular, and may even run the risk of provoking the fanatical portion of her population to acts of revolution, but it is a risk which must be taken if Turkey is to be regenerated and made strong and independent. If a Company is on the verge of bankruptcy, the first thing to be done by a new Board of Directors determined to save the situation is to find out what Branch Offices do not pay, and never can pay, and to cut them off ruthlessly, even though they are told that the prestige of the firm will be irrevocably ruined thereby, and that it will cause a Mutiny at the Head Office. Amputation is never pleasant, but very often the only way of saving the body is to sacrifice a limb. Turkey freed from the incubus of Tripoli and from the temptation to exercise a futile diplomacy which she maintains by preventing Crete from joining herself to Greece must, as we have said, concentrate upon two things: her internal commercial and moral development and the strengthening of her military forces. With Tripoli and Crete gone, Turkey will no longer be a sea-divided Power, but will in effect be a self-contained Empire.

In regard to military organization, it is not necessary to give advice to Turkey. Her younger officers have shown that they are capable of reviving the military genius of the race. All that is required here is that the army should be properly incorporated with the nation, and not remain as a menacing *imperium in imperio*. Not only can no State ever flourish unless the Civil Power is in supreme control, but also no army can ever flourish if its officers turn politicians, and are thinking not of strategy and tactics and of organizing their forces as an instrument for defence, but of establishing and maintaining themselves as a military oligarchy. That would ruin the best army in the world in six months. What Turkey wants though, of course, it will be on a greater scale, is an army such as exists in the peasant State of Bulgaria, and such an army she will be able to obtain if her soldiers are not switched off from their own proper military work and allowed and encouraged to intrigue in the Civil Departments in Constantinople.

Turkey's concentration upon internal regeneration, if once undertaken, will soon bear fruit. The Empire is very rich, and the rapidity of its development will, we venture to say, surprise the world if only that development is set about in the right way. Here Turkey must create no monopolies and place herself under the commercial protection of no one Power. What she wants is to throw her country open to development by all comers. There must be *la carrière ouverte aux talents*—to the talents of any and every nationality. Turkey, though properly guarding the interests of the

State, will not, if she is wise, be jealous of private profit, even when large and when earned by foreigners. She must not be irritated by seeing private individuals occasionally reaping a very rich harvest. Such examples are the best possible incentives to the capitalists of the world to go in and help Turkey. Why are capitalists so eager to develop South America? In a very large measure because they have seen so many large fortunes made in those regions, and because they hope to go and do likewise. Again, Turkey will be wise if she does not hamper private enterprise with red tape and with Government interference. As we have said, she must throw open her country to the enterprise of the whole world. Here, indeed, though in a very different sense, she may rejoice to think that one set of foreigners can be played off against another. If the country is being developed by a mixed crowd of foreign capitalists—one shudders at the picture—the danger is small of any one nationality obtaining preponderance. As a matter of fact, however, temporary commercial preponderance by foreigners is no injury to a nation provided that political power remains with the natives. Such political power, properly maintained, will very soon lead to the development of native commercial ability. The Arabs for centuries have been great and successful traders, and we do not doubt that if they are given the chance they will in a generation or so discover how to beat, or at any rate to equal, the European at his own commercial games.

Finally the Turkish people must learn to distinguish between their religion and their nationality. At present national patriotism is apt to be obscured by a fanatical devotion to Islam. We should be the last people in the world to desire the Turks to weaken in their religious faith, but that faith, in reality, is not strengthened by fostering feelings and emotions which should belong to national ideals. A man may be both a good Christian and a good patriot, and we trust the time will come, and it will certainly be a better time for Turkey, when devotion to a particular creed is disentangled from devotion to the Turkish Empire. We admit that evolution here is not easy owing to the nature of Muhammadanism and to the double functions exercised by the Sultan as Sovereign of Turkey and as Caliph. Nevertheless our Indian experience shows that a man may be a good Muhammadan and also a perfectly loyal subject of King George, and so separate loyalty to his Sovereign from his religion.

"Egypt."

THE task of Italy is evidently not going to be anything like as easy and pleasant as the inspired messages at first pretended. All these modern "picnics"—we remember a famous one which set out for Pretoria twelve years ago—turn out to be more lengthy and much more costly than is at first thought. The censorship and the machine-made falsehoods soon fail to stop the truth from coming out, and already we are getting interesting fragments of it from Tripoli. At first, of course, the Italians were "welcomed" by the populace. It always is that way—at first. Afterwards the feelings of the people undergo a change, which synchronises with the breakdown of the absolute censorship and the spread of some real knowledge of what is happening.

The fighting at Benghazi on 19th October and the Italian defeat at Tripoli on 26th October mean that the Arabs are acting in perfect unison with the Turks and that the Italians have embarked on a long, costly, and very possibly disastrous war. With their feet precariously planted in a couple of coast towns, outside which they dare not move, the Italian Government is said to have notified the Powers of "the cessation of Ottoman rule in North Africa," though nothing seems to be known of this in the European Chancelleries. These indecent droppings may yet have to be paid for heavily. Meanwhile, the outrages committed by the Italian army in Tripoli surpass anything recently known in the history of European warfare.

Now, when the Albanian rising was being suppressed the other day we were harrowed by the accounts of the actions of the Turkish army—actions which were considerably less barbarous than these acts of the Italians, or, it may be added, the actions of Lord Roberts and his generals in laying waste the Transvaal and Orange States twelve years ago. Needless to say, we detest all these proceedings, they are all cruel and horrible. But whilst the Albanians were technically "rebels," the population of Tripoli never owed any allegiance of any kind to Italy. We shall, therefore, watch with some interest to see whether our good friends of the Balkan Committee and other denounce the Italian action in Tripoli as they denounced the Turkish action in suppressing an internal revolt. Or are we to say "That's in the Christian but a choleric word, which in the Moslem is flat blasphemy?" It looks like that.

An underlying motive for the extermination of the oasis dwellers will doubtless be found to be, if Italy is able to retain possession of Tripoli, that the whole of this valuable garden land will be confiscated from its Arab owners to the profit of the Italian Government, and repopulated with Italians. The French have more than once made wholesale confiscations, on a like pretext of rebellion in Algeria.

Various friends of Turkey at the present time are busy advising her. And through a good deal of even disinterested criticism there runs a suggestion that the Young Turks have somehow brought on themselves this Italian raid. This is said by those who concurrently accuse the Turkish Government of having been too militarist and of not having sufficiently attended to internal civil reforms. Yet if any remissness there be on the part of Turkey which has invited this brigandage it is surely that she had not advanced further and even quicker on the militarist road, that she was too easy-going and not distrustful enough. As for the idea that anything Turkey could have done internally would have staved off this robbery it is sufficiently answered by the cases of Finland and Persia. In the chaos of lusts which Europe presents to-day no small or weak State is safe, even if it were internally a perfect model of human polity. A large section of the British Press is to-day denouncing the "Salonica Committee" as a positive fount of iniquity. Let the members of that committee, however, but throw in their lot with the Triple Entente and deal in the London shop instead of the opposite establishment, and we may be perfectly sure they will become far-seeing patriots and statesmen with a rapidity that would be startling if one did not know the ease with which such moral transformation can be accomplished when diplomacy wills them.

Mrs. Silvia Terracini—we presume an Italian lady—writes to the *Manchester Guardian* seeking to defend the action of Italy. Mrs. Terracini says that "Italy's action is not inspired by hidden thoughts or subterfuges." That, indeed, we can all admit. Her conduct has had all the frankness of the highway robber. She did not even organise a single street broil nor invent a single "massacre" to provide a diplomatic excuse. No Italian subject was "outraged" in Tripoli, no Italian *protégé* as much as insulted. For all this bold abandonment of the usual stage-management in these affairs it is as well to remember there was a clear reason. It was not all due to a virtuous desire to steal honestly. If Italy had waited to organise "incidents" and "outrages" the Turkish Government would naturally have been alarmed and would have taken military measures accordingly. There was no time to play the Moroccan game. It had to be a bold dash or none at all. Thus there were no "subterfuges" unless, indeed, that word be applied to the charges put forward in the wretched document which Italy circulated as her justification for making war.

The sort of anti-Turkish fanaticism which still, we fear, plays a large part in determining popular sympathies is well exemplified in a letter from Mr. Victor O'Mahony, ex-M.P., in the *Freeman's Journal*, of Dublin, of the 11th ultimo. Mr. O'Mahony dates his letter from Sofia, where he has established an orphanage. He leads off by the usual kind of loose assertions, such as that "Italy's material interests Tripoli have long been acknowledged," as if these considerations had anything to do with the rights and wrongs of the case. Is one country morally entitled to seize the territory of another because it has "material interests" there? If so, there is no earthly reason why war should not break out to-morrow over half the habitable globe. As a matter of fact, Italy's "material interests" in Tripoli are notoriously trifling, she may, of course, expect to obtain some as the result of the present theft, but at present they are negligible. But if they were ten times what they are they would not justify international brigandage. Yet Mr. O'Mahony, who is obviously a very full-blooded Christian, holds that the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," is to be suspended when a Christian State steals from a Moslem one.

Mr. O'Mahony's generalisations are interesting. He writes, for instance: "Experience has shown that a Moslem race can never govern Christians with justice and equality. Their religion forbids them to do so. Experience has also shown that Christians can govern Moslems with justice and equality." Now Mr. O'Mahony has been an Irish Nationalist M.P. He has contended and contends still that England, a Christian State, cannot govern Ireland justly and he knows that the worst barbarities practised by or alleged against Turkish rule in Macedonia were inflicted on the Irish peasantry by British troops in 1798, little more than a century ago. He knows also of the tithe wars and evictions carried out in Ireland down to our own days. Yet, with the knowledge that a Christian empire can thus treat a Christian subject people with gross cruelty, he serenely argues that such empires always govern Moslems justly!

It is not surprising, of course, that Mr. O'Mahony should charge the Turks with Moslem fanaticism. "Everything Christian," he says, "is anathema to the Young Turks," in a letter every line of which shows that everything Moslem is "anathema" to him. He seeks to draw some comparison between the case of Bulgaria and that of Tripoli, as if there were the slightest similarity between the two. If the people of Tripoli were engaged in a *bond-fide* rising against Turkish rule there would be ground for the argument that their case resembled that of the Bulgarians. But to contend that because Bulgaria or Greece rose against alien domination, therefore Christian Italy is justified in imposing alien domination on a Moslem people, is the sort of nonsense to which defenders of this war are driven.



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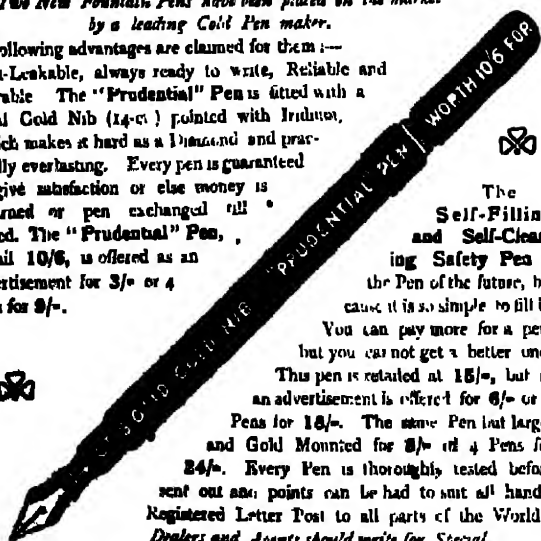
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The Manager will be much obliged if those of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little to ask that we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of December at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months paid in advance and to non-Moslem students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

Persia.

The News of the Week.

In the House of Lords on the 7th December Lord Curzon explained Lord Morley's policy in regard to Persia. The situation, he said, was extremely dangerous both to Persia and to ourselves. The Persian part was the least desirable part of the Anglo-Russian Convention which was a one-sided bargain and actually accelerated Persia's decline. Russia's proceedings are summary and precipitate towards a weak and helpless Power. By not objecting to the demand respecting the appointment of foreign officials, the Imperial Government assumed responsibility for the ultimatum. By advancing from economic to administrative, they would inevitably proceed to political and thence to geographical

partition. He suggested that the British people should judge the matter not merely from the standpoint of European Alliances but from the standpoint of the good of Persia and the maintenance of Constitutional Government. He would like to see Great Britain hold out an occasional umbrella against the hailstones in the shape of ultimatums at forty-eight hours' notice which rained on Muhammadan States. By frittering away Persian independence, they would alienate millions of Muhammadans and be instanced the fact that he had received a telegram from the Shiahs of Lucknow asking what the Imperial Government and the Government of India were doing for Persia.

Lord Morley said that the influence of our transactions in Persia on our own Muhammadan subjects was one of the guiding considerations in their consideration. The Imperial Government had the welfare of Persia as much at heart as Lord Curzon. The evils had not arisen from the Convention and not from the action of Russia, but from the introduction of a construction upon difficulties on which Lord Morley expatiated. It was madness to set up a system ignoring Russia and Great Britain.

Lord Morley said that Mr. Shuster had had his letter to the Times translated into Persian and had shown it to a few Persian friends who asked if he objected to its being published. Mr. Shuster replied: "Why did I send it to the Times but for publication?" Sir Edward Grey, through Sir George Barclay, Minister at Teheran, warned Mr. Shuster what would follow. Before Sir E. Grey heard of the circulation of the letter or Russia had complained about it, Sir E. Grey said to Sir G. Barclay: "Russia is sure to be annoyed at the appointment of Mr. Lecoffre and is not unlikely to occupy Northern Persia. Advise Mr. Shuster to do everything to conciliate the Russian Legation. Russians are gaining the impression that Russian influence in North Persia is being displaced by British influence under cover of Mr. Shuster's administration." It was, Lord Morley continued, the Military party in St. Petersburg which always held that without the Convention Russia would be in Teheran to-day. It was the Convention that improved the pacific prospects in Persia. Russian influence could not be expelled from Northern Persia; so how could it be pretended that our action in Persia would be more effectual if there were no Convention? The Russian Government declared that their object was the establishment of normal stable relations with the Persian Government and to this end Russia proposes to make certain further proposals with which we were not acquainted. Russia had assured the British Government categorically and wished it to be placed on record that the military measures were purely provisional and that Russia had no intention of infringing the Convention. The Imperial Government had informed Russia that we could not under any circumstances recognise the ex-Shah. The first principle of the Imperial Government's policy was to maintain the spirit and letter of the Convention. Secondly to lose no opportunity by advice or by benevolent mediation to ease the situation for Persia. Thirdly to assist them legitimately to meet their financial obligations. Lord Morley concluded: "If we can get over the present crisis, if Russia and England do not part company and if the spirit of the Convention is maintained we have good reasons for hoping that we shall soon see the solution of a difficult situation."

A Reuter wired from Teheran:—The situation is easier. The Government and leaders are checking acts likely to afford an excuse for Russian occupation.

Over five thousand Muhammadans of all sects residing in Bombay met on the 8th December at the Jumma Musjid at Abdul Rehman Street to record their indignation and alarm at the Russian occupation of Persian territory and advance of her troops upon Teheran. Mr. Kazi Muhammad Saleh Londe presided. The meeting was attended by the high priests of the various sects and great enthusiasm prevailed. A resolution was passed humbly drawing the attention of the responsible Ministers of the Crown to the close connection that exists between Persia and India and the bond of Islamic brotherhood which unites Moslems of the country with those of Persia and requesting the British Foreign Office to reconsider the situation and use its influence in preserving the liberty and integrity of Persia and preventing Russian advance. Another resolution was passed expressing gratitude to Lord Curzon and Lamington for the deep interest they have taken in Persian affairs.

At a meeting of the bank of Persia the Chairman said that considering that unrest tended to limit operations, the Directors were well satisfied with the reports. Despite political disorder, the mass of people in North Persia continued their peaceful occupations.

The *Nouye Vremya* on the 9th instant made a violent attack on Lord Curzon for his speech on the 7th instant and said he was one of the last of the old school, the policy of which is based on distrust of Russia. The paper continued that should the independence of Persia be threatened, it would be mainly owing to the multifarious exhortations to resist Russia's just demands. Language like Lord Curzon's, added the paper, could only excite the national *amour propre* of Russia and Great Britain and benefit neither. The journal welcomed the fact that responsible British people recognise that Russia has no aggressive intention.

Persia agrees to cancel the appointment of Mr. Lecoffre and is willing to enter into friendly negotiations regarding Russia's other demands except that under which Persia has to refer the appointment of foreign advisers to Britain and Russia. Persia hopes that the crisis will be terminated by the latter point not being pressed.

Reuter wired from Teheran:—Russia has sent a note to the Persian Government demanding the punishment of the murderers of Ala-ed-Daulah, former Governor of Fars.

The report of the debate on Persia in the House of Lords has gratified official circles in Teheran who are convinced that the question concerning Russo-Persian relations will be settled through Great Britain.

Press Opinion.

The "Nation."

A WEEK ago we should have said, if it had been discreet to make the admission, that the case of Persia was altogether hopeless. Russia had threatened a more formal and complete occupation of the Northern provinces, while Anglo-Indian troops, for the first time, were penetrating to the chief centre of trade and authority in the South. Both Powers had united in placing their veto on the Persian proposal to assure order by the engagement of twenty Swedish officers. Worst of all, Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American financial controller, had encountered from both Legations an opposition so relentless, so unscrupulous and so public, in his efforts to restore the country to solvency that his resignation and the abandonment of any further efforts in this direction could be delayed only by days or by weeks. From Persia itself the news is no better than it was. The Russian ultimatum has been delivered, and the whole Persian Government, from the Regent to the humblest Minister, has resigned apparently by way of protest, or perhaps with a view of gaining time. There have been the usual protests in the Liberal Press, and from the few active friends of Persian liberties in Parliament, but the experience of recent years has taught us that the opinion on which the Government relies for its majority is precisely the opinion which the Foreign Office invariably disregards. The Party system, which forbids any effectual opposition to the mischievous policy of one Department so long as the general domestic policy of an administration has the support of its followers, has neutralised the force of friendly criticism and disarmed the very party which is by its instincts and its principles the natural opponent of the policy into which Sir Edward Grey has drifted. The speech which Lord Curzon delivered on Wednesday has changed the whole situation. A strong and generous plea for Persian liberties, coupled with a criticism of Anglo-Russian diplomacy which lost nothing by its reticence and restraint, has been made at last by a man whose varied experiences as Viceroy of India, as Lord Salisbury's lieutenant at the Foreign Office, and as a traveller in Persia itself have familiarised him with every phase and aspect of the problem. It came weighted with the authority of a man who has held high office and is destined to yet greater responsibilities. Above all, it cannot be discounted by any

suspicion that Lord Curzon is influenced by nationalist leanings or is out of sympathy with the general trend and habit of thought of Imperialism. It was a plea from an Imperialist leader that an exception in the general policy of expansion and absorption should be made in Persia's favor, and it was based as much on a flattering estimate of Persian capacities and deserts as on a consideration of our interests in the Middle East and among Mohammedans all over the world. Such a remonstrance it is impossible that the Foreign Office should ignore. We do not believe that it has willingly or joyfully become an accomplice in a policy of partition and absorption for which Russia is primarily responsible. It has been weak and *maladroit*. The new fact is that a force of criticism and goodwill has suddenly arisen behind it which must strengthen it, if it is capable of strength, in its dealings with St. Petersburg.

There are many lines of attack to which the Foreign Office policy in Persia stands exposed, but to our thinking the most direct and the most fatal is the charge that the policy of the two protecting Powers has in effect prevented the Persian Government from effectively reforming its administration, and, so far as Russia is concerned, has undoubtedly pursued that aim with conscious and deliberate purpose. We will not recall the more distant phases of the long intrigue—the help given to the Shah against the first Mejliss, the supplies of arms, the loans of money, and the services of the Cossack brigade under Colonel Liakhoff. With his expulsion and the arrival of a strong and capable ruler in the person of the present Regent, a new start was made last year. The difficulty which faced the new Parliament could be reduced to one word—finance. The problem of restoring order was primarily one of maintaining a competent armed force which could deal with brigandage both in its purely predatory and its semi-political forms. The two Powers began by offering to guarantee a loan, provided Persia would accept the full control in every department of Russian or British agents. It was a proposal to introduce the Egyptian system, and it was rejected. To have set themselves, doubtless with varying degrees, of a struggle the last vestige of Persian independence. Our reading of all that has followed is that both Powers, have set themselves, doubtless with varying degrees of consciousness, to prove to the Persians that any reorganisation of their affairs is possible only on terms of complete and abject submission. The first step was to place a veto on a loan on very advantageous terms which the new Government contrived to arrange with an independent London firm of bankers. The next step was the threat on our side, which has now been executed, to send British troops into Southern Persia unless the Persians themselves entrusted the police of these provinces to Anglo-Indian officers. There followed the invasion of the ex-Shah, which compelled the Persians to improvise a hasty army, to borrow money on what terms they could get, and to purchase arms at a ruinous rate. The Shah had been rescued from his increased subjects by Russo-British benevolence, and consigned, at the expense of Persia to a luxurious exile in Russian territory. Both Powers had pledged themselves to "prevent" him from intriguing against the Nationalist Government, and both Powers profess to have given him "frequent advice" to abstain from agitation. What in fact Russia did, we know from the dying confession of his commander-in-chief, made publicly in the hearing of the *Times* correspondent. The ex-Shah confided his intention of invading Persia to the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, who informed him that Russia would be neutral, assured him that the "field is clear," and gave him friendly advice as to the best means of raising money. The *Times* itself admits, in a leading article that "some Russian authorities connived in the ex-Shah's return," though it acquits the Russian Foreign Office. To believe that the Ambassador in Vienna made no communication to his chief when he had learned the ex-Shah's intentions, is a stretch of credulity of which we find ourselves incapable. The *Nouye Vremya* certainly knew in advance, and launched, apparently from its inner consciousness, a press campaign in Mouassat Ali's favour a full week before the telegraph had reported his unimpeded descent through Russian territory on the Persian coast.

With the failure of this manoeuvre from which the agents of Russian policy had clearly hoped great things, the two Powers fell back on the policy of obstruction. The statistics of the past year, published this week, show that the external trade of Southern Persia has expanded no less than 37 per cent. Some disorder there certainly is in the South, but its extent is measured by these figures. The civil war, which ended at last in the ex-Shah's defeat, had made it morally and materially impossible for the Persian Government to undertake a serious and costly work of reorganisation. But neither consideration for its difficulties, nor satisfaction at the thriving condition of our trade, has deterred us from sending our Indian squadrons to Shiraz. Meanwhile, Mr. Shuster, with an American energy and fearlessness, had been at work on the reorganisation of the finances. He discovered at an early stage of his work that the poverty of the treasury was due mainly to the fact that the grandes, who from the loyalist and reactionary party, had for years evaded the payment of their taxes. Searching for some Europeans to organise an honest tax-collecting gendarmerie, he was met with the difficulty of finding men who knew the country and its language. Russia at once

interpreted her economic monopoly in the North as a political privilege, and with our aid has successively vetoed the nomination of two British subjects as assistants to Mr. Shuster. Worse still is the system which she has followed of enrolling Persians as her *protégés*, and claiming on their behalf a virtual immunity from taxation, and the right to the protection of Russian Consular Guards against the demands of Mr. Shuster's gendarmes. She has set up a state within a state. She rewards her partisans and the Shah's with freedom from their responsibilities as Persian citizens. She claims on their behalf to exercise on Persian soil rights of Police and functions of government which are an absolute negation of Persian sovereignty. She is making anarchy and obstructing reform, and with the usual logic of aggressive Imperialism she now claims to occupy the country whose government she has rendered impossible.

The risks which British acquiescence in this Russian policy of absorption entails, cannot be too clearly stated. It must alienate from us—reinforced as it is by our record in the question of Tripoli—anything that remains of confidence in us throughout the Moslem East. Lord Curzon spoke none too strongly on that point. It is still more serious that when the last vestige of Persian independence is destroyed, its ruin must confront us with the Russian land forces across a co-terminous frontier difficult to defend. But there is a simpler and directer reason for resenting Sir Edward Grey's acceptance of these Russian manoeuvres. They are, in all the records of recent aggression, the most dishonest, the most unmanly, the most treacherous. They cover even Russia with shame, and they reflect on us the disgrace of a vicarious dishonour. Russia has transgressed the code of international morals because she has an ambition and cherishes a perfectly intelligible greed. We have become her accomplice, not because we wanted anything ourselves, but simply because our diplomacy has lacked the backbone to utter a firm remonstrance.—*The Nation*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION"

Sir,—I am one of those who, without great knowledge of foreign affairs, think that there is a distinct necessity for an explanation from the Government of their foreign policy particularly in regard to recent relations with Germany and in regard to affairs in Persia. Holding that view, I still think that your treatment of these subjects during the last few weeks has not been very fair. A case against the Foreign Office has, *prima facie*, been made out and will have to be met; but I submit that you have gravely overstated that case. To make that good, I will take two statements in your current issue, which I have taken the trouble to check. The first deals with Tripoli and the second with Persia.

In your opening notes you say:—

"It is nowhere even hinted that Sir Edward Grey has moved a finger to limit the area of the war, indeed, it is more than ever recognised abroad that the Italian adventure had and has the tacit approval of our Foreign Office."

Your use of the word "recognised" instead of "believe" conveys the implication that it is a fact that our Foreign Office had foreknowledge of the invasion and tacitly approved. I myself heard Sir Edward Grey say in the House on 3rd November:—

"The first communication of any intention to seize Tripoli which His Majesty's Government received was the notification of the Declaration of War on 30th September."

I have never heard or read of one word or act on the part of our Government which lends colour to the idea that they now approve of the "Italian Adventure." In the face of a direct denial that the intention to invade Tripoli was communicated to our Government and the entire absence of any subsequent mark of approval, surely your words are gravely unfair and likely to mislead on a question of fact.

In your article on Persian affairs, in a summary of the past dealings of Russia and Great Britain with the Persian Government, you say:—

"The two Powers began by offering to guarantee a loan, provided Persia would accept the full control in every department of Russian or British agents. It was a proposal to introduce the Egyptian system, and it was rejected."

I have looked up in the White Paper on Persia the terms on which the two Powers offered to guarantee the loan. They are given in a despatch from Sir G. Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, dated 16th February 1910 [Persia No. 1 (1911). Cd. 5656]. They do not bear out your statement. There is to be a Commission to control the disbursement of the loan, but there is no insistence that there should be any foreign—still less any Russian or British—representation on that Commission. I think it is for you to justify your suggestion that this is the Egyptian system.

There is nowhere in the conditions one word about Russian or British officers or agents. Seven French officials are to be engaged at the Ministry of Finance; "foreign" instructors for the

gendarmes are to be engaged. Those are the only references to agents or officers from sources outside Persia. What justification can there be for saying that Persia was asked to accept "the full control in every department of Russian or British agents"?

These inaccuracies in the parts of your articles which I have checked suggest a certain overstating of the case throughout. My complaint is that the over-statement is not only in the conclusions, but in the facts on which the conclusions are based. I think our Foreign Office requires criticism, I should like to see more time devoted to that work in the House of Commons, but I do think that supporters of the Government have cause for complaint when, in your indictment of the Foreign Office, you add to its real offences imaginary crimes which it has never committed.

Yours, etc.,

H. T. CAWLEY.

21st November 1911.

[We acknowledge no inaccuracy. We had in view the Russian as well as the British interpretation of the terms offered with the proposed loan. In our White Paper M. Isvolsky's view is only briefly indicated. "It will only be by means of negotiating a large loan that Russia and England will be in a position to insist on the institution of an effective financial control." In other words, M. Isvolsky wished to lend a much larger sum than Persia had asked for in order to tighten his hold over her affairs. His views were given at length in the *Novoe Vremya* at the time. He referred in set terms to the Egyptian parallel, and explicitly stated that the military officers to be employed must be Russian and British. The actual terms of the preliminary loan bear out our interpretation on a close view. Mr. Cawley has omitted to notice the all-important general condition "The programme concerning the employment of the sum advanced shall be submitted for the approval of the two Legations." In other words, the power of the purse was to be placed in the hands of the Russian and British Ministers, who would thus directly control the Persian Budget, especially in all matters connected with police and other armed forces. The officials of the Ministries of Finance, War, and Police would thus be virtually in the pay of the two Powers. A general veto of this kind, exercised through our Consul-General, is precisely the Egyptian system. The Commission which was to audit the details of the expenditure, after Russo-British sanction for its programme, was to contain two foreigners (a point on which Mr. Cawley is mistaken), a Frenchman (financial adviser), and a Belgian (of the Customs). Further, the foreign "instructors" of the Persian armed forces are to be engaged only with the consent of the two Powers. Their nationality is not here stated, but clearly M. Isvolsky meant to insist on Russians, and we afterwards proposed Anglo-Indian officers for the South. A Persian suggestion for the engagement of Swedes has lately been vetoed (according to a statement made in the Duma by M. Neratoff) by both Governments, which made representations at Stockholm. The tendency of all this is sufficiently clear, but we are content to base our case on the general veto on the Persian programme of expenditure vested in the two Legations. As to Tripoli, Mr. Cawley is surely playing with words. We never said that the Foreign Office were forewarned of the actual starting of the Tripoli Expedition. What we said was that Europe believed and believes that we knew of Italy's general designs.—ED, *Nation*]

The "Times."

At a time when the international situation in general affords so many grounds for grave anxiety we cannot but deeply regret to see added to them a fresh and serious crisis in the relations between Russia and Persia. The Russian Legation at Teheran informed the Persian Foreign Office on Saturday of the rupture of diplomatic relations and stated that Russian troops had been ordered to Persia. It is believed that 4,000 men are already on their way to Kazvin, about eighty-six miles north-west of the Persian capital. The Russian Government, it is true, has given assurances that this movement of troops is merely intended to enforce the demands put forward in its ultimatum, and that the force will be withdrawn as Persia has conceded those demands. These assurances we have no right to question, and it must be remembered that on a previous occasion Russian troops occupied Kazvin for some time and were withdrawn in accordance with civil assurances as soon as Persia had fulfilled the conditions upon which Russia then insisted. Nevertheless we cannot blind ourselves to the significance of the action which Russia has now taken in circumstances which, at least on the surface, do not appear to afford together adequate justification for it. There have been incidents in the course of the last two or three years which have offered Russia more favourable opportunities for forcible and permanent intervention in Northern Persia had she entertained the sinister designs imputed to her in some quarters. The semi-official statement issued by the Russian Government with regard to the action of Mr. Shuster's agents in the matter of Prince Shua-ed-Dowleh's property places a somewhat different complexion from Mr. Shuster's own statement upon the origin of the unfortunate

quarrel to which it has given rise. According to the Russian statement, a conference was actually taking place between the Russian Consul-General and Mr. Shuster's representatives as to the procedure to be followed in connexion with the property of the ex-Shah's brother, when the Persian gendarmes, under the orders of Mr. Shuster, prejudged the issue of that conference by taking forcible action on their own account. Both are, of course, ex-parte statements, upon the relative merits of which we do not feel ourselves called to pronounce; but it must be noted that some Russian officials, including, it is stated, the Russian Minister at Teheran himself, appear to entertain misgivings as to the propriety of the Consul-General's action, and in any case the incident can hardly be considered of sufficient gravity in itself to explain the peremptory nature of the measures adopted by the Russian Government at this juncture.

The fact is, we fear, that for some time past the Persians have been playing, like children, with fire. In his recent speech Lord Curzon doubted whether European diplomacy had been altogether wise in its dealings with Persia. The doubt does not surprise us from the statesman who has been the severest critic in this country of the Anglo-Russian understanding. But whatever may be said for or against Russian policy in Persia the most elementary duty of Persian patriots was carefully to abstain from giving Russia the slightest excuse for intervention, to which they must have known it would be absolutely impossible for them to offer any material resistance. The Persians, unfortunately, have shown in this respect a deplorable lack of judgment and self-restraint. But allowances could be made for their utter ignorance and complete inexperience of political affairs, and on several occasions Russia showed herself not unwilling to make such allowances. The position was materially altered when Mr. Shuster appeared on the scene, and we fear that Persia will have to pay heavily for his unhappy excess of zeal. The more fully he had persuaded himself of the fundamental hostility of Russia to the maintenance of Persian independence the more scrupulously he, with his wider knowledge of the world, should have refrained from giving Russia cause for offence. We have already dealt with the indictment of Russian, and incidentally of British, policy which he drew up for publication in our own columns. Some of the statements it contained we have to be wholly unfounded; others to be grossly exaggerated, but the greater truth the more disastrous was bound to be the effect of the provocation afforded by such a pronouncement to a Power bent upon the delicate purpose which he attributed to Russian diplomacy. As an American citizen especially he might well have asked himself what American feeling would have been had a European official in the service, say, of Mexico or of some South American Republic indicted in the same hostile spirit the policy of the United States. The mere fact that Mr. Shuster thought himself at liberty to trespass so far outside the domain of financial reorganization, to which his functions were supposed to be confined, may well have sufficed to invest his presence at Teheran in the eyes of the Russian Government with a significance which it would not otherwise have possessed, and any one with the slightest knowledge of international politics could have foreseen the inevitable results.

How utterly powerless the rulers of Persia are to face those results is shown by the chaos which prevails in Teheran. With Russian troops already on the march to Kazvin, no reply of any kind has yet been vouchsafed to the Russian Note. The excuse given for this dangerous delay is that there is no Ministry to frame a reply, and the Mejlis apparently is determined that there shall be no Ministry, as on Saturday night it again defeated an attempt to introduce a Cabinet which was ready to negotiate with Russia. We do not see how, in these circumstances, the request for British mediation can be usefully entertained. We may regret that Russia has not shown more forbearance, and we have no doubt that British influence at St. Petersburg will always be steadily exerted in favour of moderate counsels. But that influence would be rather jeopardized than strengthened by a premature attempt to help the Persians out of their present predicament so long as they show no inclination to help themselves by at any rate constituting a regular Government, through which Russia could be approached. Nor is the condition of things in Southern Persia in any way calculated to encourage our intervention. The rulers of Persia certainly cannot ascribe to Russian interference the chaotic condition which prevails in the southern provinces. For many months we refrained from taking any action to protect British interests, however grievously they suffered from the insecurity of every trade route, because we were assured by the Persian Government that the Nizam es-Sultaneh, who had just been sent down to Fars, would promptly restore order. We had a specimen of the sort of order he restored in the reign of terror which obtained at Shiraz when the Kavam-ul-Mulk, more fortunate than his brother, having escaped with his life from the ambush laid for them by the Governor-General's *Kaskgal* allies, took sanctuary in the British Consulate. When the Nizam es-Sultaneh had at last made his own position as Governor-General absolutely untenable, and the lawlessness of Southern Persia necessitated the despatch of Indian troops to strengthen our Consular Guards, the Persian Government once more assured us that all was going to be well, as the Nizam had been superseded and

a really strong Governor, Ala-ed-Dowleh, had been despatched to Shiraz. Ala-ed-Dowleh has in turn, we are now informed, resigned, and welter of anarchy continues unabated. Curiously enough, the reason given for his resignation is that he recently caused five men of the Treasury *gendarmarie* to be beaten. The Russians, apparently, are not the only people in Persia to fall out with the new body raised under Mr. Shuster's auspices. The situation in Southern as well as in Northern Persia is undoubtedly very critical, and all our interests lie in the direction of an early and peaceful solution of the crisis. But such a solution will certainly not be assisted by sentimental expressions of sympathy for Persia which ignore the sterner realities.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The announcement made by your St. Petersburg Correspondent that Russia has decided to despatch immediately from the Caucasus a further force of 4,000 men, with artillery and machine-guns, into Persia foreshadows events of the utmost possible gravity. This fresh force will bring up the number of Russian troops in Persia to about 8,000, which practically amounts to a Russian occupation of Northern Persia. This measure is being taken, not for the protection of the lives and property of Russian subjects, but avowedly for the purpose of overawing the Persian Government in connexion with a dispute over the collection of taxes on the property of a Persian subject in Persia. To those who are not acquainted with the past proceedings of Russia in Persia such a measure taken on a pretext so trivial must seem almost incredible.

What are the merits of the dispute? Both sides have been heard. It is alleged by Russia that insulting language has been used by the Persian Treasury gendarmes to Russian Consular officers who interfered with the gendarmes in the execution of their duty. To this the Persian Government have replied that they are willing to institute a searching inquiry. Not satisfied with this, Russia has not only demanded an instant apology, but the withdrawal of the Treasury gendarmes from the property on the ground that its owner, the brother of the ex-Shah, owes money to Russian subjects. In reply, the Persian Government have stated their readiness to recognize any claims by Russian subjects upon the property of the debtor. To remove the gendarmes sent to collect the taxes due by the debtor to the Government would constitute abdication by the Persian Government of its sovereign rights. How can any Government be expected to retain the respect of its subjects, still less to maintain or restore order, after yielding to a demand of this nature? Thus, having failed to satisfy Russia, the Regent and the Cabinet have resigned and the Russian troops are marching into Persia.

Our Foreign Secretary, in answer to a question on this subject states that our Government are not concerned in the particular question that has given rise to the dispute. But surely it is deeply concerned in the maintenance by Persia of her sovereign rights, and this exactly is the question at issue. It is not the first time that this question has been raised by the action of Russia. It had already been raised in numerous cases which our Foreign Office have affected to regard as no concern of theirs. We need only instance the recent case of the arrest at Bandir-fiez of the local Persian official entrusted with the custody of the frontier and of other Persian subjects, and also the case of the forcible release by a body of about 300 Russian soldiers of the former Persian Governor of Ardabil, Rashid-ul-Mulk, imprisoned on a charge of high treason by the Persian Government. Sir Edward Grey stated the other day in connexion with the latter case that the British Government had intervened in a similar way in the case of the present Regent, when he was a prisoner in 1907. But the circumstances were obviously not the same. Nasr-el-Mulk, the present Regent, was in imminent danger of his life, without any legal trial or sentence; the British Government asked for a stay of execution on the ground that he was the possessor of a British Order, and we believe that the Russian Government made similar representations. There was no forcible release. In the case of Rashid el Mulk, the Russian Legation intimated to the Persian Government that, as he was the possessor of a Russian Order, he should be kept in honourable confinement. This the Persian Government agreed to do but to no avail.

But Russian challenge of Persian sovereignty is by no means confined to cases such as these. She denies Persia the right of choice of foreign experts for the reorganization of her administrative departments. We must refrain from again travelling over the ground of the regrettable Stokes incident. We will only say that here again the answer given to the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey seems to us to be misleading. It is plausible to assert that Great Britain might object to the employment of Russian experts in the districts adjoining the British frontier. But the "districts adjoining the Russian frontier," according to the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, include districts hundreds of miles away from the Russian frontier; they include the present capital Teheran and the ancient capital Isfahan. If our Foreign Office subscribe to the

principle that no British subject is to be employed in Persia as a foreign expert throughout a region so extensive as this there is plainly an end to Persian sovereignty.

It must surely be obvious to any unprejudiced person that recent Russian action in Persia, in which we appear to have acquiesced, is directed against the foreign experts, whom, after immense difficulties placed in her way by Russia, Persia has called to her assistance in accomplishing the work of her regeneration. The moment Persia makes a serious effort to put her own house in order Russian troops march in at the door. The time has surely come when the British nation, irrespective of party, must protest against this monstrous behaviour. Not only are the vital interests of the British Empire involved by the menace of a long land frontier with Russia, should Persia be absorbed, but our honour is clearly at stake. By the Anglo-Russian Convention we agreed to maintain the independence and integrity of Persia, and on 4th September 1907, we informed the Persian Government, through our Minister, Sir C. Spring-Rice, that both our Foreign Minister and the Russian Foreign Minister were completely in accord on two fundamental points. Firstly, neither Great Britain nor Russia would interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury were inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects; and, secondly, negotiations arising out of the Anglo-Russian Convention must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia. It was added—

"Neither of the two Powers seek anything from Persia, so that Persia can concentrate all her energies on the settlement of her internal affairs. This Convention between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms."

Never was pledge more clearly given. It is high time that our Government shall no longer acquiesce in its open violation.

Yours respectfully,

E. G. BROWN

ALAN BURGOYNE

H. F. B. LYNCH.

PHILIP MORRELL.

JAMES O'GRADY.

ARTHUR PONSONBY

J. ROLLISTON

The Persian Committee, House of Commons, 20th November

The "Near East."

EVENTS during the past week have been following each other with such breathless haste in Persia that it is as though we were already standing on the brink of a change in that country's status—a change which, if countenanced by us, may lead to a partition of the country. Despite, however, the attempts made in the House and elsewhere to induce the Cabinet to explain its attitude in connection with the Russian ultimatum, the Foreign Office indulges in evasive replies and the Anglo-Russian Agreement—a document the elasticity of which has so far proven most advantageous to Russian interests—is quoted and referred to in support of our policy. A time there was when we would have insisted on compliance not only with the letter, but with the spirit of a convention which insured the integrity of the Persian Empire. Those days are gone, and we have Mr. Shuster's letters to the *Times* as documentary evidence in support of the contention that the British Government has not only been unable to restrain Russia's ambition in the North of Persia, but has not seen its way to assist him as he would have desired and might have expected. Doubtless Lord Curzon was sincere when, at the dinner of the Persian Society, he gave it as his opinion that the British Government's one interest in Persia was to "establish a firm and respected Government." But of what practical value are such utterances when they do not tally with facts, and when it can be shown that the Anglo-Russian Agreement is used as a weapon for the disintegration of the Persian Empire?

Unfortunately, so far as this Agreement, or more particularly that clause dealing with the integrity of the Persian Empire, is con-

cerned, matters have come to an impasse. The Russian ultimatum connotes a possible occupation of certain of the Northern Provinces. This does not seem to cause the Foreign Office any particular qualms, however, for, in the words of Sir Edward Grey, "His Majesty's Government have no direct concern with the particular incident (Prince Shua-es-Sultaneh) that has given rise to the dispute," though they "would deeply regret any serious rupture of relations between Russia and Persia." We should like to point out that regrets alone cannot mend matters as they now stand, and that unless a firm attitude is taken by the British Government, the imponderable weight of the Russian giant will suffocate a land whose integrity has been guaranteed by us. We can regret the Mohammed Ali incident and the light it threw on Russian pretensions; we can regret the studied and cynical opposition of Russia to Mr. Shuster's reforms; we can even regret that Mr. Shuster himself should have been lacking in diplomatic tact to such an extent as to wound Russia by appointing British subjects as tax collectors in the northern sphere of influence—all this we can regret, and many dubious circumstances that have happened in the name of the Anglo-Russian Agreement within the past three years, but we must do more than simply regret the ultimatum which carries with it either the resignation of the Treasurer-General or the dismemberment of the Persian Empire. Our sincerity, at least, in signing the Anglo-Russian Agreement cannot be questioned, and consequently we cannot be a party to the disintegration of Persia nor aid and abet those whose policy it is and has been to prevent the regeneration of the Shah's dominions.

It must not be supposed, on the other hand, that the impasse to which we have alluded is wholly due to Russian aggressiveness acquiesced in by British diplomacy. Nor do we consider that Mr. Shuster is entirely free from blame. Whatever the reasons—and we understand that they were of a technical nature—which led him to appoint Major Stokes and Mr. LeCoffre to important posts in Northern Persia, Mr. Shuster might have known, if he had had any knowledge of Oriental diplomacy, that by doing so he would create difficulties of international significance. Under the circumstances, and considering that the task before him was already burdened with many and serious obstacles, he ought to have advanced with caution instead of unwisely building up hostile sentiments in his entourage. There is a great difference, however, between calmly pointing out the inconvenience of a proposed appointment on the one hand, and going, on the other, to the extreme of regarding Mr. Shuster as an adventurer—to quote from the *Novoe Vremya*—and opposing by all manner of means his fiscal reforms. Nevertheless, it was the latter course which appealed most directly to the authorities in St. Petersburg, and which, strange to say, seems to have been condoned by Downing Street.

Apart from the above considerations, however, Persia herself must to a very great extent bear the blame for what has happened to her. The Shah's subjects have always been too ready to ascribe their failures to Russian and British intrigues. We are impatient of this point of view, for, though in a sense correct, it can by no means account for the chaos and disunion which exists throughout the country. Personal ambitions, disloyalty to their best men, corruption, and venality are largely responsible for the present state of affairs, and the Persian is, after all, his own worst enemy. Nevertheless, we do not doubt that, as pointed out by Lord Curzon, a new spirit is slowly arising which would make a return, after the events of recent years, to the *reime* of Nasr ed-Din Shah a sheer impossibility, and which, given time, would in all probability have led to better prevailing conditions, especially if we had been as patient awaiting the results of the country's evolution towards Constitutionalism as we were sincere when guaranteeing its territorial integrity. To-day, however, a change seems to have come over our policy; we are apparently *à la remorque* of Russia, and at this stage of Persian history appear to have lost the influence which the terms of the Anglo-Russian Agreement gave us for controlling the actions of the co-signatory of that document. Sir Edward Grey trusts that an opportunity for an important statement on the Persian question will be available "later on." In the meantime, what will have happened? It looks as though Russia's ultimatum will have had its desired effect, and that before the statement is made we shall be face to face with a *fait accompli*. For, from whatever point of view we regard it, the confiscation of Prince Shua-es-Sultaneh's property by the Persian Government was merely a pretext—not a whit more justifiable than Italy's pretext for a descent on Tripoli—for Russia to forward her ultimatum and to demand the removal from office of the Treasurer-General, thereby arresting the economic regeneration of the country and leading up to the occupation of the Northern Provinces. Great Britain, whose "one interest is the establishment of a firm and respected Government," is presumably to second Russia; in all other respects she is to remain a passive spectator, filled with the pious hope that nothing untoward will come to pass. We cannot agree with any such point of view; we refuse to believe that by allowing Russia a free hand in the north we are advancing either the interests of the British Empire or those of the Persian nation.

TETE À TETE



THE solemn rite of State, in which His Imperial Majesty, George V., Emperor of India, was the central figure, was gone through on the 12th December with impressive ceremonial on the historic ground

The Durbar.

of Delhi. The event, in every sense unique, has added a brilliant chapter to the vast and variegated annals of this ancient country. It has set the seal to a great imperial purpose. A festival of such solemnity and splendour could not have been more fittingly celebrated. British Rule in India, looked at from any point of view, is a wise dispensation of Providence. The task of raising a fallen people and inspiring them with new hope and courage to solve the problems of their destiny in the light of modern wisdom and experience has been, on the whole, ungrudgingly performed. The gracious appearance of the Sovereign in our midst has as much emphasised the imperial responsibility of England as it has evoked genuine and whole-hearted gratitude in this country for her beneficent mission. The brilliant functions connected with the King-Emperor's visit at Delhi were superb in their brilliance in the rich historic setting, and will live as a distinct landmark in the moving drama of Delhi. It is not, however, their splendour that matters, but their inward solemnity and meaning. The homage of the people and princes of India rendered to a sovereign who stands for all that is righteous and just and fruitful in England's Imperial task, has brought India and England together in conscious union of hearts and purpose. The bodily presence of the Emperor, addressing to his people in India his solemn greetings and bidding them to be of good cheer for the future has set the crown on a unity of ideal and endeavour.

THE situation in Persia has not yet emerged out of the recent crisis.

Persia.

Evidently a severe diplomatic wrestle is going on behind the scenes, the Russian troops have crossed into Persian territory, and it would seem as if Russia is bent on enforcing her demands on pain of occupation. The British Government has informed the Russian Foreign Office that they could not under any circumstances recognise the ex-Shah. They had also remonstrated against the Russian demands for monetary compensation, though the remonstrance seems to have been withdrawn. We still await with much concern to know definitely and unequivocally that Great Britain is not wholly indifferent to her responsibility in the matter. Lord Morley, replying to Lord Curzon in a recent debate in the House of Lords, entered into a long and elaborate defence of the Anglo-Russian Convention. "It was the military party in St. Petersburg which always held that without the Convention Russia would be in Teheran to-day," said His Lordship. We may accept this statement without demur. But will the Convention keep Russia out of Teheran? This is the question of questions. Even a superficial acquaintance with the spirit and methods of Russian diplomacy in Persia would lead one to infer that the Agreement has conferred a sort of legality and right on Russian designs which, without it, would have at least had to be justified to the world. Whether the Convention would prove a blessing for Persia or a curse, it has certainly secured Russia from interference or remonstrance at the hands of England. Lord Curzon, in the course of his profoundly wise, admirable, and statesmanlike utterances, said that the Persian part was the least desirable part of the Anglo-Russian Convention, "which was a one-sided bargain, and actually accelerated Persia's decline." An understanding between two Great Powers in respect of a third, enjoying full sovereign rights and independent existence, which is based on a division of its territories into "spheres of influence," is bound to degenerate into an instrument of pure coercion. The farce is completed when this

instrument is referred to as constituting a legal force of unalterable sanctity in diplomatic relations. "The Russian proceedings were peremptory and precipitate towards a weak and helpless Power," said Lord Curzon, and they were "peremptory and precipitate" because Russia construed the Convention as conferring on her a legal right of interference in Persian affairs. All understandings about a third Power without that Power's consent turn out, in the end, to be understandings about the divisions of its territories. Force creates legal right, which, in its turn, is solemnly invoked for new territorial acquisitions. Yet Lord Morley has, through his own inscrutable wisdom, discovered that the "evils had not arisen from the Convention, nor from the action of Russia, but from the introduction of a Constitution," upon the difficulties of which he "expatiated." It is a sad irony of political topsyturvydom that the most temperate and philosophic exponent of Democracy should turn into Russia's apologist. All new experiments, particularly in politics, have their evils. No one can lightly ignore their effects. But it is one thing to have to face troubles and even stumble into grave errors of judgment while battling against obscurantist and reactionary forces, and quite another to be grovelling amid the cruelty and chaos of an effete political system. Persia is devoted and earnest in her desire to raise herself to a plane of reformed and well-ordered political existence. She has all the spirit, faith, and hope that come from a great and noble purpose; and she is learning the requisite methods by slow degrees. Does it commend itself to a great Liberal statesman that she should be threatened with death in the travail of her new birth? It was reserved for Lord Curzon to voice the true imperial responsibility as well as true British Liberalism, when he said that "he would like to see Britain hold out an occasional umbrella against hailstones in the shape of ultimatums at 48 hours' notice which rained on the Muhammadan States." Independent opinion in England as well as in this country has expressed itself unmistakably against the Russian schemes of aggression and the passive attitude of the Imperial Government. Strong protests have come from well-informed and powerful commercial circles in England against the inaction of Sir Edward Grey. At a recent meeting of the Karachi Branch of the British Empire League held under the presidency of the Commissioner in Sind, Mr. Bernard Temple delivered a very luminous and powerful lecture on "The Future of Persia." He treated the whole question in a broad, sympathetic and eloquent manner and put in a strong plea for the preservation of Persia's liberty. We cannot help quoting a passage from his admirable exposition of the subject. Said Mr Temple — In the case of Persia the conventions of diplomacy preserve for polite display the comfortable hypothesis that the independence of Persia is guaranteed. Both Russia and England indeed are solemnly pledged thereto. But Russia and England gave the pledge not to Persia but to each other, and each therefore would doubtless consider itself bound only by the other's scrupulosity, which is not at present exacting. If then we may venture to brush aside the verbal figments of diplomatic protestation, we shall be constrained to admit in the light of recent intelligence that the future of Persia is perilously overcast. If, sooner or later, the dark cloud burst and should destroy for all time Persian independence, reducing the once glorious empire of Cyrus to the status of a Central Asian khanate, I for one should deeply deplore the calamity. I should deplore it because I believe that Persia for her own sake and for the sake of her still considerable potentialities is eminently worth preserving. I should deplore it because the downfall of Persia might herald the political downfall of Islam, with all that such an overthrow might involve. I should deplore it because, while Persia has given to the world many intellectual, philosophical, political, and religious treasures, the Tower which would crush Persia has contributed nothing to civilisation but a hard record of implacable force. And if our present view be narrowed from the universal to the national, I should, as an Englishman, deplore the overthrow and dismemberment of Persia, because I believe that British complaisance therefrom, far from averting that international collision which we all rightly seek to stave off, would tend to precipitate it under conditions less favourable not only in Persia, but also in India to ourselves. And lastly, as one interested in the great commercial movements of India, and particularly of Sind, I should deplore the advance of the Russian wall of trade prohibition from Teheran and Meshed, whence already Indian and English merchandise has been shut out, to Shiraz and Kerman, and possibly to the very shores of the Persian Gulf.

THE Viceroy's announcement of "the grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions which His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon this glorious and memorable occasion" has at last set at rest the wild speculation that has been rife in this country about the Royal Boons. They cover a wide range and go to benefit various classes of people. The army and subordinate public services, the titleholders, persons who have rendered

conspicuous public service, criminals and debtors in prison, have alike benefited by Royal clemency and favour. But the "benefaction" which will be hailed throughout the country with special joy and gratitude is the grant of fifty lakhs for "the promotion of truly popular education." The Viceroy added that, "it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale." This announcement is most gratifying and we are sure the Government will faithfully carry out their pledge and henceforth strenuously endeavour to diffuse the blessings of popular education till not a single person is left illiterate in the country. The universal diffusion of mass education will be a living monument to the greatness and beneficence of British Rule. The unique event of the Imperial Visit could not be more fittingly commemorated than by the assumption by the Indian Government, in an earnest and generous spirit, of the duty of educating the masses. We hope Mr. Gokhale's Bill now before the Imperial Legislative Council will be passed into law. It embodies a measure of supreme public importance and it should be recognised by the Legislature and the State. The principle of compulsion, even though premature under the circumstances for universal application, should be given a trial in carefully selected areas, and for the ultimate good of the country, should receive legislative sanction.

THE Imperial announcement relative to the transfer of the seat of the Indian Government from Calcutta to Delhi has created immense sensation throughout the country. The correspondence between the Indian Government and the Secretary of State regarding the matter had begun in August, but so strict has been the secrecy maintained that probably not more than a dozen persons might have known of the change before it was announced. Excepting in Bengal where it touches certain vested interests too closely, the transfer of the Government seat to Delhi has been received with considerable satisfaction in every other part of the country. Delhi so long wearing widow's weeds, as it were, after the departure of the last of the Moghals, has come at last by her own. Without pretending to rival in wealth or commercial importance some of the new Indian cities which have grown into great centres of modern trade and industry, Delhi is still the heart of Hindustan. Her past glory and might have woven a spell over the hearts and imaginations of the Indian people which has survived the shock of empires and various vicissitudes in her fortunes. Calcutta had made it possible for the Bengali to loom beyond all proportions in all Indian affairs, and it is no fault of the Indian Government if it viewed public questions affecting the whole of the country sometimes in a false perspective and consequently blundered. In Delhi, while perpetuating a great Imperial tradition and finding an appropriate capital for a great Empire, the Government will find the necessary detachment for the impartial conduct of Indian affairs. The Anglo-Indian Press in Calcutta is up in arms against the change. The non-official community in this city is as a class very powerful and the Anglo-Indian Press is ever ready to dance to its tune. Besides some of these contemporaries of ours stand to lose some of the prestige and importance which they have hitherto enjoyed under the wings of the Indian Government. Their chagrin and disappointment can, therefore, readily be understood. But what we cannot understand is the vehemence with which a few of them delivered themselves against the Viceroy. The *Statesman* is, in particular, disconsolate and has imperiously demanded that Lord Hardinge should at once resign his office and leave the country. The Indian Government have no doubt effected the whole transaction in secret and spring it on an unsuspecting public. In fact, they have not only ignored, but flouted the right of free discussion in public affairs. Yet an exhibition of impotent rage and thunder is rather amusing. Our contemporary, it seems, is sadly lacking in the saving sense of proportion. To suppose that the Government of India exists simply to furnish an imperial background to the journalistic exploits of the *Statesman* is ludicrous. The change in the Indian capital was, perhaps, long overdue, if for no other reason, to cure some of the Calcutta journals of their overweening self-importance and vanity.

MR. OSMAN JAMALI, a wealthy Khoja gentleman and merchant of Calcutta, has undertaken to build a sanatorium at Deolali at the cost of Rs 60,000 for the benefit of the invalids of his community. The building is to consist of nine blocks, each containing a suite of rooms to accommodate one family. This charitable undertaking is very creditable to Mr. Osman Jamal and will be much appreciated by the members of the Khoja community for whose exclusive benefit it is intended. We cannot help thinking that free gifts like this should not be too rigidly exclusive and would gain enormously in efficacy and grace if they are more in consonance with the spirit of beneficence from which they proceed. However, an act of charity, even though hedged

round with stipulations, is still a noble act, and wealthy donors like Mr. Osman Jamali are entitled to public gratitude.

MR. ALLAN WILKIE and his company's performances at the Grand Opera House have been given with sustained zest and versatility of talent since "Julius Caesar."

In the delineation of Shakespeare's characters Mr. Wilkie has achieved distinction and appreciative audiences have followed his artistic achievements every time that a Shakespearean play has been staged. We had occasion to see the other day his "production" of "Julius Caesar," and it was a pleasure to find with what industry, insight and vigour the overpowering tragic effect of the great historic theme was seized and brought out in action. "Julius Caesar" is not a series of incidents grouped round an individual's fortunes. It is the drama of a vast and varied empire, in a supreme crisis of its fate, in the throes of a new political birth and laboriously groping its way, through social anarchy, political corruption, orgies of greed, licentiousness and hideous carnage, to a fresh and better synthesis. Caesar had grasped the essential elements of the great problem, and had brought his wonderful intellectual resources, his superhuman energy and his unbending resolution to bear on the tremendous task. He gazed far into the future and wanted to recast the ancient system of a City-State in an ampler mould, well-suited to the needs, variety and extent of the Empire. Absolutism was the only remedy that could save a decaying system from disintegration. Roman traditions and instincts, however, abhorred everything that might even remotely suggest kingship and absolutism, though the fibre of the ancient race of free and sturdy Romans had decayed under luxury and political corruption. It was, however, the form that mattered to the intensely conservative Roman mind, and Caesar's bold efforts at new experiments, his vast personal power and prestige, raised a host of enemies who developed the war-cry of "liberty" and rallied in defence of Republican institutions. Brutus, the choice and master spirit of the age, a fine type of the independent, democratic Roman citizen, untainted and free from corruption, though narrow and rigid in intellectual outlook, became the storm-centre of revolt. The conspiracy triumphs, but the spirit of the murdered Caesar sits like Colossus athwart the destiny of the Empire and shapes it finally to the ideals for which he stood. All these points were brought out with telling dramatic effect. Mr. Wilkie's rendering of "Antony" was delightful, especially his famous "speeches" which he "wielded" with consummate art in handling the Roman mob. "Brutus" was all that could be desired and the transparent dignity of his character was throughout sustained with ease and skill. "Cassius" might well have been less agitated and vehement. The various play of motive, the passion for intrigue and manipulation, the genius for cleverness and wise discourse that constitute "Cassius's" character could be treated with more insight and sympathy. Miss Watts' "Portia" was perfect—a delightful apparition, tender, sad, musing, shrinking in terror from the presentiment of some awful catastrophe which begins to haunt her delicate and sensitive mind. Altogether the performance was a success, well worthy of the reputation of Mr. Wilkie and his company.

MESSRS. LANG AND HOLLOWAY'S LONDON COMPANY have been for some days past entertaining Calcutta audiences with a varied programme at the Empire Theatre. "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" Mr. Matheson Lang has, by his fine dramatic talent, made a powerful mark on the London stage. His fame, especially in the interpretation of Shakespearean characters, had preceded him to India, and now that he is in our midst, the Calcutta public, both European and Indian, has flocked to his performances every night with eager enthusiasm. We have not seen his production of "Hamlet," though his correspondence on the subject, which appeared in some of the local journals, gave us a learned and lucid exposition of his conception of the character of the Prince of Denmark and his great tragedy. However, we hope to be able to give ample treatment to the subject when Mr. Lang repeats his performance, which has already evoked unbounded interest and admiration amongst the Calcutta playgoers. His production of "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" on Thursday night was a perfect piece of art. Mr. Jerome's famous play aims at a serious social purpose under a light comic garb. Without being didactic or emphatic with a "moral" tag behind it, it reveals a vast hell of social misery, born of sordid surroundings and petty selfishnesses, and how a miracle is wrought by the simple passage of a pure, kindly, unselfish soul across a life of ungodliness and the whole atmosphere is redeemed with beauty and joy. Mr. Matheson Lang represented the kindly "soul" to whose mystic wand the chaos of greed and misery yields. He played his part to perfection, and so did Miss Huttin Britton, whose rendering of the "Slavey" could hardly be improved upon. The whole piece was performed with delightful art and finish, and the curtain was wrung down to a spell-bound audience.

The Comrade.

The Announcement

I

WHEN His Majesty the King-Emperor declared his intention of announcing in person to his loving Indian subjects the event of his Coronation this year, it was felt throughout this country that a momentous action had been decided upon and it was difficult to exaggerate its sagacity and significance. Those who were privileged to witness the magnificent ceremony of the Imperial Durbar on the 12th December were so deeply impressed with it that, far from the least tinge of disappointment being detected, which is not an unusual experience of humanity in relation to events and sights long and lovingly anticipated, the actual ceremony surpassed in its grandeur, variety and impressiveness all the expectations of the beholders. But little did those who beheld so unique a sight know how momentous was the occasion in reality, till they read the final announcement of His Majesty, copies of which were distributed only after the King and Queen had left the amphitheatre. It was then and then only that the tremendous changes, which were proposed by the Government of India nearly four months ago and sanctioned by the Secretary of State on the 1st of November, and the secret of which had been guarded so remarkably well that not even the Local Governments were aware of them before the actual announcement, became known to the assembled multitudes. Once out, the news travelled like wildfire and, while it occasioned both joy and sadness, the most predominant effect was the shock of surprise. An edict of the Emperor of China could not have been more sudden, a ukase of the Czar of all the Russias could not have been more despotic. Apart from the merits of the scheme, it may safely be said that the greatest of playwrights would envy the Government its artistic perception of dramatic effect. It is one of the disadvantages of constitutional government that the audience, who heard the momentous announcement, cannot for a time at least know how far the Imperial personage who uttered the words approved of their full significance. But we cannot conceive that the central figure of any pageant, no matter how glorious or full of serious import, could have desired to have a more portentous message delivered through him to a larger number of people than the one which His Majesty's advisers announced through him. But when all this is said, we have still to consider whether the message did not surpass in dramatic effect the solemn significance of the original purpose for which the august messenger had undertaken so long and arduous a journey. For our part we are constrained to say and we say it with immense regret that the announcement has killed the Durbar. Whether at the reception on the same evening, the garden party on the following afternoon, the review on the 14th, or, later, at the investiture, the general topic of conversation was not what was going on, but what had gone before. We cannot believe that this could have been intended, and yet we cannot conceive that the nine patriot kings, who have thus dramatically settled the destinies of millions with an impressive and imperial disregard of the existence of the rest of the world, could have failed to contemplate the effect of their choice of time and place. The position of a constitutional monarch is perhaps the most difficult that our modern political philosophy has created. The duties of such a king are enough to tax the powers of any man to the full, but for the efficient performance of those onerous duties it is necessary that every word and act of the king's advisers should add to rather than militate against the dignity that should surround the king like an earthly halo. In our humble judgment, while the Government has not added to its own dignity by thus seeking shelter behind the Imperial robes, it has been guilty of doing damage to the dignity of the Monarch. Whatever it may be elsewhere, in India the offence is unpardonable. But after all it shows how little the West understands the East even to-day.

As regards the importance of the scheme there can hardly be two opinions. The Government of India regard it as "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British Rule in India." But when we come to consider the manner in which such a "weighty decision" has been arrived at, we stand amazed at the audacity of the whole enterprise. There is no pretence of consulting public opinion, there is no reference to the assistance given by local Governments, to whose opinions so much deference is seemingly paid when the Government of India have made up their own mind to pass or reject a measure and the outlying provinces say Amen. When the question of giving Council Government to the United Provinces, which were then the second largest and are now the largest administrative unit, came up for discussion early this year in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, all debate was hushed because forsooth a masterful Lieutenant-Governor preferred his own unaided judgment to the opinion of the rest of mankind. Yet now the Capital of India is transferred to a distance of a thousand miles after a century and a half, two provinces are united, two others

are cut up to form another local Government and a local Administration, a Lieutenant-Governorship is converted into a Governorship, a new province is given Council Government while the destinies of much older provinces are still in the hands of single individuals, and a smaller unit, which had been given representation in a Legislative Council, is wholly disfranchised. And the local Government so deeply affected knew no more of these tremendous and far-reaching changes than did the scarlet runners of the Supreme Government. It makes one doubt whether we are living in the twentieth century under the aegis of the British Democracy or in the fourteenth under erratic Tughlak. If, in the words of the Earl of Crewe, this does not satisfy the historical sense of millions, we do not know what else would do. It will be said and it is being said unofficially that the discussion of "so abrupt a departure from the traditions of British Government and so complete a dislocation of official habits" would have caused endless agitation, but this is nothing else but a repetition of our grievance. If discussions and agitations are incongruous when changes of such great pitn and moment are contemplated, we are asked to believe that the only subjects which the country can be trusted to discuss are wells and drains and smoky municipal lamps. The Government of India have in this instance not only choked public opinion for which in fact they have never had any superstitious respect, but have also strangled local Governments. And yet we do not know but that there may be a resurrection of the satrapies that are both dead and damned to day, when at the touch of the new Messiah they may rise from their graves to kill Mr. Gokhale's Bill. We can well picture Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler standing up in the Legislative Council to quote reams of reports from local Governments as a counterblast to the unanimous opinion of the country in favour of the Bill and suavely give it the quietus, after blessing it with almost convincing fervour.

As regards the merits of these measures, it would not have been possible to express an opinion so early, if they had really been as novel as they have been sudden in their reappearance. But, whatever else may be said for the Government of India, they cannot be complimented on the originality of their united judgment. There is hardly any aspect of the Partition question which has not been considered at one time or another, and the idea of the transfer of the Metropolis to Delhi is, in more senses than one, as old as the hills. We cannot hope to exhaust the discussion of the merits in a single article, and we do not know if any useful purpose could now be served by such a discussion. It is not arguments evidently that carry weight with the Government of India, but agitation, indicating "bitterness of feeling," and that too only if it is "very widespread and unyielding." If, however, the gods on Olympus can receive or need any consolation from the support of mere men, we may assure them that, irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India, and taken each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes, we are ourselves in favour of both the schemes. We have already indicated our disapproval of the place and the procedure selected by the Government. As regards time, the partition in the form now approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the Capital was needed in 1857. Half a century was allowed to lapse before so obvious a change as the latter was at last effected, and the vested interests that grow up in half a century cannot be brushed aside so lightly as this cavalier Government has done in its remarkable despatch. Considerations of space compel us to follow its example and say no more on the subject of these interests. But guilty as we shall appear of a somewhat unseemly frivolity in discussing so serious a question, we cannot help wondering what will become of that fateful enterprise of Lord Curzon, the Victoria Memorial. It will hardly fulfil its original purpose in Calcutta when Delhi again becomes the Capital of the Empire. Presuming of course that there are no engineering difficulties in the way of its erection, it could not bodily be carried to Delhi. Shall it then be left to its fate with the confident expectation that the temporising *Times* of London would write another ponderous leader to prove that the chief objects towards which Lord Curzon's masterful energy was directed in this instance "had been fully safeguarded"? To revert to the main question, we may conclude that in view of the many conveniences of Delhi and specially its vicinity to Simla, we are disposed to welcome the transfer of the Metropolis. Thanks to jute and tea and the existence of a tidal river, Calcutta cannot suffer much in importance as a whole, though the unfortunate rich, recently labelled as the "pampered vampires," namely, the landlords, who have been hustled a good deal by the recent Improvement Trust Act, would lose considerably in rents of their house property. But if the change had to come, the sooner it came the better, and we cannot conceive that Calcutta could ever acquire the climatic and geographical advantages of Delhi, which alone could make it a satisfactory Capital of the Empire. On the whole, therefore, the change is justified, though it must be remembered that it is not the geographical position alone of the capital that would bring the Government in closer touch with the people. As long as an Englishman is socially as an island, surrounded by a vast sea of aloofness and chilly conventions of the Arctic regions, the Capital

of India would remain as inaccessible as ever to the people of India. But even while generally welcoming the transfer, we cannot accept as correct the political advantages enumerated by the Government of India in paragraph 6 of their despatch and tamely echoed in paragraph 3 of the despatch of the Secretary of State. To talk of "sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history" of Kurawas and Pandavas and of Indraprasta is to bolster up a useful enough scheme with sentiment that is of no avail in this connection, even if it is not too rickety and tawdry at the best of times. Nor has the Muhammadan any reason to feel "unbounded gratification" in seeing "the ancient Capital of the Moghals restored to its proud position as the seat of Empire." History never repeats itself, and restorations are impossibilities. It is not to the past that Mussalmans should be invited to look back but to contemplate a future, different no doubt but possibly not less glorious. What, however, strikes us as rather grotesque is the expectation that Mussalmans "would presumably regard with satisfaction the re-erection of Delhi as the Capital of India," when not so very long ago the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma informed a Mussalman that efforts to erect a grave over the mortal remains of Bahadur Shah, which lay neglected in the compound of an Englishman's house in Rangoon, would be looked upon with disfavour by Government. We feel sure that the erection of a suitable grave at the cost of Government would be regarded by Mussalmans with greater satisfaction so far as mere sentiment goes than the re-erection of Delhi. The further assertion that the change "would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unflinching determination to maintain British Rule in India" seems to us to be little better than bombast and fustian. Nobody doubts for a moment the unflinching determination of the British to maintain their rule in India, and to insist on its being indicated by so tremendous a change is to create a doubt when none existed before. It is not by clothing the obscure in the language of a Hardolph or an Owen Glendower that the obvious can be recommended to the suffrages of the people.

It is not possible to deal in this article with the question of the modification of the Partition, and unless the Government of India wish the world to know that it is only in the nature of a compensation to the sentiment of the Hindus of Bengal, and not an act justifiable on its own merits, we do not understand why the two questions should have been considered indissolubly linked together. We shall discuss the smaller and yet in our view, the more far-reaching decision of the modification in a later issue. In the meantime we may say that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal, or Bengalis, as the Government of India's despatch chooses to call them, the announcement has been a matter of give and take, that for "sturdy loyal" Beharis it has been one of "take" only, while for the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal it has been one of nothing but "give." We congratulate the Beharis on their signal good fortune and we rejoice as well as regret with the Bengalis. As for the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, they must derive what comfort they can from the well known lines

Laugh, and the world laughs with you
Weep, and you weep alone.

After all they are only "loyal and contented," and as a reward of their loyalty and contentment they have been given a generous helping of the humble pie. We pray that they may not have a too acute attack of indigestion.

The Durbar Honours.

It was expected, quite naturally in view of the Coronation Durbar, that the Honours List will be abnormally long. An event so memorable and significant as the visit of the King-Emperor to his Indian Dominions could not be allowed to pass away without the people and the servants of the Crown receiving some signal mark of Royal pleasure. We have already noticed elsewhere the character of the grants and concessions which the Viceroy announced in commemoration of the great occasion. The Honours List published on the day of the historic ceremonial at Delhi is another feature of the liberality with which the occasion has been celebrated. Indeed, titles and decorations have been dispensed with unmeasured prodigality, and, if anything, the lay mind cannot but feel a certain uneasiness at the copiousness of this ambrosial shower.

It is no doubt one of the recognised duties of the State to confer formal distinction on sterling worth and merit. A judicious exercise of this function creates a spirit of healthy emulation and holds up public service as a worthy object of young ambition. However, there always exists a danger that public service may lose its ampler significance and become a mere technical expression, stereotyped into a narrow view of public duty. All irresponsible bureaucracies, imperfectly in touch with public opinion, invariably develop a hide-bound system of caste, having their codes and standards quite distinct from those of the societies for whose service they primarily exist. This cleavage of attitude and temper may, in certain conceivable eventualities, lead to strange developments

of the sense of public duty. An individual act, in these circumstances, may be quite pleasing to the State and yet infinitely abhorrent to the public. Official recognitions conferred in the shape of titles and decorations may, thus, lose all intrinsic value and become mere expressions of official pleasure or favour. Honours may not only become cheap and purposeless but may acquire the invidious distinction of covering stark incompetency, weak-kneed flattery and self-advertising and pushful hypocrisy. Not only the Temple of Honour should be placed on a high pedestal so that only those who have done some genuine public service should find a niche there, but its portals should be jealously shut against the intrusion of false deities and gods made of tinsel.

Looking through the shimmer of dignities recently conferred on a long roll of private individuals and public servants, no one of course would maintain that one does not get down to genuine metal, though the glamour of unreality is not wholly absent. But our surprise is not so much on account of the presence of those who ought not to have been there, as on account of the absence of those who, in all conscience, ought to have been there. The omissions are glaring and unaccountable, particularly in this year of the Coronation Durbar. We have no quarrel with the Government if it has seen fit to decorate itself in profusion, though it is non-official merit that stands most in need of official recognition and encouragement. But it is certainly time to give emphatic expression to the widespread public disappointment and surprise at official coldness and neglect towards those who have grown gray in the service of their country. Some of the recognised leaders of great communities, who are held in universal esteem and reverence on account of their life-long labours and devotion to high and noble causes, seem to find no place in the official scheme of things.

Much as we dislike personal references, we cannot in this instance omit to mention the names of a few Mussalman leaders of public eminence whom the Government has thought fit to ignore. No public man in India is more honoured and respected or carries greater weight in his own community than Nawab Mushtaq Hussain, Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. He is the Secretary to the Trustees of the Aligarh College and, as successor of Sir Syed Ahmad and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, enjoys the distinction of being the acknowledged head and representative of the whole Mussalman community. His services in the cause of Moslem education are invaluable, while his share in helping to build up the existing attitude of the Mussalmans towards British Rule has by no means been inconsiderable. Many lesser men have been honoured with knighthoods, yet a leader of his conspicuous position and services have not been considered deserving of the honour. Similarly, one of the greatest scholars and poets of Modern India, a leader of thought, whose message has wrought greater change in the attitude of the Mussalmans towards Western civilisation than the labours of any other from amongst the brilliant band of the lieutenants and co-adjutors of Sir Syed, has not been found worthy of a higher honor than the title of Shams-ul-Ulema, grudgingly bestowed upon him some years ago. We mean Maulana Altaf Husain Saheb Halli. Men like Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and the venerable Poet of Panipat are among the makers of Modern India. Titles would not exalt them so much as they would exalt the titles and raise their value in public estimation.

Amongst the fortunate recipients of the distinctions, we note with pleasure the names of many who have deserved them eminently and well. Distinguished leaders like His Highness the Aga Khan, the Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mukerjee are amongst those whom the public as well as the King would alike delight to honour. Amongst distinguished public servants, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's G.C.I.E. is well deserved and so is the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam's C.S.I. Apart from the customary decorations of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs with the most exalted orders of British India, many of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Provincial Governors and Lieutenants-Governor have received Knight-hoods of the Star of India and the Indian Empire. Notable among them are The Hon'ble Mr. J. L. Jenkins and the Hon'ble Mr. S. H. Butler, who get K.C.S.I.; Sir George Clarke and Sir John Hewett who receive G.C.S.I. The names of Rai Bahadurs, Khan Bahadurs, Rai Sahebs and Khan Sahebs is legion, and we trust the honour in each individual case is the result of patient merit. We note with satisfaction and pleasure the bestowal of Rai Saheb on Babu Ganga Parshad Varma, the Editor of the *Advocate*, Lucknow. All we can say is that he eminently deserved it. Amongst Aligarh circles, the title of Shams-ul-Ulema conferred on the renowned and erudite scholar, Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saheb, Professor of Arabic in the College, will appear to be but a tardy recognition of his profound learning, vast literary attainments and unique, though silent and unpretentious, influence on those around him. The distinction of Khan Saheb conferred on Mir Vilayat Husain Saheb, second master of the Aligarh School and Proctor, is delightfully appropriate. The Mir Saheb is one of the oldest and most hard-working servants of the College and the recognition that his services in connection with the work of teaching and management and some other important spheres in College life have received will gratify all those that have had the pleasure of knowing him.

Coronation Durbar.

State Entry.

(Special for the "Statesman.")

(By HAROLD COX)

CORONATION DURBAR, DEC. 7.

THERE are two aspects of a great State ceremony—that of the actors and that of the onlookers. The latter is as important as the former, for one of the main purposes, if not the main purpose of such a ceremony as that of to-day, is to evoke the loyalty of the people. I, therefore, made a point this morning of going first to spots where native onlookers would be likely to congregate, and the result was not disappointing. Certainly, the people of Delhi showed no lack of interest in the great procession they were about to witness. Every window and balcony and roof-top was crowded with spectators, who themselves made a show well worth seeing. By general consent everybody seemed to have put on their best or cleanest clothes, a circumstance which greatly added to the gaiety of the scene. From the artistic point of view a further attraction lay in the broken line of the houses so infinitely more pleasant to the eye than the general uniformity of the sky line which is characteristic of street architecture in Europe.

The most popular points of view for native onlookers were in the neighbourhood of the Jama Masjid, and the organizers of the ceremony had very thoughtfully placed two English military bands at spots where large numbers of people could listen to the music while waiting for the procession to pass. At one spot right at the back of the great mosque, the listeners to the band included a large number of *pardahnaheen* ladies seated in balconies which were partly screened by curtains. It was noticeable, however, that many of these ladies showed little reluctance in pushing the curtains aside in order to get a better view of the moving scene below. And certainly the scene was striking enough even before the procession passed—an English military band playing English airs, the line of route guarded by Gurkhas, whose stacked arms were watched over by sentries with drawn bayonets or *kukris*, and, behind the line, the pressing crowd of Indian faces representing every type of Northern India, and beyond them again the balconies and house-tops packed with brightly dressed people, and gay with waving flags. But the best sight of all was on the steps of the great mosque facing down the broad road that the procession would follow from the Fort. This was occupied by spectators of the wealthier classes, all jumbled together regardless of caste or race—Hindu and Mussulman, Jain, Parsee and European. Right across the top of the gate of the mosque, the Muhammadans had fixed in bold English characters a legend of welcome to the King and Queen from the Muhammadan community. It was a happy idea, for the lettering was visible all the way from the Fort. The only attempt which had been made at organizing the spectators was in the neighbourhood of the Delhi Gate, where large number of school children had been grouped in masses, each group wearing turbans of the same colour, so that the whole presented the aspect of a gigantic flower border. Less ambitious in design, but even more pleasing to the eye was a mass of little girls arranged under the shadow of a small group of trees just by the edge of the road. Of the procession itself it is difficult to speak without using language which may sound exaggerated. It may best be described as an endless succession of dazzling pictures. Troop after troop of mounted men in gorgeous uniforms rode past and before the eye had fully grasped one picture another brilliant picture was thrown upon the screen. Such pictures would, by themselves, be worth seeing even in the most prosaic surroundings. But here the effect was immensely heightened by the extraordinary impressiveness of the surrounding features, natural or architectural. Nothing more magnificent can be imagined than the stage created by the Fort on one side, and the Jama Masjid on the other. The Fort is on a slightly higher level than the surrounding plain, and the exit through the Delhi Gate winds down a gradual slope. Down this slope came the great procession backed by the stern but beautiful red sandstone walls of the Fort. Turning to the other side one saw rising over the head of the crowds of spectators and troops the red gateway of the mosque, and the marvellous outline of the its white domes and minarets. On the one side the winding procession approached from the Fort; on the other hand it receded to the mosque, and it is hard to say which made the more lovely picture. In the same way the houses in Jee Chandi Chouk, with their picturesque outlines and their crowds of spectators added immensely to the artistic value of the procession as it passed down this famous central avenue of the City of Delhi. For a wider view, which enabled the eye to take in at once, not indeed the whole procession, but large stretches of it, the Ridge furnished both the best standpoint and the best background.

But for me the most thrilling moment in the day's experience was, when the heralds emerged from the Delhi Gate and the trumpeters sounded a great fanfare to announce the near approach of the King. There is at all times something stirring in a fanfare of trumpets. But when the mind has been wrought to an unwonted pitch of sensitiveness by a series of wonderful pictures this weird medieval music gives one an extraordinary thrill of excitement. The trumpeters were almost as impressive to see as to hear, for their gorgeous yellow and gold uniforms and white horses constituted what was perhaps the most brilliant group of colour in all the long procession. At last the King himself came and it was sufficient to say that he bore himself like a king. He sat on his horse with easy dignity and acknowledged the salutations of the crowd, not with the stiffness of a military despot but with the pleasant friendly gesture of a constitutional ruler coming among his own people. A few seconds later the Queen's carriage passed and the Queen graciously returned the salutations of the bowing crowds. Except where Europeans or Europeanized natives were present, there was practically no cheering from the spectators. In this part of India, etiquette appears to require that the people should bow in silence to their Sovereign, and it is perhaps the finer courtesy. It was my good fortune to see the King and Queen again when they got to their journey's end, and it was gratifying to note they showed no signs of being wearied by their heavy morning's work. Scarcely had the King dismounted from his horse before he walked off with several members of his staff to review the guard-of-honour drawn up in front of the Royal tents. This task finished, he and the Queen strolled off chatting informally with members of their respective suit and the morning's work was ended—a good piece of work well done.

The King Edward Memorial.

(FROM THE "STATESMAN'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

DURBAR CAMP, DECEMBER 8.

YESTERDAY afternoon the King Emperor was engaged in receiving visits from the Ruling Chiefs. At night Their Majesties dined quietly and the evening was blank, as far as official functions were concerned. Their Majesties resting after the fatigues of the day. This morning the reception of the Chiefs again occupied His Majesty while the Queen drove into Delhi and visited places of interest inside and outside the city. The important event of the day was of course the laying of the foundation-stone of the All-India King Edward Memorial. This took place in the afternoon and was witnessed by an enormous throng of people. The site of the statue is an open piece of ground between the Fort near the Delhi Gate and the Jama Masjid. The ground has been closed with railings and gardens laid out, and its situation enables it to be viewed from a large area of the maidan all round. Some of this ground rises in slopes, and it was a wonderful sight to see the thousands and thousands of people on the stands and covering the roofs of the houses and the great mosque. Seats had been arranged in blocks and were occupied by a distinguished throng of Europeans and Indians, all the high officials now in Delhi being present. The pedestal of the statue of red Agra sandstone has already been erected and the act of the King to day was to unveil the Memorial tablet which will be in the pedestal. A high platform covered with white cloth has been erected around the pedestal with broad steps leading up to it.

On the base of the pedestal on each side were men from each of the Regiments of which the late King-Emperor was Colonel with their colours, and beneath, facing the entrance to the ground, which is in Elgin Road, were the Heralds and trumpeters. The drive from the gates was lined with a guard-of-honour, consisting of a hundred men each from the Naval Contingent, from the Royal Marine Artillery, the Gordons and the 2nd Gurkha Rifles. The Viceroy and Lady Hardinge arrived shortly before half-past three and were received by the committee who included the Hon. Mr. Carlyle, Justice Mookerjee and the Hon. Mr. C. W. Graham. Their Majesties were timed in the programme to leave the Royal Camp at 2-55 P.M., but it was much later when they started, and it was about 3-45 when they arrived at the gates, having come down by the Lotherian and Elgin Roads. Large crowds lined the route and seemed delighted to find that on this occasion there was no difficulty in identifying the King who rode with Her Majesty in an open State carriage, the golden umbrellas showing the progress of the procession to those standing in the enclosure as it came winding down Lotherian Road. The escort consisted of a squadron of British Cavalry in front and a carriage escort of two non-commissioned officers,

standard-bearer and four British Cavalrymen immediately in the rear of the Royal carriage. The carriages containing the Royal suite including the Marquis of Crewe, the Duchess of Devonshire and the Earl of Durham, followed and a squadron of Indian Cavalry brought up the rear of the procession. On alighting Their Majesties were received by the Viceroy, who presented to them the members of the committee and a procession was then formed to walk to the *shamiana* which had been erected on the lawn opposite the pedestal, the Memorial committee walking first. Hearty cheers were raised by the occupants of the enclosure as the King and the Queen entered the *shamiana*.

The ceremony was brief and simple. Lord Hardinge on behalf of the committee presented His Majesty with the following address which he first read aloud. A beautiful silver replica of the Statue was presented with the address.

"May it please Your Imperial Majesty,—On behalf of the Committee of the All-India Memorial to your illustrious and greatly beloved father, the King-Emperor Edward the Seventh, I have the honour to ask your Imperial Majesty to place in position the memorial stone of a statue to his memory to which subscriptions have been contributed by thousands and thousands of Your Imperial Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects in India, rich and poor sharing the privilege of testifying to the love and reverence with which the name of their illustrious ruler will ever be cherished. In the statue that is to adorn this pedestal will be enshrined a lasting pledge of the gratitude of the many millions of your Indian people for the peace, justice, and prosperity that prevailed during the late King-Emperor's all too short but strenuous reign, which brought him in the glorious victories of peace, the reward of high endeavour and of duty unflinchingly fulfilled. In this city of ancient historic memories and heroic achievements the statue of our great and revered King-Emperor will stand not only as a splendid sentinel guarding the records of the great dynasties of the past and of the loyal devotion to your Throne of the countless races and people of Your Majesty's great Empire in India, but it will remain as a lasting symbol of the love of England and her rulers for India and her peoples and a guarantee of their power and desire to lead India forward on the path of noble aims and high aspirations.

"And now in asking Your Imperial Majesty to place the stone in position we entrust this noble memorial of a most noble Sovereign to the homage of posterity and to the loyal keeping of Your Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects."

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor in reply to the address said —

"The address which you have just read has touched my heart and awakened memories of what we all, and I most of all, owe to my dear father the late King-Emperor. He was the first of my house to visit India, and it was by his command that I came six short years ago to this great and wonderful land. Alas, little did we then think how soon we should have to mourn his loss. You tell me that this memorial represents the contributions not only of a few who may have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with my father but of thousands of his and my people in India. I am glad to know that the deed and abiding concern which he felt for India has met with so warm a response from the hearts of his children. I rejoice to think that this statue will stand a noble monument on a beautiful and historic site to remind generations, yet unborn, of your loyal affection, and of his sympathy and trust—sentiments, which, please God, always will be traditional between India and the members of my House."

The Viceroy conducted the King up the steps to the platform where the memorial tablet was suspended. From here the figure of the King-Emperor, standing, as he was, on an elevation of some twenty feet, was visible to the vast crowds who were watching the ceremony and a murmur of exclamation was heard, followed by cheers from those around the pedestal which His Majesty graciously acknowledged. As His Majesty performed the ceremony of unveiling the tablet the guard-of-honour and the men lining the plinth presented arms, the band played the National Anthem, the spectators cheered, and a salute of a hundred and one guns was fired from the Fort. As soon as the reverberating echoes of the last gun had died away, the procession was reformed and Their Majesties returned to their carriage and drove off amid renewed cheering.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The following is the inscription on one side of the tablet:—

"This tablet was placed in position by His Majesty King George the Fifth on the 8th December, 1911."

Above this inscription is the Crown and below is the Royal Cypher. This tablet faces north, as will the statue.

Another huge tablet stone decorates the east face of the pedestal with the following inscription:—

EDWARD THE SEVENTH—KING AND EMPEROR.

"Let this monument, erected by the voluntary donations of thousands and thousands of his subjects throughout the Indian Empire, the rich giving out of their wealth and the poor out of their poverty, bear witness to their grateful memory of his virtues and his might. He was the father of his people, whose diverse religions and customs he preserved impartially. His voice stood for wisdom in the councils of the world. His example was an inspiration to his Viceroy, his Governors, his Captains and the humblest of his subjects. His sceptre ruled over one-fifth of the dwellers upon earth. His justice protected the weak, rewarded the deserving and punished the evildoer. His mercy provided hospitals for the sick, food for the famine stricken, water for the thirsty soil, and learning for the student. His sword was ever victorious. Soldiers of many races served in his great army, obeying his august commands. His ships made safe the highways of the ocean and guarded his wide dominion. By land and sea he ensured amity between nations of the world, and gave well-ordered peace to the people of his vast Empire. He upheld the honour of princes and the rights of the defenceless. His reign was a blessing to his well-beloved India, an example to the great, and an encouragement to the humble, and his name shall be handed from father to son throughout all ages as a mighty Emperor, a merciful and a great Englishman."

(FROM THE "STATESMAN'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Coronation Durbar, December 9.

To-day is practically free from public functions, though His Imperial Majesty has again been all the morning receiving the visits of the Ruling Chiefs. These visits, and the periodical changing of the guard and colours, which is done exactly as at St James' Palace, make the scene at the Royal Camp and all round Kingsway and Coronation Road one of constant movement and colour, the Chiefs driving down in State with escorts, and being received with the honours due in each case on arrival at the Imperial Pavilion.

Each Chief is received in private audience by the King. He is at first escorted to the Reception Hall, until the turn of each arrives to be summoned to the Imperial presence. The scene in the Reception Hall is consequently one of great interest and brilliance. As the Chief's name and State is called by an Equerry-in-Waiting he is ushered through the corridor leading to the private apartments, and after being shown into the King-Emperor's presence is left alone with His Majesty, the interviews varying in length according to the dignity and position of each Prince.

The chief events to-day are the semi-finals of the polo, which will be played off this afternoon, and which, it is hoped, the King and Queen will attend, and the finals of the football tournament. This evening there is to be a military torchlight tattoo on the polo ground which promises to be a very fine spectacle. To-morrow morning Their Majesties will attend the military church parade in Military Camps, in which 8,000 troops will take part, and for the rest of the day every one will make holiday, which in many instances will take the form, probably, of a complete rest after the fatigue of the last few days.

Presentation of Colours.

(FROM THE "STATESMAN" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Coronation Durbar, December 11.

Another imposing and picturesque ceremony in which the King-Emperor was the central figure, took place this morning, when His Majesty presented new colours to seven British and two Indian regiments. The following are the regiments which were thus honoured:—

- 1st Battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers.
- 1st Battalion, Durham Light Infantry.
- 1st Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders.
- 2nd Battalion, Gordon Highlanders.
- 1st Battalion, Highland Light Infantry.
- 1st Battalion, Connaught Rangers.
- Nineteenth Punjab.
- Eighteenth Infantry.

His Imperial Majesty in presenting colours to the British infantry regiments said —

"I am very glad to have this opportunity of giving new colours to so many of my battalions while I am in India. The presentation of colours is a solemn occasion in the history of a regiment, for you then bid farewell to the old flag, which bears upon it the records of past achievements, receiving in return a new flag, upon which it all lies with you to inscribe the names of future victories, recalling with pride the deeds of those who have gone before you. Look forward with hope into the coming days. Remember there are no common flags which I am committing to your keeping. A colour is a sacred ensign, ever by its inspiration, though no longer by its presence a rallying point in battle. It is the emblem of duty, the outward

sign of your allegiance to God, your sovereign, and country, to be looked up, to be venerated, and to be passed down untarnished by succeeding generations."

Addressing the Indian troops, the King-Emperor said—

"For many ages the colours of a regiment were its rallying point in battle. To-day they remain an emblem of duty, the outward symbol of allegiance to God and Empire, and as a record of past victories. As such I commit these new colours to your keeping. May they recall to the old soldiers gallant deeds of the past, and kindle within their younger comrades zeal for fresh achievements and for devoted service to the Crown. Religious freedom is now your birthright. Consecrate these colours as you will. Recognise in them a sacred trust. In your hands they are sacred, under their inspiration you will, I know, ever maintain untarnished the proud record of your forefathers."

The Durbar.

(Special for the Statesman.)

Delhi, December 12.

THE Proclamation of His Imperial Majesty George V as King-Emperor took place to-day before an assembly of a hundred thousand persons, comprising the Ruling Chiefs of India, the Governors and Lieutenant Governors, the high officials of the Central Government and all the Provinces, over twenty thousand British and Indian troops and more than 50,000 of the populace. Popular interest in the event and the people's enthusiasm were so great that as early as 7 o'clock this morning it became necessary to close the roads leading from the city to the spectators' mound and it was then estimated that more than enough people to fill the mound were on their way thither. In addition, the roads in the camp along which the procession was to pass were thickly lined with thousands of people. Their Majesties drove in a canopied State carriage, wearing their Crowns and Imperial robes, and on arriving at the arena were received with great enthusiasm. Amid a scene of dazzling splendour the King received the homage of the Ruling Chiefs and the solemnity of his Coronation was proclaimed to the multitude. Previous to the homage His Majesty addressed the spectators in the arena.

This is practically the end of the Durbar and the Delhi Heralds, advancing towards the *dais*, in stentorian tones call for three cheers for His Majesty the King-Emperor followed by another three for the Queen-Empress. Troops and spectators all join in, the King and Queen standing erect on the *dais* for everyone to see them, two tiny figures to those far away on the mound, but distinct and regal nevertheless in their purple robes and crowns. It is perhaps the most wonderful sight of the day. The enclosures on the mound are like waving flower beds, owing to the effect created by the different coloured head-dresses of the spectators, from brightest red and blue through almost every shade to primitive yellows and greens, intermingled with great patches of white. In the arena white helmets, some with red bands and plumes, wave aloft on rifles and a curious effect is created where the patches of dark green proclaim the little Gurkhas, flinging up their arms and wringing their hands with each cheer, their voices sharper than the rest and heard clear above them. The cheers ring round the amphitheatre, the brilliantly dressed throng representing all the aristocracy, wealth and intellect of India cheering as lustily and enthusiastically as the troops in the arena, and in the silence that follows the Sovereign and his Consort are seen to rise and once more descend from the *dais*. The brilliant procession reforms—a unique and unparalleled spectacle in modern times, a British Monarch and his Consort walking crowned and robed in procession in the open air and in another brilliant cavalcade returns once more to the Royal Camp.

(SPECIAL FOR THE "STATESMAN")

BY HAROLD COX

Coronation Durbar, December 12.

When one is called upon to witness a ceremony on the stupendous scale of the Imperial Durbar, which has just been brought to a close, there is a danger not merely that the eye may grow weary of so much brilliance, but that the mind may lose itself amid the enormous multiplicity of wonderful details. So much is this the case that at this moment of writing in my tent, the Durbar looks to me a more important event, a far more dramatic spectacle, than a couple of hours ago when I was watching its moving panorama. Imagine two semi-circles of unequal size, but both huge, facing one another. The one is a covered amphitheatre where the more privileged spectators of the Imperial ceremony have their seats, the other is a vast mound of earth with tier upon tier of seats on the bare ground. Here sit some fifty thousand spectators who have come from all parts of India to see the great show. Between these two semi-circles is a great open space upon which the successive ceremonies are enacted. Broadly speaking, the ceremonial is divided into two parts, in the first part the King and Queen, seated under a *shamiana* facing the privileged spectators, receive the homage of the Ruling

Chiefs and of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors and other dignitaries of the Indian Empire. In the second part Their Majesties are seated under a canopy on a high platform facing the great semi-circular mound on which are gathered the people themselves as distinct from their rulers. These are the two principal pictures to fix in one's mind. To these must be added a confused impression of masses of troops ranged in straight lines and semi-circles and filling practically all the space between the covered pavilion for the rulers and the uncovered mound for the ruled. Both pictures were intensely full of interest. No other country in the world could show such a group of varied races gathered together under one roof as were to be seen in the great, semi-circular pavilion reserved for the dignitaries of the Indian Empire. Governors and Lieutenants-Governors in official gold lace—officers in brilliant uniforms—and a perfectly bewildering collection of native costumes. The ceremony which took place in the *shamiana* facing this pavilion, though necessarily somewhat protracted, was extraordinarily impressive. One by one the principal dignitaries, whether English or Native, advanced to the steps in front of the Thrones and did obeisance. In some cases the obeisance or homage was a stiff military salute, in other cases it was a low *salaam*, in others again it was picturesquely elaborate. For example the young Maharajah of Jodpur, much cheered by everybody, did his homage by first placing his sword against his forehead and then laying it on the ground in front of his Sovereign. Another native ruler who was loudly cheered was the Begum of Bhopal, who, wearing the *burka*, advanced alone to the steps of the Throne and returned again a solitary woman to her seat, amid the respectful *salaams* of the spectators. There were many such incidents as this well worth noting, but all incidents were overshadowed in importance by the main fact that the King and Queen of England were seated there on those two Thrones to receive, as Emperor and Empress of India, the homage of all persons who are called upon to play a leading part in the governance of that Empire.

Even more impressive was the scene where the King and Queen walked hand-in-hand, followed by a stately procession, and took their seats on the two high Thrones under the central canopy facing their Indian peoples. It was while they were here seated in the presence of that vast concourse that the Heralds proclaimed the King's Coronation in London. The firing of a salute of one hundred and one guns followed and "God save the King" was played at frequent intervals. From the purely spectacular point of view nothing could have been finer. The King and Queen were set up on high for all the people to see, and the people—in spite of the enormous size of the arena—did see them. It was a personal proclamation of the King's sovereignty, dignified in every detail and tremendously dramatic from the point of view of its political significance.

There followed the great surprise. The King and Queen returned from the lofty canopy facing the people to the *shamiana* facing the rulers and everybody thought that the day was virtually at an end. Some people even began surreptitiously to creep towards the doors. But the business was not at an end and the King received from Lord Hardinge a paper and made the entirely unanticipated announcement that the capital is to be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

His Majesty's Speech.

The text of the speech delivered by His Majesty at the opening of the Durbar was as follows—

"It is with genuine feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction that I stand here to-day among you.

"This year has been to the Queen-Empress and myself one of many great ceremonies and of unusual, though happy, burden and toil. But in spite of time and distance the grateful recollections of our last visit to India have drawn us again to the land which we then learned to love, and we started with bright hopes on our long journey to revisit the country in which we had already met the kindness of a home.

"In doing so I have fulfilled the wish expressed in my message of last July, to announce to you in person my Coronation, celebrated on the 22nd of June in Westminster Abbey, when by the grace of God, the Crown of my forefathers was placed on my head with solemn form and ancient ceremony.

"By my presence with the Queen-Empress I am also anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful peoples of India, and how dear to our hearts is the welfare and happiness of the Indian Empire. It is, moreover, my desire that those who could not be present at the solemnity of the Coronation should have the opportunity of taking part in its commemoration at Delhi.

"It is a sincere pleasure and gratification to myself and to the Queen-Empress to behold this vast assemblage and in it my Governors and trusty officials, my great Princes, the representatives of

the peoples, and deputations from the military forces of my Indian Dominions. I shall receive in person with heartfelt satisfaction the homage and allegiance which they loyally desire to render.

"I am deeply impressed with the thought that a spirit of sympathy and affectionate goodwill unites the Princes and the People with me on this historic occasion. In token of these sentiments I have decided to commemorate the event of my Coronation by certain marks of my special favour and consideration, and this I will later on to-day cause to be announced by my Governor-General to the assembly. Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given you by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace and contentment.

"May the Divine favour of Providence watch over my people and assist me in my utmost endeavour to promote their happiness and prosperity. To all present, feudatories and subjects, I tender our loving greeting."

The Proclamation.

The Proclamation by the Heralds was as follows —

GEORGE R. I.

Whereas by Our Royal Proclamations bearing date the nineteenth day of July and the seventh day of November, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten in the first year of Our reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention by the favour and blessing of Almighty God to celebrate the solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty-second day of June, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and, whereas by the favour and blessing of Almighty God, We were enabled to celebrate the said solemnity upon Thursday, the twenty-second June last, and whereas by Our Royal Proclamation bearing date the twenty-second day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, in the first year of Our reign, We did declare that it was Our wish and desire Ourselves to make known to all our loving subjects within Our Indian Dominions that the said solemnity had so been celebrated and to call to Our presence, Our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other of Our officers, the Princes, Chiefs and Nobles of Native States under Our protection and the representatives of all the provinces of Our Indian Empire.

Now We do by this Our Royal Proclamation make announcement thereof, and extend to all Our officers, and to all Princes, Chiefs, and peoples now at Delhi assembled Our Royal and Imperial greeting and assure them of the deep affection with which We regard Our Indian Empire the welfare and prosperity of which are and ever will be Our constant concern.

Given at Our Court at Delhi, the twelfth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, in the second year of Our reign.

God save the King-Emperor!

The Royal Boons.

The announcements made at His Majesty's command by the Governor-General were as follows:—

"To all to whom these presents may come, by the command of His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

"I, His Governor-General, do hereby declare and notify the grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions which His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon this glorious and memorable occasion:—

"Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire, and have decided in recognition of a very commendable demand to act themselves to making education in India as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose they propose to devote at once fifty lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale.

"Graciously recognising the signal and faithful services of his forces by land and seas the King-Emperor has charged me to announce the award of half a month's pay of rank to all non-commissioned officers and men and reservists both of His British Army in India, and His Indian Army, to the equivalent ranks of the Royal Indian Marine, and to all permanent employees of departmental or non-combatant establishments paid from the Military Estimates whose pay may not exceed the sum of Rs. 50 monthly.

"Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that from henceforth the loyal Native officers and men and reservists of his Indian Army shall be eligible for the grant of the Victoria Cross for valour; that membership of the Order of British India shall be increased during the decade following His Imperial Majesty's Coronation Durbar by fifty-two appointments in the first class, and that in mark of these historic ceremonies fifteen new appointments in the first class and nineteen new appointments in the second class shall forthwith be made, that from henceforth Indian officers of the Frontier Militia Corps and the Military Police shall be deemed eligible for admission to the aforesaid order; that special grants of land or assignments or remissions of land revenue as the case may be shall now be conferred on certain native officers of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Army who may be distinguished for long and honourable service; and that the special allowances now assigned for three years only to the widows of deceased members of the Indian Order of Merit shall with effect from the date of this Durbar hereafter be continued to all such widows until death or marriage.

"Graciously appreciating the devoted and successful labours of his Civil Service, His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to declare the grant of half a month's pay to all permanent servants in the civil employ of Government whose pay may not exceed the sum of Rs. 50 monthly

"Further it is His Imperial Majesty's gracious behest that all persons to whom may have been, or hereafter may be granted the titles of Dewan Bahadur, Sardar, Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Khan Sahib, Rai Sahib, or Rao Sahib, shall receive distinctive badges as a symbol of respect and honour, and that on all holders present or to come of the venerable titles of Mahamahopadhyaya and Sham-ul-Ulema shall be conferred some annual pension for the good report of the ancient learning of India.

"Moreover in commemoration of this Durbar and as a reward for conspicuous public service certain grants of land free of revenue tenable for the life of the grantee or in the discretion of the local administration for one further life shall be bestowed or restored in the North-Western Frontier Province and in Baluchistan.

"In his gracious solicitude for the welfare of His Royal Indian Princes His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to proclaim that from henceforth no *Nuzerana* payments shall be made upon succession to their States, and sundry debts owing to the Government by the non-jurisdictional States in Kathiawar and Gujerat and also by the Kduma Chiefs of Mewar will be cancelled and remitted in whole or in part under the orders of the Government of India.

"In token of his appreciation of the Imperial Service troops certain supernumerary appointments in the Order of British India will be made.

"In the exercise of His Royal and Imperial clemency and compassion His most excellent Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that certain prisoners now suffering the penalty of the law for crimes and misdemeanours shall be released from imprisonment, and that all those civil debtors now in prison whose debts may be small and due not to fraud but to real poverty shall be discharged, and that their debts shall be paid. The persons by whom and the terms and conditions on which these grants, concessions, and benefactions shall be enjoyed will be hereafter declared.

"GOD SAVE THE KING-EMPEROR."

The King-Emperor's Announcements.

The following is the text of the announcement by His Imperial Majesty at the conclusion of the Durbar:—

"We are pleased to announce to Our people that on the advice of Our Ministers and after consultation with Our Governor-General in Council, We have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of Delhi, and simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and of a Chief Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as Our Governor-General in Council with the approval of Our Secretary of State for India in Council, may, in due course, determine.

"It is Our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of Our beloved people."

Official Correspondence.

To the Right Hon. The Marquess of Crewe, K.G., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, Simla, the 25th August, 1911.

My Lord Marquess,—We venture in this despatch to address your Lordship on a most important and urgent subject, embracing two questions of great political moment which are in our opinion

indissolubly linked together. This subject has engaged our attention for some time past, and the proposals which we are about to submit for your Lordship's consideration are the result of our mature deliberation. But it is only in the light of recent developments, constitutional and political, that the drawback of the existing arrangement, and the urgency of a change, have been fully realised. On the one hand, the almost incalculable importance of the part which can already safely be predicted for the Imperial Legislative Council in the shape it has assumed under the Indian Councils Act requires the removal of the capital to a more central and easily accessible position practically imperative. On the other hand, the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition, makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present provincial environment, while its removal from Bengal is an essential feature of the scheme we have in view for allaying the illfeeling aroused by the Partition amongst the Bengal population. Once the necessity of removing the seat of the Supreme Government from Bengal is established, as we trust it may be, by the considerations we propose to lay before your Lordship, there can be, in our opinion, no manner of doubt as to the choice of the new capital, or as the occasion on which that choice should be announced. On geographical, historical, and political grounds the capital of the Indian Empire should be at Delhi, and the announcement that the transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi had been sanctioned should be made by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the forthcoming Imperial Durbar in Delhi itself.

The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor General in Council, and the India Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes. The non-officials in the Council will have to be satisfied and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will in our opinion materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great central Government should be separate and independent and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada and Australia.

The administrative advantages of the transfer would scarcely be less valuable than the political and in the first place the development of the Legislative Council has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion, a matter of ever-increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government, and unfair to the other provinces, whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence. The question of providing a separate capital for the Government of India has often been debated, but generally with the object of finding a site where that Government could spend all seasons of the year. Such a solution would, of course, be ideal, but it is impracticable. The various sites suggested are either difficult of access or are devoid of historical associations. Delhi is the only possible place. It has splendid communications, its climate is good for seven months in the year, and its salubrity could be insured at a reasonable cost. The Government of India would therefore be able to stay in Delhi from the 1st of October to the 1st of May, whilst owing to the much greater proximity the annual migration to and from Simla could be reduced in volume, would take up much less time and be far less costly. Some branches of the administration such as Railways and Posts and Telegraphs would obviously derive special benefit from the change to such a central position and the only department which as far as we can see might be thought to suffer some inconvenience would be that of Commerce and Industry, which would be less closely in touch at Delhi with the commercial and industrial interests centred in Calcutta. On the other hand, that department would be closer to the other commercial centres of Bombay and Karachi whose interests are sometimes opposed to those of Calcutta and would thus be in a better position to deal impartially with the Railway and commercial interests of the whole of India. The political advantages of the transfer it is impossible to over-estimate. Delhi is still a name to conjure with. It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of the history.

It is in the plains of Delhi that the Pandava Princes fought out with the Kauravas the epic struggle recorded in the Mahabharata and celebrated on the bank of the Jumna, the famous river, which consecrated their title to Empire. The Purana Kila still marks the site of city, which they founded and called Indraprastha, barely three miles from the south gate of the modern city of Delhi. To the Muhammadans it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moguls restored to its proud position as the seat of Empire throughout India. As far South as the Muhammadan conquest extended every walled town has its "Delhi Gate," and among the masses of the people, it is still revered as the seat of the former Empire. The change would strike the imagination of the people of India as nothing else could do. It would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout the country and would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unflinching determination to maintain British Rule in India. It would be hailed with joy by the Ruling Chiefs and races of Northern India, and would be warmly welcomed by the vast majority of Indians throughout the Continent. The only serious opposition to the transfer which may be anticipated, we think, will come from the European commercial community of Calcutta, who might, we fear, not regard the creation of a Governorship of Bengal as altogether adequate compensation for the withdrawal of the capital of India.

The opposition will be quite intelligible, but we can no doubt count upon their patriotism to reconcile them to a measure which would greatly contribute to the welfare of the Indian Empire. The Bengalis might object to the proposals if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise owing to the fact that Calcutta is the headquarters of the Government of India. But as we hope presently to show they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment and in these circumstances we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it, and if they did it might confidently be expected that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India. Absolutely conclusive as these general considerations in favour of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in themselves appear to be there are further special considerations arising out of the present political situation in Bengal and Eastern Bengal which in our opinion renders such a measure peculiarly opportune at such a moment, and to these we would now draw your Lordship's earnest attention. Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has no doubt benefited greatly by the Partition and the Muhammadans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented, but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal. The opposition to the Partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, but as we shall show later in discussing the proposed modification of the Partition, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and especially of the representative element in them, the grievance of the Bengalis has become much more real and tangible and is likely to increase instead of to diminish. Every one with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement if it is in any way possible to do so. The simple rescission of the Partition and a reversion to the *status quo* are manifestly impossible. Both on political and administrative grounds the old Province of Bengal was unmanageable under any form of Government, and we could not debar the legitimate expectations of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, who form the bulk of the population of that province and who have been loyal to the British Government throughout, the troubles without exposing ourselves to the charge of bad faith. A settlement to be satisfactory and conclusive must—(1) Provide convenient administrative units; (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Bengalis; (3) duly safeguard the interest of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal and generally conciliate Muhammadan sentiment; and (4) be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation. If the headquarters of the Government of India be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and if Delhi be thereby made the Imperial Capital, placing the City of Delhi, and part of the surrounding country under the direct administration of the Government of India, the following scheme which embraces three inter-dependent proposals would appear to satisfy all these conditions. To re-unite the five Bengali-speaking divisions, *viz.*, the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions, forming them into a Presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council. The area of the province will be approximately 70,000 square miles and the population about 42,000,000. To create a Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council to consist of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa with a Legislative Council and a capital at Patna. The area

of the province would be approximately 113,000 square miles and the population about 35,000,000.

To restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. The area of that province would be about 56,000 square miles and the population about 5,000,000. We elaborated at the outset our proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India, because we consider this the key-stone of the whole project, and hold that, according as it is accepted or not, our scheme must stand or fall; but we have still to discuss in greater detail the leading features of the other part of our scheme.

Chief amongst them is the proposal to constitute a Governorship-in-Council for Bengal. The history of the Partition dates from 1902. Various schemes of territorial redistribution were at that time under consideration, and that which was ultimately adopted had, at any rate, the merit of fulfilling two of the Chief purposes which its authors had in view. It relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out it was deeply resented by the Bengalis.

No doubt, sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis, and, in saying this, we by no means wish to undertake the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated. It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment, but, rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, one of undeniable reality. In reform scheme days, the non-official element in the councils was small. The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward and in the Legislative Councils of both the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal the Bengalis find themselves in a minority being outnumbered in the one by Beharis and Oriyas, and, in the other, by the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never exercise in other provinces that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers wealth and culture.

This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time. As the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases, and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs, there is only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute.

It has frequently been alleged in the press that the Partition is the root cause of all recent troubles in India, and the ground of political unrest in other parts of the country and notably in the Deccan. The conditions before the Partition of Bengal look place disproved that assertion and we need not ascribe to the Partition evils which have not obviously flowed from it. It is certain, however, that it is in part at any rate responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country between Muhammadans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of the Partition which we now propose will, in some degree at any rate alleviate this most regrettable antagonism.

To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realised, and the scheme as designed and executed could only be justified by success. Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Muhammadans of that province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis for the reasons we have already indicated. We feel bound to admit that Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay.

The Durbar of December next affords a unique occasion of rectifying what is regarded by the Bengalis as a grievous wrong.

Anxious as we are to take the Bengali feeling into account, we cannot overrate the importance of consulting at the same time the interests and the sentiments of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. It must be remembered that the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal have at the present an overwhelming majority in point of population, and that if the Bengali speaking Divisions were amalgamated on the lines suggested in our scheme, the Muhammadans would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality with, or possibly of a small superiority over the Hindus. The future Province of Bengal moreover, will be a compact territory of quite moderate extent. The Governor-in-Council will have ample time and opportunity to study the needs of the various communities committed to his charge. Unlike his predecessors, he will have a great advantage in that he will find ready to hand at Dacca a second Capital with all the conveniences of ordinary provincial headquarters. He will reside there, from time to time, just as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces frequently resides in Lucknow and he will, in this way, be enabled to keep in close touch with Muhammadan sentiment and interests.

It must also be borne in mind that the interests of the Muhammadans will be safeguarded by the special representation which they enjoy in the Legislative Councils, while, as regards representation on local bodies, they will be in the same position as at present. We need not therefore, trouble your lordship with the reasons why we have discarded the suggestion that a Chief Commissionership, or a semi-independent Commissionership, within the new province, might be created at Dacca. We regard the creation of a Governor in Council of Bengal as a very important feature of our scheme. It is by no means a new one. The question of the creation of a Governorship was fully discussed in 1867 to 1868 by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and a Committee was formed on the initiative of Sir Stafford Northcote to consider it, and that of the transfer of the capital elsewhere.

In the somewhat voluminous correspondence the most salient points that emerge are (1) that a Governorship of Bengal would not be compatible with the presence in Calcutta of the Viceroy and the Government of India, (2) that had it been decided to create a Governorship of Bengal the question of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta would have been taken into consideration, (3) that although a majority of the Governor-General in Council and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir William Grey) were in favour of the creation of a Governorship, Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General, was opposed to the proposal, but for purposes of better administration he contemplated the constitution of a Lieutenant Governorship of Behar, and the separation of Assam from Bengal under a Chief Commissioner.

Since the discussion of 1867-68, considerable and very important changes have taken place in the constitutional development of Bengal. That Province has already an Executive Council, and the only change that would therefore be necessary for the completion of this part of our scheme is to be converted into a Governorship. Particular arrangements have, from time to time, been urged against the appointment of a Governor from England. These were that Bengal, more than any other Province, requires the head of the Government to possess an intimate knowledge of India and of the Indian people, and that a statesman or politician appointed from England, without previous knowledge of India, would in no part of the country find his ignorance a greater drawback, or be less able to cope with the intricacies of an exceedingly complex position.

We have no wish to understate the great advantage to an Indian administrator of an intimate knowledge of the country and of the people he is to govern. At the same time actual experience has shown that a Governor, carefully selected and appointed from England and aided by a Council can successfully administer a large Indian Province, and that a Province, so administered, requires less supervision on the part of the Government of India. In this connection we may again refer to the correspondence of 1867-68 and cite two of the arguments employed by the late Sir Henry Maine, when discussing the question of a Council form of Government for Bengal. They are (1) that the system in Madras and Bombay has enabled a series of men of no conspicuous ability to carry on a difficult Government for a century with great success, (2) that the concession of a full Governorship to Bengal would have a good effect on English public opinion which would accordingly cease to impose on the Government of India a responsibility which it is absolutely impossible to discharge. In view of the great difficulties connected with the administration of Bengal, we attach the highest importance to these arguments. We are also convinced that nothing short of a full governorship would satisfy the aspirations of the Bengalis, and of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. We know that as in the case of the Governorship of Madras and Bombay, the appointment would be open to members of the India Civil Service, although, no doubt, in practice, the Governor will usually be recruited from England.

On the other hand, one very grave and obvious objection has been raised in the past to the creation of a Governorship for Bengal, which we should fully share, were it not disposed of by the proposal which constitutes the keystone of our scheme. Unquestionably a most undesirable situation might and would quite possibly arise, if a Governor-General of India and a Governor of Bengal, both selected from the ranks of English public men were to reside in the same capital and be liable to be brought in various ways into regrettable antagonism or rivalry. This, indeed, constitutes yet another, and in our opinion very cogent reason, why the Headquarters of the Government of India should be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

We now turn to the proposals to create a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa. We are convinced that if the Governor of Bengal is to do justice to the territories which we propose to assign to him and to safeguard the interests of the Muhammadans of his province, Behar and Chota Nagpur must be dissociated from Bengal. Quite apart however, from that consideration, we are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people now included within

the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been yoked with the Bengalis, and have never therefore had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for the Beharis has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments in an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by Bengalis. The Beharis are sturdy loyal people and it is a matter of common knowledge that although they have long desired separation from Bengal they refrained at the time of the Partition from asking for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to the Government. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among the Beharis that Behar will never develop until it is dislocated from Bengal. That belief will unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our initiative a thoroughly sound and much desired change. The Orissas, like the Beharis, have little in common with the Bengalis, and we propose to leave Orissa and the Sambalpur district with Behar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and will be welcome to Behar, as presenting a seaboard to that province. We need hardly add that we have considered various alternatives such as the making over of Chota Nagpur or of Orissa to the Central Provinces, and the creation of a Chief Commissionership instead of a Lieutenant-Governorship for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, but none of them seem to deserve more than passing consideration, and we have therefore refrained from troubling your lordship with the overwhelming arguments against them. We have also purposely refrained from discussing in this despatch questions of subsidiary importance, which must demand detailed consideration, when the main features of the scheme are sanctioned and we are in a position to consult the Local Governments concerned.

We now pass on to the last proposal, *viz.*, to restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This would be merely a reversion to the policy advocated by Sir John Lawrence in 1867. This part of India is still in a backward condition and more fit for administration by a Chief Commissioner than a more highly developed form of Government, and we may notice that this was the view which prevailed in 1866 when the question of transferring the Chittagong division and the Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam was first discussed. Events of the past 12 months on the frontiers of Assam and Burma have clearly shown the necessity of having the north-east frontier like the north-west frontier more directly under the control of the Government of India and removed from that of the Local Government. We may add that we do not anticipate that any opposition will be raised to this proposal which moreover forms an essential part of our scheme.

We will now give a rough indication of the cost of the scheme. No attempt at accuracy is possible, because we have purposely avoided making enquiries, as they would be likely to result in the premature disclosure of our proposals. The cost of the transfer to Delhi would be considerable. We cannot conceive, however, that a larger sum than 4 million sterling would be necessary, and within that figure probably could be found the three years' interest on capital which would have to be paid till the necessary works and buildings were completed. We might find it necessary to issue a "City of Delhi" gold loan at 3½ per cent., guaranteed by the Government of India, the interest or the larger part of the interest on this loan being eventually obtainable from rents taken in connection with a general enhancement of land values, which would ensue at Delhi, as a result of the transfer. We should endeavour to secure some part of the increment value which at Calcutta has gone into the pockets of the landlords. Other assets which would form a set off to the expenditure would be the great rise of Government land at Delhi and its neighbourhood, and a considerable amount which would be realised on the sale of Government land and buildings no longer required at Calcutta. The proximity of Delhi to Simla would also have the effect of reducing the current expenditure involved in the annual move to and from Simla. The actual railway journey from Calcutta to Simla takes 42 hours, while Delhi can be reached from Simla in 14 hours. Further, inasmuch as the Government of India would be able to stay longer in Delhi than in Calcutta, the cost on account of the hill allowance would be reduced. We should also add that many of the works now in progress at Delhi in connection with the construction of roads and railways and the provision of electricity and water for the Durbar and upon which a considerable expenditure has been incurred will be of appreciable value to the Government of India, as permanent works, when the transfer is made. As regards the remaining proposals, the recurring expenditure will be that involved in the creation of a Governorship for Bengal and a Chief Commissionership for Assam. The pay and allowances taken together of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal already exceed the pay of a Governor if appointed (?) would not we think be much beyond that required for the support of a body-guard and a band. Considerable initial expenditure would be required in connection with the acquisition of land for the construction of buildings for the new capital of Behar, and judging from the experience gained in connection with Dacca, we may assume that

this will amount to about 50 or 60 lakhs. Some further initial expenditure would be necessary in connection with the summer headquarters, wherever these may be fixed.

Before concluding this despatch, we venture to say a few words as regards the need for a very early decision on the proposals we have put forward for your lordship's consideration. It is manifest that if the transfer of the capital is to be given effect to the question becomes more difficult the longer it remains unsolved. The experience of the last two sessions has shown that the present Council Chamber in Government House in Calcutta fails totally to meet the needs of the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council, and the proposal to acquire a site and to construct a Council Chamber is already under discussion. Once a new Council Chamber is built, the position of Calcutta as the capital of India will be further strengthened, and consolidated, and though we are convinced that a transfer will, in any case, eventually have to be made. It will then be attended by much greater difficulty and still further expense. Similarly, if some modification of the partition is, as we believe, desirable, the sooner it is effected the better; but we do not see now it can be safely effected with due regard for the public opinion of the rest of India, and, more especially, for Muhammadan sentiment, except as part of the larger scheme we have outlined. In the event of these far-reaching proposals being sanctioned by His Majesty's Government, as we trust may be the case, we are of opinion that the presence of H. M. the King-Emperor at Delhi would offer an unique opportunity for a pronouncement of one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India.

The other two proposals embodied in our scheme are not of such great urgency, but are consequently essential and in themselves of great importance. Halt measures will be of no avail, and, whatever is to be done, should be done so as to make a final settlement, and to satisfy the claims of all concerned. The scheme which we have ventured to commend to your lordship's favourable consideration is not put forward with any spirit of opportunity, but in the belief that action on the lines proposed will be a bold stroke of statesmanship, which would give unprecedented satisfaction, and will for ever associate so unique an event, as the visit of the reigning Sovereign to his Indian Dominions, with a new era in the history of India.

Should the above scheme meet with the approval of your lordship, and his Majesty's Government, we would propose that the King-Emperor should announce at the Durbar the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation of an early date of a Governorship in Council for Bengal, and of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries, as the Governor-General in Council would in due course determine, with a view to removing any legitimate cause for dissatisfaction arising out of the Partition of 1905. The formula of such an announcement could be defined after a general sanction had been given to the scheme. This sanction we have now the honour to solicit from your lordship.

We should thus be able, after the Durbar, to discuss in detail with the local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all.

We have the honour to be, My Lord Marquis,

Your Lordship's most obedient servants,

(Sd.) HARDINGE PENSHURST,
" O'MOORE CREAGH,
" GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON,
" J. L. JENKINS,
" R. W. CARLYLE,
" S. H. BUTLER,
" SAYID ALI IMAM,
" W. H. CLARKE.

Lord Crewe's Reply.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON, November 1.

To His Excellency the Right Hon. The Governor-General of India in Council.

My Lord,—I have received your Excellency's despatch, dated the 25th of August last, and issued in the Home Department, and I have considered in Council with the attention due to the importance of its subject. In the first place, you propose to transfer from Calcutta to Delhi the seat of the Government of India—a momentous change which, in your opinion, can be advocated on its intrinsic merits and apart from the considerations which are discussed in the latter passages of your despatch. You point out with truth that many of the circumstances which explain the selection of Fort William in the second half of the eighteenth century as the

headquarters of the East India Company cannot now be adduced as arguments for the permanent retention of Calcutta as the capital of British India, while certain new conditions and developments seem to point positively towards the removal of the central Government to another position. Such a suggestion is in itself not entirely novel since it has often been asked whether the inconvenience and cost of an annual migration to the hill could not be avoided by founding a new capital at some place at which Europeans could reside healthfully and work efficiently throughout the whole year. You regard any such solution as impracticable, in my judgment rightly, and you proceed to describe in favourable terms, the purely material claims of Delhi for approval as the new centre of Government. There should be undoubted advantages both in a longer sojourn at the capital than is at present advisable, and in the shorter journey to and from Simla, when the yearly transfer has to be made, while weight may properly be attached to the central situation of Delhi and its fortunate position as a great railway junction. As you point out these acts of themselves ensure not a few administrative advantages, and I am not disposed to attach serious importance to the removal of the department of the Commerce and Industry from a busy centre like Calcutta. For any official disadvantage due to this cause should be counterbalanced by the gain of a wider outlook upon the commercial activities of India as a whole. From the historical standpoint to which you justly draw attention, impressive reasons in support of the transfer cannot less easily be advanced. Not only do the ancient walls of Delhi enshrine an Imperial tradition comparable with that of Constantinople or with that of Rome itself, but the near neighbourhood of the existing city formed the theatre for some most notable scenes in the oldtime drama of Hindu history celebrated in the treasure-house of national epic verse. To the races of India for whom the legends and records of the past are charged with so intense a meaning, this resumption by the paramount power of the seat of venerable Empire should at once enforce the continuity and promise the permanency of British Sovereign rule over the length and breadth of the country. Historical reasons will thus prove to be political reasons of deep importance and of real value in favour of the proposed change. I share too your belief that the ruling chiefs as a body will favour the policy and give to it their hearty adhesion. But, however, solid may be the material advantages which you enumerate, and however warm the anticipated response from Indian sentiment, it may be questioned whether we should venture to contemplate so abrupt a departure from the traditions of British Government and so complete a dislocation of settled official habits if we were able to regard with absolute satisfaction the position as it exists at Calcutta.

Your Excellency is not unaware that for some time past I have appreciated the special difficulties arising from the collocation of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in the same headquarters. The arrangement, as you frankly describe it, is a bad one for both Governments, and the Viceroy, for the time being is inevitably faced by this dilemma that either he must become Governor-in-Chief of Bengal in a unique sense or he must consent to be saddled by public opinion, both in India and at home, with direct liability for acts of administration or policy over which he only exercises, in fact, the general control of a Supreme Government. The local Government, on the other hand, necessarily suffers from losing some part of the sense of responsibility rightly attaching to it as to other similar administrations. It involves no imputation, either upon your Excellency's Government, or upon the distinguished public servants who have carried on the Government of Bengal to pronounce the system radically an unsound one.

It might indeed, have been thought possible to correct this anomaly with a less disturbance of the present conditions by retaining Calcutta as the central seat of Government, under the immediate control of the Viceroy and transferring the Government of Bengal elsewhere, but for two considerations, which appear to forbid the adoption of such a course. In the first place, it is doubtful whether the arbitrary creation of an artificial boundary could in practice cause Calcutta, so long the capital of Western Bengal to cease altogether to be a Bengali city of the fullest sense. Again, the experiment of turning the second city of the British Empire into an Imperial enclave would be certain to cast a new and altogether undue burden upon the shoulders of the Governor General, however freely the actual work of administration might be delegated to subordinate officers. It is true that Washington, during the century since it became the capital of the United States, has grown into a large and wealthy city with industries on a considerable scale, but, even now, it possesses less than a third of the population of Calcutta, while Ottawa and the new Australian foundation of Yass Canberrra are likely to continue mainly as political capitals. Such a solution may, therefore be dismissed while no parallel difficulties need be dreaded if Delhi and its surroundings are placed directly under the Government of India. I am glad to observe that you have not under-rated the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters. The compensation which will be offered to Bengal sentiment by other of your interdependent proposals is,

in my opinion, fully adequate, and I do not think it necessary to dwell further on this aspect of the change. But it cannot be supposed that the European community of Calcutta, particularly the commercial section, can regard it without some feeling of chagrin and disappointment in their capacity as citizens. But you may rely, I am certain, upon their wider patriotism and upon their willingness to local and personal considerations for those which concern the general good of India. Nor, on full reflection, need they fear any seriously untoward consequences. The city will remain the seat of a most prominent and influential Government. I see no reason why it should suffer in material prosperity, retaining as it will not merely an almost universal commerce, but the practical monopoly in more than one branch of trade, and from the standpoint of sentiments nothing can ever deprive Calcutta of her association with a century and a half of British Government, signalised by many great events and adorned by the famous roll of those who have preceded your Excellency in the office of Governor-General. Such a history is a perpetual possession, and it will guide the steps of all travellers to Calcutta, not less, certainly, than has the presence of the supreme Government in the past.

In view of this change, it is your desire that a Governorship in Council should be constituted for Bengal. You remind me that the possibility of such a creation was fully discussed in the year 1867, and 1868, although divergent opinions were expressed by the different authorities of that day and no steps were in fact, taken. One of the principal objections felt then, as now, to the proposition taken by itself, hinged on the difficulty of planting such an administration in Calcutta side by side with that of the Government of India. The criticism is valid, but it would be silenced by the transfer of the capital to Delhi. I note with general agreement your observations upon the probable appointment in ordinary circumstances of a statesman or administrator from the United Kingdom to the Governorship of Bengal. While concurring that the appointment, like the other great Governorship, would be open to Members of the Indian Civil Service whenever it might be desirable to seek for an occupant among their ranks, I also share your conviction that no lower grade of administration would be held, in the altered conditions, to satisfy the reasonable aspirations, either of Hindus or of Muhammadans, for the reputation and status of Bengal, among the great divisions of India.

In considering the area which the Government of a new Bengal should be called upon to administer, it is not necessary to re-call at length the steps which led up to the Partition of the former Presidency, or to engage in detailed examination of its results. It is universally admitted that up to the year 1905, the task which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his subordinates had to perform, having regard to the extent of the Presidency, its population and the difficulties of communication in many districts, was one with which no energy or capacity could completely cope. It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area, and to Calcutta itself, with the result that the Muhammadan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention. Such a state of affairs was not likely to agitate public opinion on this side of the water. The name of Dacca, once so familiar to British ears, had become almost unknown to them. A re-arrangement of the administration at the instance of the Government of India was therefore almost imperative, but the plan that was ultimately adopted, while effecting some beneficial changes in Eastern Bengal and offering relief to the overladen Government, produced consequences in relation to the Bengali population, which you depict with accuracy and fairness.

History teaches us that it has sometimes been found necessary to ignore local sentiment, or to override racial prejudice, in the interest of sound administration or in order to establish an ethical or political principle; but even where indisputable justification can be claimed, such an exercise of authority is almost always regrettable in itself, and it will often be wise to grasp an opportunity or assuaging the resentment which has been aroused where this can be done without practical detriment to order and good Government. You point out, moreover that in case the grievance is not only one of sentiment, but that, in connection with the Legislative Councils, the Bengali population is subject to practical disabilities which demand and merit some redress. In your Excellency's opinion the desired objects can properly be achieved by re-uniting the fine Bengalee-speaking divisions of the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca Rajshahi and Chittagong into the new Presidency, to be for the future administered by the Governor of Bengal in Council.

At the same time, you lay deserved stress on the importance of giving no ground for apprehension to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, lest their interests should be injuriously affected by the intended alteration. In common with others of their faith, they would presumably regard with satisfaction the re-erection of Delhi as the capital of India, but they would be primarily concerned with the local aspect of the proposals. It is evident that in delimiting the new Presidency care is needed, to see that the balance of the

different populations, though it could not remain throughout the entire area as it stands at present in Eastern Bengal and Assam, is not unduly disturbed, and, as you point out, the special representation on the Legislative Councils, which is enjoyed by the Muhammadans, supplies them with a distinct safeguard.

In this respect, I attach, however, no little importance to the proposal that the Governor of Bengal should regard Dacca as his second capital with full claims on regular attention, and his residence for an appreciable part of the year. The arrangements which have been made there for the administration of the existing Lieutenant-Governor will thus, not merely be utilised, but will serve a valuable purpose which it would have been difficult to secure had the proposals in the "Gazette of India Extraordinary," 12th December 1911, similar to those which you now make, been put forward when the whole Bengal was undivided. In these circumstances, I consider that you are right not to make any suggestion for a Commissionership at Dacca analogous to that existing in Sind in the Presidency of Bombay.

Your next proposition involves the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa. I observed that you have considered and dismissed a number of alternative suggestions for dealing with these three important and interesting Divisions. Some of these schemes as your Excellency is aware have at different times been the subjects of discussion, when a re-arrangement of boundaries has been contemplated, and I refrain from commenting on any of them at this moment, holding as I do, that you have offered the plainest and most reasonable solution if any substantial change is to be made at all. The three sub-provinces above named, while differing *inter se* in some marked feature, are alike loosely connected with Bengal proper, and their complete administrative severance would involve no hardship to the Presidency you describe. The desire of the hardy and law-abiding inhabitants of Behar for a clearer expression of their local individuality differing from the Bengalis as they largely do in origin, in language, in proclivities and in the nature of the soil they cultivate, Orissa, again, with its variety of races and physical condition, with its considerable seaboard and invested with a peculiar sanctity of religious tradition, prefers a lode of land legislation founded on a system of tenure differing, in the main, from those both of Bengal and of the Central Provinces and has long felt uneasiness at a possible loss of identity as a distinct community. The Highlands of Chota Nagpur, far less densely populated than Bengal, and containing a large aboriginal element, also, possess ancestral and historical claims for separate treatment in various respects. These three Sub-divisions, with their combined populations of some 35 millions would form a change well within the compass of?

By creating a Governorship, it may be assumed that the controlling officer would be able to bestow continuous care and attention upon each of the Divisions within his area. All the concluding suggestions which you put forward are that the Chief Commissionership of Assam should be revived. I attach a weight to your argument that the political conditions on the north-eastern frontier of India render it desirable that like the north-west it should be the immediate concern of your Excellency's Government rather than that of a local administration.

I note your belief which I trust may prove to be well founded that the inhabitants of this province of first rate importance in industry and commerce are not likely to offer any opposition to the change.

On the contrary, they may be disposed to welcome it, since I am confident that the Supreme Government would assiduously preserve all local interests, either material or of sentiment, from any possible detriment, attributable to the altered system.

I make no complaint of the fact that your Excellency is unable at this stage to present for sanction a close estimate of the cost which is likely to be incurred in respect of the various proposals included in your despatch, either by way of initial or of recurring expenditure. You have only found it possible to name the round sum of four millions sterling, which you regard as the outside figure of cost which could be incurred by the transfer to Delhi and you indicate your opinion that this amount might be raised by a special gold loan. I agree that it was not possible for you in the special circumstances of the case to undertake the investigation which would have been necessary before you could submit even a general estimate of expenditure either at Delhi or in relation to the Governorship of Bengal to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the new United Provinces, or to the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This being so, I refrain for the present from making new observations on this part of the subject, nearly stating my general conviction that your Excellency is fully alive to the magnitude of the proposed operations and to the necessity for thoughtful preparation and continuous vigilance, and in order that the expenditure, which must necessarily be so large may be conducted with no tinge of wastefulness and, as regards the particular case of Delhi assuring you that my full sympathy will be extended to any efforts you may make to prevent the holding up against the Government of land which you may find it necessary to secure for public purpose.

I find myself in general agreement with your Excellency when you state that if this policy is to be followed, it is imperative to avoid delay in carrying it into effect. You give substantial reasons for this opinion both on administrative and economical grounds, and though a number of the details remain for settlement, many of which must demand careful examination and consultation, while some may awaken differences of opinion, it is possible now to pronounce a definite opinion upon the broad features of the scheme. Regarding it as a whole and appreciating the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes and interests, likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history nor can I picture in any portion of the civilised world, as it now exists, a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope, culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government carried out, as I believe, the future will prove, with so little detriment to any class of the community, while satisfying the historical sense of millions aiding the general work of the Government and removing the deeply felt grievance of many. I therefore give general sanction to your proposals and I share in your belief that the transfer of the capital and the committal features of the scheme from a subject worthy of announcement by the King-Emperor in person on the unique and eagerly anticipated occasion at Delhi. I am commanded to inform you that at the Durbar on the 14th of December His Imperial Majesty will be pleased to declare that Delhi will become the capital city of India, that a Governor-in-Council will be appointed for Bengal, a Lieutenant-Governor in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and a Chief Commissioner for the province of Assam.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

CREWE.

Debate in Lords and Commons.

IN THE House of Commons on the 15th December Mr. Asquith made a communication, amid cheers, of the King's announcement at the Durbar.

Mr. Bonar Law considered the announcement contained changes of the utmost gravity in the Government of India, and said that he was sure Mr. Asquith would be the first to recognise that these changes ought to be discussed. He doubted, however, whether a discussion at the present moment would be to the public advantage, because His Majesty was in India, and it would be very undesirable that there should be any discussion even seeming to criticize His Majesty's personal act. Mr. Asquith agreed with the necessity for the discussion of the changes, but said it was undesirable until members had had ample opportunity of reading the document, and of considering all the arguments therein, and particularly while His Majesty was absent.

In the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne said he doubted whether the House had ever listened to a more important statement than that made by Lord Morley who, his Lordship declared, did not say too much. His Majesty's Counsellors, continued Lord Lansdowne, had obviously advised the changes in order to signalise the visit by a conspicuous measure which would be gratifying and acceptable to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and constitute a landmark in the history of India. Lord Lansdowne thought nobody would question the policy of commemorating the visit by a great beneficent measure, but said that these changes would raise such grave issues that no consideration would justify us in passing a hurried judgment, depriving us of the right of freely criticizing hereafter. Lord Lansdowne declared that the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi involved the uprooting of many traditions which though perhaps they did not carry us into very remote past, were nevertheless deeply seated in the sentiment of a vast part of the Indian community. After referring to a "solid Bengali Province, reversing Lord Curzon's policy," Lord Lansdowne described the changes as great, sudden and violent; but said that what made them exceptionally important was the fact that they were connected with the personal intervention of the Sovereign. That was a very serious matter, said Lord Lansdowne. After referring to the feelings of great elation and great disappointment that the changes would evoke in India, Lord Lansdowne said the changes would certainly provoke criticism, but ventured to suggest that this was not the moment for examining the question. He said: "We are within a few days of the end of the Session, and the subject is a most complex and most difficult one, even for those with some experience of Indian administration. Apart from that, I cannot help feeling that, if we enter upon a critical discussion, it might be difficult to avoid a jarring note, which nobody would like to strike at present." Continuing, Lord Lansdowne said: "The word of the Emperor passed is irrevocable. We must defer discussion." He then intimated that he would later ask for an opportunity of discussing the matter with the utmost freedom.

Lord Curzon also spoke. He first made reference to the departure from the accepted policy, and then said: "The changes bear, at least in one respect, so strong a political flavour, and above all are invested with so novel and unprecedented a character being placed at a most

solemn moment on the lips of the Sovereign, that they demand the closest scrutiny. However, at the present moment, I do not desire to strike a discordant note. A still graver consideration than that of its being the end of Session is, that the King is still in India in pursuance of a tour which we all desire should be attended by circumstances of congratulation and success. I concur with Lord Lansdowne's advice, though not without hesitation. I hope your Lordships will devote the fullest deliberation, without favour and without prejudice, to these momentous changes in the light of the reception which public opinion gives them, at the first favourable moment in the new Session."

The Garden Party.

(From the "Englishman's" Special Correspondent.)

CORONATION DURBAR, DEC 13.

Their Majesties' Garden Party at the Fort this afternoon was a brilliant gathering. The scene inside had a more beautiful setting than that of the Hayat Baksh Garden, which has been recently restored under directions given by Lord Curzon around the lovely buildings which give Delhi its architectural fame. Their Majesties arrived at the Fort shortly before 4 o'clock and walked through the grounds mingling with their guests. They took especial pleasure in shaking hands with their little pages. The Queen wore a dress of mauve silk brocade and the King was in undress uniform. While going through the Fort Their Majesties visited the Arts Exhibition in the Museum and took great delight in them. After strolling through the grounds Their Majesties robed themselves in Coronation robes and wearing their Crowns they stood on the screened platform of the Musamam Burj, the octagonal tower from which the Moghal Emperors daily showed themselves to the people below. A great shout went up from the thousands of pilgrims gathered on the Bela below for the Badshahi Mela. For an hour and a half the King and Queen watched the people passing before them in procession. The people came from various provinces and Native States, carrying banners which indicated the places they came from, and wearing brightly coloured turbans they presented a wonderful scene of colour and movement. Directly below the thrones sat Ulemas and Pundits and a Muhammadan poet advanced and recited a Persian ode of welcome. It is estimated that about a million people were on the plain, whilst the guests at the garden party numbered something like 4,000.

At dusk there was a display of fireworks and the whole city and Fort were brilliantly illuminated. The city walls and the beautiful gates of the Fort were outlined with lights, and the white marble of the buildings in the Fort enclosure looked exquisite marked out in electric lights. The Jumma Masjid and all the principal buildings, as well as the railway bridge across the river, were outlined in flame.

After the durbar yesterday thousands of Indians were admitted to the amphitheatre and they kissed the throne on which Their Majesties sat.

Badshahi Mela.

To the east of the Delhi Fort is a vast plain with the river Jumna, at this time of the year a mere stream, as a boundary. This plain is the Bela, and on it is being held the Badshahi Mela, or people's fête. Such melas, in days of old, were held by Kings, so that the site has been happily chosen. The scene to day is amazing. A few months ago there was nothing except a mass of rank jungle with a foul river cut zigzagging through it—a gorgeous home for mosquitoes and the continual despair of the doctors. The Bela looks like an English Park. It is carpeted with grass and trees previously almost hidden in the jungle now stand out as pleasant landmarks, while all traces of the old river cut have disappeared. It has not been without much labour and energy that this marvellous transformation has taken place. The Badshahi Mela has been organized by Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and in spite of the fact it was only decided upon two days before Sir Louis had to leave for England for four months under medical advice, by his well-known energy and power of raising enthusiasm in those working under his order everything has been got ready in time and the Badshahi Mela with its many distinctive features stands as one of the greatest events of the Coronation Durbar.

On the walls of the Fort and looking towards the river from which the Emperors of old used to grant the "darshan," i.e., showing their persons before the multitude there, this afternoon Their Imperial Majesties, at about 4 o'clock appeared in full Coronation robes, wearing their crowns and down the roads themselves at this moment came organised parties representing all Native States and Districts within 300 miles of Delhi, with special contingents from far districts with bands playing and banners and flags flying and proceeded slowly past their Sovereign. The spontaneous enthusiasm of the cheers and shouting and pational cries that went up with one

continuous roar to greet the Sovereign, whose coming has been eagerly looked for, was marvellous. Many have been the opportunities in this Durbar for Indians of wealth and position to see His Majesty and his consort, but for the poor tiller of the soil the Badshahi Mela has been specially conceived to give the working class an opportunity they have so desired. The entrance to the Mela is free and any real check of numbers is impossible, but the crowds this afternoon must have approached the enormous total of half a million. Many outsiders have been camped there since the 10th, and Sir Louis Dane, not forgetting that many have taken days on the journey, has arranged for every conceivable amusement that appeals to the Indian peasant.

The King-Emperor and Delhi City.

CORONATION DURBAR, DEC 13.

Two important and influential deputations waited upon His Majesty the King-Emperor this morning and presented their address of welcome. Mr Lawson, Sheriff, headed the Madras deputation and Mr. Barron, President of Delhi Municipal Committee, headed the other deputation. The Members were presented to the King-Emperor.

The following reply was given by the King-Emperor to the address from the Delhi Municipality:—

"The Queen-Empress and I thank you most heartily for the kind sentiments of welcome and goodwill to which your address gives expression. A few months ago we feared lest the occasion of our visit to India might be marked by a serious scarcity due to a period of unusual drought, thus causing grievous calamity to the large majority of my Indian people, whose prosperity so closely depends upon an abundant rainfall and upon the produce of agriculture. I am thankful that the scarcity has been restricted in extent and that, owing to better communications and the extension of irrigation, famine to-day is no longer the dreaded of past generations. I am glad to know that in other directions the agricultural position of India has improved. The cultivator has always been patient, laborious, and skilful, though his methods have been based upon tradition. Latterly the resources of science have been brought to bear upon agriculture and have demonstrated in a very short time the great results that can be secured by its application not only in the actual improvement of the land but in dealing with the diseases of livestock and also with those insect pests which are such formidable enemies of the tiller of the soil. If the system of co-operating can be introduced to the full, I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country. We greatly appreciate the successful efforts made to beautify and prepare your city for our visit. At the same time I know how during the past 20 years you have not neglected sanitary reform. Steady progress with your drainage system has had most happy results, and the supply of pure water which you have secured has justified its heavy cost in the immunity thereby given from cholera and other epidemic diseases. The unusual freedom from malaria which Delhi has enjoyed this year is, I understand to be ascribed largely to the clearance and drainage of the Bela by which a jungle swamp has been converted into an extensive park. I most earnestly trust that these lessons may be more universally understood and utilised to ensure the better health and greater safety of my Indian subjects. The remedy for protection from those terrible visitations of plague, malaria and cholera must be sought in the action of the people themselves and their leaders in cordial co-operation with the scientific efforts of the authorities. Considerable progress has been made by research and of the study of local conditions as to the cause of these scourges, but much remains to be done, above all in the education of the masses, teaching them to understand and adopt precautions dictated by elementary hygiene and domestic sanitation for their protection and welfare. We have looked forward with keen pleasure to the prospect of revisiting your ancient and famous city which, as your address reminds us, has been the scene of events memorable in the history of this country and some of them intimately associated with my House and Throne. In the future it will be bound to us by yet closer ties. The tradition of your city invest it with a peculiar charm. The relic of dynasties of bygone ages that meet the eye on every side, the splendid palaces and temples which have resisted the destroying hand of time, all these bear witness to a great and illustrious past. Seeking a more central spot for the seat of the Government of India, these traditions and characteristics conduced in no small degree to the decision which I have, so recently announced that from this time forth Delhi shall be the capital of our Indian Empire. At the same time I wish to bear testimony to the care with which the Government of the Punjab during the fifty years since Delhi was incorporated in that Province have developed this beautiful city while doing their utmost to preserve its historic monuments and thus preparing the city of Delhi for its restoration to its former proud position of the capital of the Indian Empire. This change will necessitate considerable administrative rearrange-

ments, but I am assured that the Imperial city may anticipate from the Imperial Government a care for its ancient monuments and a solicitude for its material development by no means less than the Provincial city of Delhi has in the past received from the Provincial Government. I pray that the Empire of which Delhi is now the capital may ever stand for peace and progress, justice and prosperity, and that it may add to the traditions of your city still brighter chapters of greatness and glory.

Mofussil Celebrations.

THE following accounts of the celebrations of the Durbar day in the various divisions and districts of Bengal have been forwarded by the Bengal Secretariat for publication :—

The Coronation was celebrated with great enthusiasm in all parts of the districts. At Krishnagar the Royal Proclamation was read before a large assembly, honours were announced and certificates of honour distributed. After this medallions were given to the schoolboys and clothes to the poor. Later in the day the festivities consisted of sports and the distribution of sweetmeats to schoolboys, while in the evening there was a display of fireworks and the town was brilliantly illuminated. Through the liberality of Maharaja Kahaniah Chandra Roy, 3,000 poor people were fed. Similar festivities were held at the Sub-Divisional headquarters of Chuadanga, Kustia, Maharpur, Ranaghat and in all the towns and villages in the district. Presidents of panchayats showed great zeal in organising celebrations within their unions.

At Taherna Sarai and at Samastipur and Madhubani Durbars were held. In the sports and illuminations which followed everybody joined and great enthusiasm prevailed.

The Coronation Durbar celebrations were successfully carried out in the town of Cuttack. A noticeable feature of the celebrations was the procession of Garjat chiefs and other notables on 45 elephants. The poor were fed and medallions were distributed to school children who were also entertained. In the villages the Proclamation was read out and the portrait of His Imperial Majesty displayed, while in the evening the town and villages were illuminated. Throughout the district the celebration was characterised by great manifestations of loyalty amongst all classes, while prayers for the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress were offered by all communities.

The Coronation festivities in the town of Hazaribagh were spread over several days. On December 7th and 9th sports were arranged for school children and the general public. On December 9th the school children were entertained while on December 10th 1,000 of the poor were fed. On December 11th the Deputy Commissioner gave a garden party and a torchlight entertainment. On December 12th every class of the community enthusiastically helped to make the celebrations a success. Public prayers were offered, medallions distributed to the school children and in the evening the town was illuminated. The Raja of Rainghur assisted in the celebrations by giving an evening party. Theatrical performances were also given during the week at the Reformatory and at the Beharee and Bengal Clubs in the town. Similar programmes were carried out at Giridih and Chapra, while the Mica Association at Koderma organised special ceremonies. The landlords throughout the district did all in their power to make the celebrations a success, and the general manifestations of loyalty towards the person of the King-Emperor was most impressive.

In Howrah town subscriptions amounting to about Rs. 14,000 were raised, and in addition to this two public spirited gentlemen, Babu Hardat Rai Chandra and Babu Sarada Chandra Chatterji, undertook respectively the feeding of the poor and the treat to school children at their own expense. The proceedings opened with a Durbar on the Howrah Maidan which was attended by about 500 people. At this Durbar the Royal Proclamation was read, honours were announced, certificates of honour were distributed, and the usual ceremonies were performed. It was attended by the East Indian Railway Volunteers who fired a *feu de joie*. After the Durbar medallions were distributed to nearly 3,000 school children on the Howrah Maidan by the District Magistrate and the Deputy Magistrate. The children of other schools in Howrah, numbering about 17,000, had their medallions distributed to them beforehand at the various schools by the Head Masters. In the afternoon about 6,000 poor people were fed and about 8,000 school children were entertained and supplied with sweetmeats, etc., in the evening there were entertainments of all kinds, including fireworks, torchlight procession, bioscope, circus, theatrical and *Juba* performance, nautches, *kirtan*, a concert and dance and a bonfire. The illuminations were on a very extensive scale and the effect produced was excellent. It was estimated that from 30,000 to 40,000 people participated in the celebrations in Howrah and they certainly showed great enthusiasm and thoroughly realised the significance of the occasion.

In the district, Durbars were held at Uluberia by the Sub-Divisional Officer and at Amta by the Senior Munsiff. Both the

durbars were well attended and the same ceremonies as that observed at Howrah were gone through. The Proclamation was read, the portrait of the King-Emperor was exhibited in 806 villages throughout the district, and in most places local celebrations were held. There were illuminations in practically every village and bonfires in a large number of villages. Local subscriptions were supplemented by grants from the District Coronation Fund, and a large number of persons came forward to feed the poor and entertain school children. The celebrations in the school were a special feature of the occasion. About 20,000 medallions in all were distributed to school children and a treat was given in almost every school in the district. The money raised for this purpose was also supplemented by contributions from the District Coronation Fund. Both at the reading of the Proclamation in the villages and at the treats to school children speeches were made dealing with the benefits of British rule in India and explaining the interest which our present, and late, Sovereigns, have taken in the welfare of the country. On the whole the celebrations in the district were most successful and a very large percentage of the population must have taken part in them.

Reports of celebrations of the Durbar Day have poured in from all parts of the country in such numbers that to enumerate merely the names of the places at which the occasion has been commemorated would be something like reproducing a Gazetteer of India. It must suffice to say generally that in every town and village throughout the length and breadth of the land the day was celebrated with the utmost enthusiasm, officials and local residents joining heartily in the proceedings.

The Queen-Empress and Indian Ladies.

The following is Her Majesty's reply to an address from Indian Ladies.—

The beautiful spirit of your welcome affects me deeply, and I trust that those who meet me here to-day will themselves accept and convey to the sisterhood of their great Empire my warm thanks for their gentle greeting and sincere homage.

I desire to assure you all of my ever-increasing solicitude for the happiness and welfare of those who live "within the walls."

The pages of history have set forth what splendid influences for good can be brought to bear in their homes by the women of India, and the annals of noble races are coloured by acts of devoted fealty and magnificent service as fruits of the lesson instilled by mothers in the hearts and minds of their children.

I have learnt with deep satisfaction the evolution which is gradually but surely taking place amongst the inmates of the *purdah* and I am convinced that you all desire to encourage education amongst your children, so that they may grow up fitted to become useful and cultivated companions to their future husbands.

The jewel you have given me will ever be very precious in my eyes, and whenever I wear it, though thousands of miles of land and sea separate us, my thoughts will fly to the homes of India, and create again and again this happy meeting, and recall the love your tender hearts have yielded me.

Your jewel shall pass to future generations as an Imperial heirloom and always stand as a token of the first meeting of an English Queen with the ladies of India.

I thank you for your congratulations, and for the good wishes expressed by you, towards the King-Emperor and myself, and join my prayers to yours for the strength, unity, and well-being of the Empire.

The Honours List.

We give below some of the Coronation Honours announced on the occasion of the Durbar.

IMPERIAL ORDER OF CROWN OF INDIA.

The Marchioness of Crewe.

The Begum of Bhopal,

The Maharani Shri Nundkunvarba of Bhavnagar.

BARONETCY.

The Hon. Sir Sassoon Jacob David.

G. C. S. I.

Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay.

Sir Arthur Lawley, lately Governor of Madras.

Sir John Hewitt, President, Coronation Durbar Committee.

The Maharaja of Bikaner.

The Maharao of Kotah.

Sir O'Moore Creagh, Commander-in-Chief.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala.

The Nizam of Hyderabad.

The Aga Khan.

K. C. S. I.

Mr. Leslie Porter, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.
 Mr. J. L. Jenkins, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
 Mr. S. H. Butler, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
 Mr. R. W. Carlyle, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
 The Maharaja of Kishengarh
 Mr. R. H. Craddock, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces.
 Mr. James M. Douie, First Financial Commissioner of the Punjab.
 Mr. J. S. Meston, Financial Secretary to the Government of India.
 Mr. B. Robertson, Secretary to the Commerce Department, Government of India.
 Mr. R. A. Lamb, Ordinary Member of Council of the Governor of Bombay.
 The Maharaja of Burdwan.
 Mr. E. G. Colvin, Governor-General's Agent, Rajputana.
 Sir T. R. Wynne, Chairman of the Railway Board.
 Surgeon-General Lukis, Director-General Indian Medical Service.
 Mr. S. Ismay, Chief Justice, Mysore.
 Mr. G. C. Walker, Financial Adviser, the Nizam's Government.
 Mr. A. A. Apcar, of Messrs. Apcar and Co. Calcutta.
 The Raja of Dhar.
 The Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch).
 Surgeon-General Trevor, P. M. O. in India.
 The Maharaja of Bhutan.

C. S. I.

Mr. M. B. Chhabat, Member, Executive Council, Bombay.
 Syed Ali Imam, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.
 Mr. W. H. Clark, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.
 Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Member, Executive Council, Madras.
 Zulfikar Ali Khan of Malerkotla.
 Nawab Faridun Jang Bahadur of Hyderabad.
 Mr. A. M. Hussain, Private Secretary to the Nizam.
 The Raja of Bilaspur.
 The Chief of Lakhtai (Kathiawar).
 Mr. M. M. J. N. Nimbalkar, Chief of Phaltan.
 Dr. J. C. Bose, Presidency College, Calcutta.

G. C. I. E.

The Maharaja of Kashmir.
 Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.
 The Maharaja of Kolhapur, Bombay Presidency.
 The Maharaja Sri Rao Sir Venkatasweta Chalapathi Ranga Rao of Bobbili.
 Colonel Sir Arthur John Biggs.
 Baron Stamfordham.
 Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Member, Viceroy's Council.
 Sir John Newell Jordan, Minister Plenipotentiary, Peking.
 Maharaja Sir Fateh Singh of Udaipur.
 Maharaja Dhiraja of Patiala.
 Mir Imam Baksh Khan of Ferozpur.
 Raja Sri Sri Rama Varma of Cochin.
 Nawab Sir Klawaja Salimulla of Dacca.

K. C. I. E.

Mr. Frederick William Duke, acting Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.
 Mr. Archdale Earle, Home Secretary.
 Mr. Charles Stewart Wilson, Director-General of the Post Office.
 Major-General Malcolm Henry Stanley Grover, Army Department, Secretary.
 Mr. Charles Rant Cleveland, Director, Criminal Investigation Department.
 Lieutenant-General Sir Douglas Haig, Chief of the General Staff.
 Sri Kantrava Narayana Wadiyar Bahadur, Yuvaraja of Mysore.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Daly, Resident in Mysore.
 Mr. Henry Parsall Hurt, Manager, North-Western Railway.
 Mr. James Houseman, DuBoulay, Private Secretary to the Viceroy.
 Maharaja Adhiraj Sipadar-ul-Mulk of Charkhari State, Bundelkhand.
 Mr. Rajendra Nath Mukarji, of Messrs. Martin and Co., Calcutta.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Beaufoy Thomhill, Inspecting Officer of Cantonments.
 Mr. Gungadhar Madho Chitnavis, Additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.
 The Nawab of Jaora State, Central India.
 Raja Ram Singh of Sitabau State.
 Amarsinghi Banesohji of Vankar.
 Dr. Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar of Poona.
 Mr. Michael Filose, Secretary to the Maharaja of Gwalior.
 Rear-Admiral Sir Colin Keppel, R. N.
 Surgeon-General Arthur Mudge Branfoot, I. M. S., retired.
 Sir John Stanley, lately Chief Justice, Allahabad.
 Mr. Saint Hill Eardley Wilmot, lately Inspector-General of Forests.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Zachariah Cox, Political Resident Persian Gulf.

Mr. Francis Edward Spring, P. W. D., retired.
 Mr. William Arthur Dring, Agent, E. I. R.
 Maharaja Sri Vickhama Deo, of Jeypore, Madras Presidency.
 Maharaja Thotab Nangue of Sikkim.
 Rang Sheoray Singh, of Thalari.
 Raja Shaban Ali Khan of Salimpur, Oudh.
 His Highness the Maharaja Sir Jey Singh Bahadur of Alwar.
 Maharaj Raghunath Singh Bahadur of Partabgarh, Rajputana.
 The Raja of Rajpipla, Bombay Presidency.
 Dewan Bahadur Seth Kasturchand Daga, Banker, Central Provinces.
 The Maharaja Sawai Saganta Singh of Bijwar, Bundelkhand.
 General Mowbray Thompson, lately of Bengal Infantry.

HONORARY K. C. I. E.

General Alhut Hautum Schindler, lately of the Persian Foreign Office.
 Sheikh Buharah, Bin-Subah, Ruler of Koweit.

C. I. E.

Lala Shoo Prasad, of Delhi.
 Khan Bahadur Mian Rahim Shah Kakakhel.
 Nawab Mirza Mahdi Hussain of Lucknow.
 Rai Krishan Sah Bahadur, of Naini Tal.
 Nawab Abdul Majid, Barrister, Allahabad.
 Mr. Har Prasad Shastri, Hon. Magistrate Bengal.
 Nawab Kavar Khan, of Baluchistan.
 Dewan Janat Rai, of Baluchistan.
 Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong Tulku, of Sikkim.
 Nawab Muhammed Salamullah Khan of Deulghat, Central Provinces.
 Maharaj Raghunath Singh, of Dhasuks.
 Maulvi Sayid Muhammed Nasaruddin, Bengal Education Department, retired.
 Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, Additional Member of the Imperial Council.
 Sewai Rao Raja Raghunath Rao Dmhar, Political Secretary to the Maharaja of Gwalior.
 Pandit Kailas Narayan Haksar, Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Gwalior.
 Mokshayundain Vivesvaraya, of Mysore Public Works.
 Jammadar Joram, Commandant of Mysore Troops.
 Rai Sahab Dewan Amar Nath of Kashmir.
 Raja Avadhendra Bahadur Singh, of Kothi.
 Krishna Rao Wavdeo Mulje, of Indore.
 Rajkumar Banerji, C. S., of Cochin.
 Sardar Shamsher Singh, of Jhind.
 Babu Gurbaksh Singh, Beni, of Rawalpindi District.
 Sardar Naoroji Pudanji of Poona.
 Vala Takoman Meran, Jetpur, Bombay.

G. C. V. O.

Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpore.
 The Nawab of Rampur.

K. C. V. O.

The Nawab of Bahau.
 Colonel Aslam Khan.

C. V. O.

Balwant Rao Bharya Scindia of Gwalior.
 Munshi Azizuddin.

MEMBER, FOURTH CLASS VICTORIAN ORDER.

Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, lately Punjab Public Works.
 Muhammad Ali, of Gwalior.
 Malik Dina Umar Hayat Khan, Indian Herald.

MEMBER OF THE VICTORIAN ORDER SIXTH CLASS.

Bhai Ram Singh, of Lahore.
 Ali Husain, 2nd Gwalior Infantry.

KNIGHTHOOD

Mr. Justice Ashutosu Mukharji, of Calcutta.
 Khan Bahadur B. D. Mehta, of Nagpur.
 Mr. Justice D. D. Davar of Bombay.
 Mr. Shapurji Burjorji Broacha of Bombay.
 Rao Sahib Vasanti Trikamji Mulji, of Bombay.
 Mr. Ebrahim Rahimtoola, of Bombay.

THE KAISER-I-HIND.—GOLD MEDAL.

Lady Hardinge of Penshurst.
 Ram Bhan Meghrasham Joshi, of Chanda.
 Rai Hari Mohun Chandra, Honorary Magistrate, Darjeeling.
 Raji Shambhusingh Amersingh Jadhavrao, Raji of Maligaon.
 Jehangir Hormusji Kothari, of Karachi.
 Dr. Rajhavendra Row, of Bombay.
 Miss Beck, Secretary, National Indian Association.

The War.

The News of the Week.

Russia has approached the Porte with proposals to open the Dardanelles to Russian warships. Russia desires a direct understanding with Turkey upon the principle of the Franco-German negotiations on the subject of Morocco, informing the other Powers only when the matter is settled. The question is regarded most seriously at Constantinople and for the moment eclipses the war with Italy. It is stated in Constantinople that the Porte declines to entertain the proposal singly in view of the international character of the treaties regulating the straits.

Reuter wired from Rome:—The Red Sea is being cleared of the enemy's vessels and the lighting of the Erythrean Coast has been resumed.

Telegrams from Tripoli show that the Turks on the 4th instant retreated in good order to a position affording facilities for movement in several directions and possibilities of re-equipping and obtaining reinforcements. The Italian occupation of Ain Zara constitutes a stage in the protracted task of the occupation of the Hinterland.

Reuter wired from Rome:—Three battalions at Derna on Thursday last encountered bands of Turks and Arabs and endeavoured to surround the enemy, who fled. The Italians destroyed two successive lines of the enemy's trenches, doing great execution. The Italian lost two killed.

M. Sazanoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, in an interview with the *Temps*, says that the reports of the Russian formal demands regarding the Dardanelles are pure fiction. He says there have only been conversations, arising from fear that the laying of mines by Turkey might hinder commerce. He also emphasises the fact that Russia is seeking no territorial aggrandisement in Persia.

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg:—Mr. LeCoffre, who is investigating the finances of Azerbaijan and taking part in the sittings of the local council, stated that Turkey has decided to expel the Italians from Gallipoli, the Dardanelles, Smyrna and other fortified points.

There is growing excitement at Sofia as the result of details which have been received of rioting at Ishtih, where, it is stated, 174 Bulgarians have been massacred. The papers urge the Government to take vigorous action.

Reuter wired from Persia: As the result of friendly representations by Germany, the Porte will not expel Italians from Smyrna.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE TIMES' OWN CORRESPONDENTS.)

Constantinople, November 16.

According to information which has reached the Government, Arab reinforcements have reached the Ottoman camp in Tripoli under the command of three important Sheikhs.

The Committee is busy organizing resistance against the Italians at Tripoli. In reply to an offer of assistance from the Sherif Abdula of Mecca, the Committee stated that it had found means of sending provisions and officers and soldiers to Tripoli and merely denied prayers to the Prophet and money. It accordingly asked him to open a subscription list among the pilgrims to assist the faithful in waging a sacred war against an infidel enemy. All money collected is to be forwarded to the Committee at Salonika immediately.

Turkish workmen and soldiers who were laying telephones on the Montenegrin frontier have been obliged to cease work owing to armed opposition by Montenegrin soldiers.

Constantinople, November 21.

The Porte has received the replies of several Powers to its recent circular in reference to the reports of contemplated Italian naval action in the Aegean and the consequent interference with natural commerce. The replies state that the Powers are unaware of the intention attributed to Italy, but will take note of the Turkish declaration and will make inquiries.—Reuter.

Vienna, November 28.

Several hundred Turkish refugees from Tripoli have arrived at Trieste, having been transported in ships at the cost of the Italian Government. The Turkish Consul at Trieste is without funds to defray the expenses of their journey overland to Turkey and the Austrian Government refuses to permit them to land, whilst the Italians insist that they must leave their ships.—Reuter.

Vienna, November 29.

While some Austrian journals, like the Christian Socialist *Reichspost*, deal sarcastically with the difficulties of the Italian military position, others, and in particular the semi-official *Fremdenblatt*, emphasize the expediency of an early advance into the interior. Military, political and financial considerations, writes the *Fremdenblatt*, make it appear preferable not to prolong the defensive stage beyond the period absolutely necessary. The maintenance of a defensive attitude by the Italians hitherto is probably due to the necessity of assuring their base and of collecting adequate forces and supplies. Such preparations need to be made on a large scale in a country like Tripoli, "but the sooner the Italians succeed in completing them the

more rapidly will they escape from the undeniable disadvantages of their defensive position."

A despatch to the *New Free Press* explains that before the offensive can be assumed the Tripoli oasis must be radically cleared of the Arabs, whose tactics are now to hide rifles and ammunition on the tops of palm trees and thence to snipe the Italian trenches or patrols. Between the intervals of sniping they descend and cultivate, as harmless husbandmen, the good graces of the troops. A drastic proposal to burn the whole oasis having been rejected by General Caneva, as likely to ruin the city of Tripoli, it remains only to clear the oasis of the walls, cactus hedges, huts and houses behind which the enemy can hide and to organize stricter surveillance of the local population.

The *Triester Zeitung* receives the following description of the country immediately south of Tripoli:—

"Hardly a mile beyond the city begins a stretch of desert in which the sand is so deep that a strong camel cannot cover two miles an hour. Beyond this stretch lies the oasis of Am Zara, where the Turco-Arab forces are now encamped. Thence a broad sandy plain extends for ten miles to a belt of fertile undulating country with excellent pasturage. This belt is 20 miles deep. Beyond it, as far as the slopes of the Gharian, fruitful oases alternate with stony stretches now flat now hilly. Lack of water and of other local resources will aggravate the difficulties of the Italian advance."

In military circles here it is believed that the Italian advance will be accompanied by the construction of a light railway.

Vienna, November 20.

No diplomatic confirmation is obtainable of the rumours current in some financial quarters here that a speedy conclusion of peace is probable. Some ten days since the Italian Government is understood to have had reason to expect a settlement before Christmas. Whether it is equally confident now is a debatable question. The great uncertainty of the internal outlook in Turkey appears to militate against the adoption of any decided policy by the Grand Vizier and his colleagues.

In the meantime various military measures are being taken by the Turkish War Minister. Two regiments of Infantry have been ordered to Preveza, one of them—the regiment of Redifs from Dibra—having been suddenly sent to Preveza instead of to Filbasan, its original destination. A Military Commission has been despatched to the Thessalian border with instructions to observe and record exactly in the staff maps the most important positions and the Greek fortifications. Recruits are being regularly transported to Northern Albania in order to bring all garrisons up to war strength. Three thousand five hundred men have been sent to Scutari alone, most of them being drawn from the district of Konieh. At Salonika another class of reservists has been called out, and the Redifs have been mobilized on the Island of Lemnos.

Paris, November 17.

According to a report published by the *Journ. des Debats*, the airman Helen is to proceed to Constantinople with four aeroplanes of French make.

Paris, November 19.

The Turkish Red Crescent Mission, which arrived at Marseilles on 7th, November has now reached Tunis on its way to join the Turkish lines at Tripoli. Its members have been authorized to proceed on camel back to Sfax and thence southward to the Tripolitan frontier, which they will be allowed to cross singly.

The commander of the French troops in Tunis, General Pistor, has issued an order prohibiting the public sale or exhibition of photographic or other representations of the campaign in Tripoli, or of the recent disturbances in Tunis. The reason assigned for this prohibition is that Tunisian neutrality in the war between Italy and Turkey forbids manifestations of any kind that might give offence to either of the belligerents. It is certain, moreover, that events in Tripoli have excited bitter feelings among the natives in Tunis.

Paris, November 21.

In view of reports to the effect that men and munitions of war for the Turkish forces in Tripoli have crossed from the Tunisian side, the French Government has renewed its stringent orders that the neutrality of Tunis is to be effectively maintained. It is stated in the Press that the Italian Ambassador in Paris, Signor Tittoni, has been in communication with the French Government on this subject.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST'S" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, November 12.

The departure from Egypt for the seat of war of a medical mission, under the auspices of the Cairo Red Crescent Society, of which Sheikh Ali Yussuf is president, is regarded as the most practical form that the sympathy of the people of this country towards the Ottoman forces in their struggle with Italy could have taken. Not the least striking incident connected with the send-off of the mission from Cairo was the admission of the President to the members composing it, not only to obey the law of the Koran, but to pay regard also to the commandments of the Founder of Christianity and show mercy to their enemies.

Dr. Izzet, who is at the head of the mission, reports its arrival at Dabaa, and its subsequent departure overland, by camel across the desert. The destination of the mission, so far as can be decided at present, is Benghazi.



دہلی کاروبار

دسمبر سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء
جس طرح سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء ہندوستان
کی تاریخ میں دہلی کاروبار
کی وجہ سے ایک زریں موقع اور لائق
زمانہ ہے اس طرح طلسمات سائنس میں
سے عجیب ترین طلسم ساز بازگشت کی
ایجاد ہے اور سازمان بازگشت میں
بہترین وہ ساز ہے جس کو آپ گریمر فون
کے نام سے جانتے ہیں۔

ہندوستان کی مہربان میں اور ہر
مشہور عورت یا مرد گاہے والے کے
رکارڈ ہم لے محض آپ کی تفریح
و تفتن طبع کے واسطے تیار کرتے ہیں۔
ہندوستان میں علم موسیقی عام
طور پر جس گروہ میں محدود ہے
اس سے آپ کو واقف نہیں ایک
مدت سے اس کی ترقی مسہور
تھی اور اندیشہ تھا کہ جو کچھ موجود
ہے رفتہ رفتہ وہ بھی نابود ہو جائے
مگر ہماری ان تہک کوششوں اور
تاریخ صرف زلے ایسے نادر رکارڈ
راک اور راکٹوں کے تیار کر لئے ہیں
کہ جو کل اہل ہند کے واسطے مایہ نگر و لاز
اور ہمارے واسطے موجب امتیاز ہیں۔

گریمر فون اب سامان عیش میں
نہیں بلکہ ضروریات زندگی میں داخل
ہے اور اسی بنیاد پر یہ ہر گھر میں
ہونا چاہئے۔ فہرست رکارڈ کا قیمت
ماہ دسمبر کے واسطے حسب معمول
شائع ہو گیا ہے فرداً فرداً رکارڈوں کی
منصف بیان کرنا نفل ہے۔ ہر رکارڈ
لاجواب ہے اور ہر گنا

سزا کی قابل ہے۔
پس وقت کی قدر فرمائے اور ہواپی
ڈاک یا بہتر مودا کہ ہمارے
باضابطہ لوکل اجنس کی
کوٹھی پر تشریف لیجا کر تازہ
قرین رکارڈ خود سنئے گا۔

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Edited by Mohamed Ali.

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They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Manager will be much obliged if any of our readers who have been receiving copies of this paper as specimens will kindly notify whether they wish to become subscribers or not. This is no little to ask and we feel sure they will comply with the Manager's request.

We are happy to say that we are now in a position to supply "The Comrade" to Muhammadan students who apply to us during the month of December at the reduced rate of Rs. 2 every three months and in advance and to non-Muslim students at the still lower rate of Rs. 3 every six months.

The Week.

The Royal Vint.

The foundation-stone-laying ceremony of the restored capital of India took place on the 15th instant. The King and the Queen laid a foundation stone. The following is the speech of the Governor-General—

May it please Your Imperial Majesty,

By graciously consenting to lay the first stone of the Imperial capital to be established at Delhi, Your Imperial Majesty will set

a seal upon the announcement made by His Imperial Majesty on the day of the Coronation Durbar, a day which will ever be memorable in the history of India, partly owing to the splendour with which it was celebrated, but much more on account of the fervent demonstrations of loyalty which it evoked. Many capitals have been inaugurated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, some of which are so ancient that their origin is lost in the mist of antiquity but none has ever arisen under happier auspices than those which attended the ceremony which Your Imperial Majesties are about to perform, and assuredly none ever held promise of greater permanence or of a more prosperous and glorious future. The decision to remove the capital of the Government of India from Calcutta was not reached without mature and anxious consideration. Proposals of a similar nature had been fully discussed as long ago as 1868, and ample materials were on record for the formation of a just opinion upon all debatable points. No great change, however beneficial, can be carried out without some sacrifice, without some injury to personal interests or some offence to local sentiment, yet, if I may be permitted to speak as Your Imperial Majesties' Governor-General, on behalf of myself and my colleagues in Council, I desire to say that we are confident that there have been few changes so important which have been so much to the advantage of the many, and so little injurious to the interest of the few, that the injury which the few may anticipate will be merely temporary, and, within no long time, will be greatly outweighed by the benefits which will issue, and that Your Imperial Majesty's decision, taken constitutionally upon the advice of Your Imperial Majesties' Ministers, will, with the concomitant changes which are necessarily involved, result in a vast and progressive improvement of Government of the Indian Empire. It will put an end to strife and dissension and will usher in an era of general peace and contentment. We are convinced that the decision could have been taken and announced in no way which would have been provocative of so little discord and debates, or so well calculated to enlist the enthusiastic and loyal support of all classes of Your Imperial Majesty's faithful subjects. We sincerely trust the noble city, which, under God's Providence we hope to rear around the spot where these stones are laid, will be worthy of the occasion to which it owes its birth. The stones themselves will for ever remain a monument of Your Imperial Majesties' gracious presence at this ancient seat of civilisation and Empire, and of the momentous decision which was declared and published to Your Imperial Majesties' loyal subjects at this place."

* At the close of his speech Lord Hardinge announced that the Maharajah of Gwalior has undertaken to provide a statue of the King-Emperor to be set up in the Imperial capital of India in

commemoration of the Royal visit and of the transfer of the capital to Delhi.

The following speech was delivered by His Imperial Majesty the King:—"It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to the Queen Empress and myself that it has been possible for us before leaving Delhi to lay the first stones of the Imperial capital which will arise from where we now stand. This is the first step to give material effect to the important announcement which it was my pleasure to make on that magnificent and to us deeply impressive occasion of my Coronation Durbar three days ago. I earnestly hope that the anticipation of the beneficial and far-reaching results from the great changes now to be effected may be amply fulfilled, securing to India improved administration and to its people increased happiness and prosperity. It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city. May God's blessing rest upon the work which is so happily inaugurated to-day."

After the speech, the heralds announced first in English and then in Urdu by His Majesty's command that the foundation had been well and truly laid. A fanfare of trumpets followed, and Sir Louis Dane called for three cheers for Their Imperial Majesties and the new capital. This was heartily responded to and the assembly separated.

Their Imperial Majesties left Delhi on the 16th instant, the King-Emperor proceeding to Nepal and the Queen-Empress to Agra, whence a tour will be made to certain Rajputana States. The departure was invested with most of the pomp that marked the arrival, except that there was no procession of high officials or Ruling Chiefs.

A press communique states—the Maharajadhiraj of Nepal, who had been suffering from cirrhosis of the liver since last July, died on the 11th December after expressing a wish that nothing should be done to interfere with the projected visit of His Majesty to Nepal. The succession of the late Maharajadhiraj's son and heir has been announced and mourning ceremonies will be completed before His Majesty is due to arrive in Nepal. The Prime Minister expressed an earnest hope that His Imperial Majesty would carry out his intention of visiting Nepal, and added that it would be a very great disappointment to his people as well as to himself if the Nepal Durbar were deprived a second time of the honour of receiving His Majesty. In the circumstances and in accordance with the wishes of the Nepalese Royal Family and the Government, His Imperial Majesty decided to fulfill his engagement.

SUKHITHAN, December 5.

The King-Emperor arrived at Bhikna Thon at 10 A.M. on the 18th instant. His Imperial Majesty was received by Maharajah Sir Chandra Shum Shero Yung and proceeded by motor to his camp at Sukhithan.

The following Court Circular was issued—The Queen-Empress attended by the whole of her suite, was present at the divine service in St. George's Church on the 17th instant. In the afternoon, Her Imperial Majesty with her suite in attendance visited the palaces of Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjehan in the fort and the tomb of Imdad-ud-Dowlah. Mr. Sandersen of the Archaeological Survey of India had the honour to act as guide to Her Imperial Majesty.

The Queen-Empress visited the Taj on the 18th instant proceeding thence by motor with her suite in attendance to Futehpur Sikri. Mr. Sandersen had the honour of conducting Her Imperial Majesty round the palace of Akbar. Luncheon was served in the dāk bungalow and Her Imperial Majesty returned to Agra in the evening.

It is stated that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress will arrive at Bankipore on the 19th from Jaipore. His Majesty will meet her there the same day from Nepal after the shoot. Their Majesties then proceed to Howrah the same day.

The Queen left Agra on the 19th instant by Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. Mr. Mardon, Collector, issued cards to leading European and Indian gentlemen who attended at the station which was very tastefully decorated. Her Majesty was greatly interested in a party of little children from the Agra convent, who assembled outside the station and greeted Her Majesty. They looked very picturesque with their tiny Union Jacks which they waved very gracefully. The Royal train from Agra with Her Imperial Majesty on board was to arrive at Jaipur about five o'clock last night. It is understood by the Railway authorities that it passed through Sanganeer station several hours before the line there was blocked by the derailment of a goods train as reported in the telegraphic message from the District Traffic Superintendent, Bandikui at Sanganeer which we published yesterday.

British Politics.

PARLIAMENT was prorogued on the 16th instant. The King's Speech said:—

"Relations with Foreign Powers continue to be friendly. I am happy to say that negotiations between France and Germany regarding Morocco, a matter in which my Government was concerned by treaty engagements, have been concluded. In regard to the war between Italy and Turkey, I have issued a proclamation announcing Britain's strict neutrality. The deliberations of the Imperial Conference bore witness to the harmony between the United Kingdom and the Dominions, and to a growing consciousness of common interests, as well as the spirit of loyalty and kinship which pervades the Dominions and adds lustre to my Crown. I trust that the labours of the Commission shortly to be appointed to inquire into the trade of the Empire will be fruitful in showing means of ensuring greater prosperity and in promoting mutual intercourse between the Dominions. The relations between the two houses have been adjusted by the Parliament Act."

The Speech concluded by expressing great satisfaction in assenting to the Insurance Bill. It also refers to the extension of the benefits of old age pensions, the passing of a Copyright Bill and certain local measures.

Lord Lorchorn read the Speech by Royal Commission, with the usual ceremony due to the occasion.

The Persian Crisis

A MESSAGE to the *Times* from Teheran states that Russians occupy Khoi, which turns the western flank of Turkey, and that this may lead to a serious Russo-Turkish situation. The message says it is believed that the Turkish Army in Asia Minor is mobilising.

A message from Teheran to the *Times* says:—Four thousand Russians have concentrated at Kazvin under General Gabieff, and that it will apparently be necessary to take over the town to find quarters. The weather is severely wintry and the population is sheltering in mosques.

The American officer Commanding the treasury gendarmery reports that the officers have been turned out of their quarters and threatened. He advises the withdrawal of the Persian officers to Teheran.

A meeting of Iranian Zoroastrians of Bombay was held on the 13th instant in the old British India Steam Navigation Co.'s office in Green Street, Fort, to record its sense of consternation and alarm at the present aggressive and unrighteous Russian policy towards Persia. Resolutions were passed recording that the Iranian Zoroastrians residing in Bombay are intensely agitated and deeply concerned at the present aggressive Russian policy in Persia which is detrimental to its liberty and independence and that they have their fullest sympathy with the Persian Government in their troubles.

Under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, a meeting of Mussalmans of Madras was held to protest against the action of Russia in Persia. Obeidullah Sahib, Chief Kazi, presided. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—(1) that this meeting expresses its deep regret at the calamities

which have befallen Persia and begs to assure her of the heartfelt sympathy of the Mahomedans of this vast Presidency in her present difficulties. (2) That this meeting protests most indignantly against the unrighteous action of Russia in attempting to destroy the integrity and independence of Persia at a time when it deserves the full sympathy and generous help of all civilised nations to complete the work of its constitution and begs that the British Government as the greatest Mahomedans power in the world will realize the gravity of the situation and use its high influence with Russia in preventing the dismemberment of that ancient Mussalman Empire. (3) That this meeting views with consternation the advance of Russian troops in Persia which, if allowed to continue unchecked, is likely to extend the sphere of Russian influence to the very border of India: a condition which in the best interest of the Indian Empire should be avoided at all cost. The first resolution was telegraphed to the Foreign Minister at Teheran and the second and third to Sir Edward Grey and to H. E. the Governor-General of India. Copies were also communicated by wire to Mr. Syed Amir Ali and Lord Curzon.

In the House of Commons, during the debate on the foreign estimates, various speakers raised the Persian question. Sir Edward Grey warned the house that there was much more in it than the Persian question. It was quite possible that if it was mismanaged or rashly handled, by Russia or by ourselves, the Persian question might disappear and large issues of policy might obscure it altogether. That point of view could not be left out of account. The object of the Agreement was not to destroy or diminish Russian influence in any part of Asia, where it already obtained, nor to thrust Russia back, nor deprive ourselves of any influence we possessed, but to make sure that any influence possessed in places where we were neighbours should not be used to disturb the frontier. Sir Edward Grey said he never intended the Agreement to extend our responsibilities. If the Agreement meant that we undertook to guarantee the integrity and independence of Persia that would be substituting the Caucasus for the Indian frontier, and he would have never committed himself to such a course. Sir Edward Grey exhaustively reviewed the whole crisis. He did not suppose that the Russian Government was going to press for the prompt payment of the indemnity as soon as the crisis was over. Russia and Great Britain ought to co-operate in facilitating a loan. If the Anglo-Russian frontier and commercial interests could not be preserved by the Persian Government, they must either be preserved by England and Russia respectively, or sacrificed altogether. Either alternative was most undesirable. The last thing we wanted to do was to pursue a harsh policy towards Mahomedans in the neighbourhood of India. If we were going to co-operate with Russia, there must be a constructive and unaggressive policy. Sir Edward Grey warned persons who raised the Persian question that if the question were mismanaged it might be superseded by larger issues. Mr. Asquith agreed to the formation of a Standing Committee on the Estimates, provided Treasury control and Ministerial responsibility were not impaired. The Committee starts next session.

Emin Bey of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been appointed Turkish Ambassador in Teheran.

A message to the *Times* from Teheran states that the clergy everywhere are calling for resistance to Russia and exciting the people to a holy war. The situation at Shiraz is grave. The Chief Mullah has aroused the fanaticism of the people against Great Britain and the shopkeepers absolutely refuse to sell the smallest article to the Indian troops there. The Mullah has declared the notes of the Imperial Bank to be unclean, and these are now being presented for payment at the rate of 15,000 toman daily, causing embarrassment to the Bank, as a large caravan of specie has been delayed on the road.

Mr. W. A. Johns, Chief Engineer of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, who is on special duty in connection with the proposed line for the Persian Railway, and his staff are now in Karachi. The party will leave for Pashu to commence the

necessary survey. It is understood that strict orders have been received not to go beyond the Persian border.

The *Nouye Vremya* publishes an article commending Sir Edward Grey's loyalty to the Anglo-Russian Convention and suggests that the best solution of the situation created by Russia's demand for an indemnity will be found in connection with the projected trans-Persian Railway. The journal states that the financial preliminaries of the scheme for the railway have been arranged in Russia, England and France. The *Russkoye Slovo* states the final surveys will immediately follow the conclusion of the Russo-Persian crisis and adds that there will be no direct German participation in the railway. There will be three sections of the railway, viz., Baku to Astara, Astara to Bandar Abbas and Bandar Abbas to Karachi.

There have recently appeared statements in the press to the effect that the Turkish army is mobilising in Asia Minor on behalf of Persia. The Foreign Minister announced in the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople, that Russia had recognised Turkey's right to interest herself in Persia and that a Russo-Turkish accord had been reached concerning Persia's political and territorial independence. The Minister said that Turkey believed in the sincerity of Russian declarations; moreover, Persian integrity had been secured by the Anglo-Russian Convention. The statement of the Foreign Minister was the result of telegrams from the Persian Parliament and Persians in Calcutta and Bombay addressed to the Ottoman Parliament with reference to Russia's action. The Minister said the Porte had tendered friendly advice to Teheran, recommending moderation in view of removing misunderstanding. The Porte had simultaneously sent instructions to the Ottoman Ambassadors at the Courts interested in Persia. As the result of those instructions, M. Tcharykoff, Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, had declared that Russia regretted she had been compelled to adopt measures in Persia, but the responsibility rested with Persia herself. The measures were, however, provisional, and would be recalled so soon as satisfaction had been obtained. The Minister then continued as already reported. He further said he and the Russian Ambassador had taken note of their complete understanding on the subject of Persia and concluded by expressing the strong hope that there would be shortly an amicable settlement between Russia and Persia. He added that the Persian Ambassador had thanked the Porte in the name of his Government for its efforts. The Chamber was satisfied with the statement.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent wired:—A *Times* Teheran message states that two hundred Indian Sowars at Shiraz are without supplies owing to the boycott. It seems that there is no course open but to seize supplies. The Government sent orders from Teheran to stop the boycott, but apparently the Mullahs control the situation.

A collision is possible at any moment between the Turks and Russians on the Turko-Persian frontier.

It is believed at Teheran that the return of M. Sagooff to St. Petersburg will have a steadying effect on Russian policy.

The Persian Cabinet under Russian pressure has endeavoured to induce a sufficient number of deputies to resign in order to leave the Mejliss without a quorum, but so far unsuccessfully.

Reuter wired from Teheran:—The Mejliss has rejected the solution proposed by the Cabinet in connection with the Russian crisis. It is reported that Russian troops will advance on the 21st instant.

In an article on Persia, the *Times* says there is not a man in England who would seriously advocate that Persian independence in itself is worth the bones of a single British grenadier. The paper says that the sands are running out and a grave responsibility rests with those in England who encourage Persia to take risks for which not they but the Persians will have to pay.

Serious fighting has taken place at Tabriz between Persians and Russians. The Governor's palace has been bombarded, but the result is unknown.

There have also been conflicts between Persian Constitutionalists and Russians at Resht and Enzeli, and the Russians have seized the police headquarters at Resht. The cause of the conflicts is not known. Official notices have been posted ordering the people to abstain from political meetings, except with the sanction of the police as the question of the Russian ultimatum is being amicably settled.

Revolutionary China.

Reuter wired from Shanghai:—Yuan-Shi Kai's peace plenipotentiary Tangshaoyi arrived at Shanghai. He was received in the most impressive fashion by the Foreign Consuls and various Chinese Republican representatives. The streets were packed and every Chinese shop was decorated with new revolutionary flags marked with alternate stripes of red, yellow, blue, white and black. Conferences with Wu-Ting-Fang and his associates began on the 18th instant at the Town Hall.

Conditions in the interior of China are becoming desperate. Trade and industries are at a standstill and millions are actually starving. Unless a prompt settlement provides for the restoration of trade and relief is organised, it is feared that the masses will be driven to desperation.

Reuter wired from Tokio:—The newspaper *Yorodzu* states that Great Britain and Japan have concluded an agreement for combined intervention in China and have instructed their Consuls at Shanghai to offer mediation. The Japanese Foreign Office describes the story as unauthorised.

Reuter learns that the statement appearing in the newspaper *Yorodzu* is without foundation. The position is as follows:—The Foreign representatives if Peking were authorised by their respective Governments to take part in any negotiations for the purposes of mediation, in favourable opportunity for the conflicting parties to avail themselves of their services presented itself.

Reuter wires from Peking:—Tuanvfang ex-Director General of the Hu Kuang railway has been murdered by his troops at Thechow.

Reuter wires from Shanghai:—The conference between Tang-Shao-Yi, representing Imperialist troops, and Wu-Ting-Fang, representing the Republicans has opened here with a view to the conclusion of peace.

The Legations in Peking with the authority of their Governments have sent messages to the Peace Conference at Shanghai, through their Consuls, urging upon the delegates the importance of a friendly settlement in the interests both of China herself and the foreigners in the country.

A deadlock has occurred in the Peace Conference owing to Wu-Ting-Fang maintaining that a Republic is the only basis of settlement.

Tangshaoyi replied that he must refer such an extremely important question to Peking. The armistice has accordingly been prolonged for a week.

The Gaeckwar and the Times.

The Secretary to H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has addressed the following cablegram to the Editor, *The Times*, London, requesting its immediate publication:—

"The Gaekwar has wired to the *Pioneer* pointing out that its special cablegram contains some statements greatly exaggerated, and some absolutely false. That His Highness acted in any way contrary to Indian custom or etiquette at Westminster Abbey is untrue. There was no room for such behaviour, since he was present as a spectator only, nor have these allegations ever been heard before. His Highness did not meet Krishna Varma in 1910, and he has not seen him for many years, and not since the latter left England. The press to which seditious literature has recently been traced was entirely a private one not connected in any way with the State. All possible assistance was promptly given to the British authorities by the Baroda Council in the investigations made. The case having broken down in court from lack of legal evidence the Maharaja has already confiscated the press and banished the writer. Statements regarding the employment of extremists given to anti-British campaigns are unfair and misleading and based upon gross perversion of the facts."

The *Times* publishes the cable and rejoins that although the Gaekwar was present at the Coronation only as a spectator, the fact remains that his conduct occasioned unfavourable comment. No official notice was taken of it. The *Times* likewise traverses other points in the Secretary's telegram.

TETE À TETE



THE 26th Session of the Indian National Congress is to be held in Calcutta on the 26th, 27th and 28th December at Greer Park (Upper Circular Road). Mr. Bishen Narain Dar of Lucknow has been elected President for the Session.

In view of the recent happenings in India in connection with the Royal Visit, the momentous administrative changes announced by the King-Emperor, particularly the modification of the Partition, and of other matters of far-reaching concern to the people such as Mr Gokhale's Bill for Compulsory Primary Education, the deliberations of the Congress will be awaited with interest. As things are it is for the present idle to expect any freshness in the treatment of the conventional topics which are rapidly falling out of sympathy with the latest developments in public thought and sentiment. Unless the Congress is built up on a broader and more comprehensive basis, its "resolutions" are bound to run along the old grooves of thought in which its political activities were, long ago, allowed to proceed. It is worth recalling that it was in its previous Session at Calcutta that the notorious fight over the resolution on "Boycott, Swaraj and National Education" gave birth to a violent cleavage of thought which ultimately ended in the Surat *débâcle*. It is in Calcutta again that the Congress will meet to bless the modification of the Partition. And bless it, we may take it, it will; though one might naturally expect a body claiming to represent public opinion, irrespective of race and creed, to rise above conventional war-cries and partisan exclusiveness. We believe some of the Congress leaders are men of broad conviction and faith and moved with genuine patriotism and love for the country. Do they believe that the present situation in regard to the Hindu Moslem relations requires no change? Is it not desirable to work for the synthesis of the various communities for the evolution of a united nation? If these problems are at all worth a patriot's considerations the Congress of all other political organisations ought to strive to find their solution, unless indeed its official creed is not worth the paper on which it is written. Things in India are moving fast, much faster than the minds of some of her public men. A rapid change is coming over the state of public hopes and feelings. New ideas charged with immense potentialities are agitating large masses of men. And this is the time to create national consciousness and enlist young enthusiasm in the service of the country. Will the Calcutta Congress do what its predecessors have studiously avoided by pious hopes and wishes? Will it initiate some genuine and practical measure of communal rapprochement? The fate of the Hindu-Moslem Conference held at Allahabad holds out scant promise. Is that grave of a still-born aspiration to be for ever a warning and a prophecy?

Long before the Viceroy announced at His Majesty's command "the grants, concessions, reliefs, and benefactions," people with any knowledge of the financial difficulties of the Government had

understood that it would not be possible to confer on the people of India such boons as involved considerable permanent sacrifice

of revenue or entailed heavy expenditure for the future. But we doubt if most people were prepared to receive so little as they have secured. The release of prisoners costs little to the Government, unless the released criminals again seek the asylum of the Jails, and in fact saves considerable expenditure. But on all occasions of Royal pleasure it has been customary to release prisoners and this practice has been followed again. It must, however, be remembered that in the olden days many people were sent to prison on the mere caprice of the Sovereign and only Royal pleasure could redress the wrongs of Royal wrath. To-day, there may or may not be more actual justice, but judicial procedure leaves little room for the whims of the executive. No caprice is now necessary to correct the errors of caprice. It is, therefore, worth considering whether prisoners should be released in future, and even if they should be released, whether it would not be juster to release those of whose guilt there was at least some slight doubt. As regards the throwing open of the grant of the Victoria Cross to the Indian Army, there can be no two opinions. Justice demanded an equality, and even if some people may doubt whether the Cross is an appropriate symbol for the valour displayed by non-Christians, all would admire the motives of the Government. After all, the Cross is the symbol of suffering for the benefit of others and no reasonable man could misunderstand its significance. But we doubt whether any increase in the number of appointments to the order of British India would be a real boon apart from the monetary benefits thereby meant to be conferred. The increase in the period during which widows of deceased members of the Indian Order of Merit would receive special allowances would be welcome to a most deserving and needy class of people and the Durbar would prove to them a real boon. Nor would half a month's extra salary to soldiers and civilians drawing not more than Rs. 50 a month be considered an undeserved benefaction. But after all, this boon is only temporary and the servants of the King deserve a more permanent concession. They have every right to eligibility for higher posts both in the Army and in the Civil Departments of Government, and we would press on the attention of the authorities the desirability of creating a Sandhurst for Indian youths of good families and specially those with military traditions. It is painful to think that while there is a continued cry of shortage of British Officers, an Indian Hyder Ali or Sivaji could not aspire to be anything higher than a Resaldar-Major. Similarly, unless a Todar Mal or a Sher Shah can afford to go to England for three or four years and compete on unequal terms with graduates of British Universities in cramming subjects some of which have not the remotest connection with Indian administration, all that he could hope to die as would be a Dipty Sahab, with the added grace of a Rai Sahab or a Khan Bahadur. The Government had promised to work up at last to the allotment for Indians in the Provincial Services which the Public Service Commission had secured so many years ago. But we have reason to believe that instead of a proportionate allotment in all grades of service, the Government intend to concede no more than a proportionate allotment of the aggregate number of posts, which would mean in practice a congestion of Indians only on the lowest rungs of the ladder. We hope the Government have a greater regard for their fair name than what our pessimistic forecast implies. The release of some civil debtors and the payment of their debts are boons that will be appreciated by creditors as well as debtors. We wish good luck to all the Bahadurs and Sahebs who shall receive "distinctive badges as symbol of respect and honour." It is not generally necessary to label this class of persons for their qualifications are distinctive enough. But any additional "respect and honour" would not come amiss to them. If the cost of the "distinctive badges" induces Government to curtail the class, that in itself would be "relief" enough to the rest of mankind. We are sincerely glad that the holders of the venerable titles of Mahamahopadhyas

and Shams-ul-Ulama shall receive some annual pension "for the good report of the ancient learning of India." This had too long been delayed, but it is never too late to mend in such matters. We trust the pensions would be adequate to maintain the title-holders in some comfort and to free our scholars and savants from sordid cares. We fear the "relief" to the Indian Princes would not be substantial, and we would urge on the attention of Government the desirability of looking into the finances of Protected States with a view to judge whether the maintenance of the Imperial Service Troops is not too hard a burden for some of the smaller ones. In our last issue we welcomed the grant of 50 lakhs for the promotion of "truly popular education." This appears to be the only boon for the patient ryot whose life is a long-drawn question between a crop and a crop. Even if no change could be introduced into the period or system of land revenue settlement surely it was not impossible to codify in all provinces the principles which should guide a Settlement Officer in revising the assessment, and to give even a restricted right of appeal from executive authority in such matters. Something could also have been done to lighten the intolerable burden of agricultural indebtedness, possibly in the direction of financing Co-operative Credit in some small measure. But after all, when God created man, He did not provide him with the hide of a rhinoceros or the paw of a tiger. He gave him Reason and that has proved sufficient for combating the forces of Nature and for the preservation and development of the species. If the Government had undertaken to make primary education both free and compulsory, at least for the agriculturists, they would have conferred on them the boon of boons. All that we can now hope is that it may yet come and the Government may allow the Hon Mr Gokhale's Bill in a modified and improved form to be piloted safely into port. Otherwise, what would 50 lakhs be for the nearly 300 million people of British India? The estimated expenditure of Government during the current year is £78,640,200, out of which Education gets no more than £2,225,000 or less than 3 per cent. Baroda, it may be mentioned, spends 10 per cent. of its net receipts on Education. Small as the annual educational grant is in itself, the addition of 50 lakhs as a special boon for one year would increase it by less than 15 per cent. and raise the proportion of educational expenditure from a little less to a little more than 3 per cent. of total expenditure. It is however, something to have the claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire acknowledged as "predominant."

WE HAVE had on several occasions to write in no uncertain language about the undue delay that has been made in collecting the necessary funds for the Moslem University. We have all along been of opinion that a little more care about organisation would have greatly accelerated the work of collection. Events, however, have in the meantime been happening, notable among them the Royal visit, which have naturally claimed much of the time and attention of the workers, and the pace has had, consequently, to be slowed down. It would be but bare justice to admit that what has already been done and achieved is creditable both to the workers and to the community. Eighteen lakhs is no small amount in all conscience, and its collection within eleven months from amongst a poor community like the Mussalmans, who had never been able to collect an equal amount in eleven years, is not an unworthy achievement. The jibes of a contemporary at the prospects of the Hindu and the Moslem University movements, —quoted with evident approval by the never-failing *Pioneer* —which are said to be languishing on account of lukewarm financial support, are no new examples of a petty wish becoming father to the thought. We may, however, assure our contemporary and its faithful henchman, the *Pioneer*, that both the Hindu and the Mussalman communities know their minds and have

yet faith in great and noble ideals. All vital movements in history have known their prophets of evil. They are perhaps necessary. It is, however, equally true that the path of success is paved with false prophecies. The University movements have become thoroughly communal. They have sunk deep into the intellectual consciousness of the people. They have evoked a measure of self-sacrifice and devotion never accorded to any other movement in modern India. They are bound to succeed. Now the question is simply one of ways and means. Promises for help have been made with unstinted generosity. In the case of the Moslem University, upwards of 18 lakhs have already been collected, and it should not be forgotten that the sum demanded at the outset was twenty lakhs. The required minimum has since been rising in amount and thirty-five lakhs are now required for the creation of an efficient University. If only the promises already made are realised in full, they will be quite enough for the purpose. We are sure the Moslem leaders will renew their activities without delay, put fresh energy into their efforts and complete the work of collection very soon. As the Hon. Sir S. H. Butler said at a meeting of the Mohamedan Educational Conference at Delhi, "It is now mainly a question of funds." We hope all those Mussalmans who have made generous promises in support of a great communal undertaking are fully alive to their responsibility. To refuse help to a good cause may be excused on the score of difference of ideal or eccentricity of temperament. But no excuse can help to wipe away the shame and humiliation of an unfulfilled promise.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S latest speech on Persia in the House of Commons during the debate on the Foreign estimates, read along with his apologia of Russian conduct in his famous statement on Persia.

"Morocco," places an entirely fresh construction on the policy and purpose of the Anglo-Russian Convention. This ill-fated diplomatic instrument was designed for the express purpose of defining purely economic spheres of interest that Russia and England were thought to possess in Persia. There was not a word in the Agreement that even remotely hinted at the exercise by either of the parties of any sort of political influence in their respective spheres of interests. Diplomatic pressure that naturally exists along with superior strength was not wholly wanting in Teheran, but in theory at least neither of the contracting parties had ever professed to derive any right of interference even from an illegal convention. Russia, however, had never made any pretence at disguising her designs of political aggression; and armed with the Convention she set about to deprive Persia of her sovereignty in the North. The protection of her "economic" interests justified all political coercion. This doctrine, utterly alien to the spirit and letter of the Convention, but absolutely inevitable in practice, even though such Conventions are primarily based on economic interests, was accepted by Sir Edward Grey when the Stokes affair was settled by his active help in favour of Russia. A frank avowal of the existence of the doctrine was yet to come, and it has been duly furnished by the British Foreign Minister in the two most important of his utterances. The "economic spheres" have been subtly converted into "political spheres"; and with this conversion has gone the independence of Persia, and her actual partition is now simply a question of expediency and circumstance. Let us should be supposed to unduly exaggerate the significance of Sir Edward Grey's statements, we quote once again the words of the British Representative at Teheran, with which he assured the Persian Government on 5th September 1907 in regard to the objective of the Convention. He said that "the object of the two Powers (Russia and England) in making this agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever, the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests." In face of this assurance what right had Russia or England to veto the appointment of Major Stokes? Is an independent country to be denied the right of appointing its officials? It is not merely an interference "on the pretext of safeguarding interest," but a political dragooning of the most despotic character. Then,

again, Persia has been reminded by Lord Morley that "it was madness to set up a system ignoring Russia and Great Britain." This reminder is little short of a declaration of a virtual protectorate. The economic interests have quietly merged into political spheres, which are inevitably leading to an absolute negation of Persia's sovereign rights. Sir Edward Grey has finally repudiated all obligations which the Convention was supposed to impose on Russia and England. The first and most important of these obligations was "to assure for ever the independence of Persia," or else the Declaration of Teheran was a shameless subterfuge. Yet Sir Edward Grey has been able to say in his statement that "if the agreement meant that we undertook to guarantee the integrity and independence of Persia, that would be substituting the Caucasus for the Indian frontier, and he would never have committed himself to such a course." And yet on the 4th September, 1907, the British Minister, Sir C. Spring-Rice, had informed the Persian Government that "this Convention . . . based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests." The contrast is eloquent enough and needs no comment of ours to expose the utter disregard of even elementary consistency in diplomatic relations. Sir Edward Grey's words have changed the spirit of the pledges so solemnly given to Persia. They have killed the original Convention and substituted for a mutual understanding that was never binding, the supremacy and unflinching thoroughness of the Russian will. But apart from the cynicism that has brushed aside all obligations entered into by treaty and verbal declarations, the argument about the "Caucasus" serves to show how demoralising a partnership with an unscrupulous Power can become. If Sir Edward Grey was too feeble or powerless to keep Russia within the Caucasus, why in the name of all that is sane did he ever enter into a bargain with such exacting and masterful a partner? No confession of weakness could be more humiliating or helpless. If the North of Persia is to sink into the status of a Central Asian Khanate, let not Sir Edward lay the soothing unction to his soul that he threatened all protests against his attitude in the House of Commons into silence, by a portentous reference to "larger issues of policy." Larger issues will only then come into play when the Indian frontier will be watched by Cossacks. Meanwhile he may play into the hands of Russia, and bless the *Times* that does not think Persia's liberty to be worth the life of a single British grenadier. One would have thought a nation's honour was worth the lives of many regiments.

THE meeting of the Women's Education Section of the Mohamedan Educational Conference had the unique distinction of being presided over this year by Her Highness, the Begum of Bhopal. This generous and liberal-minded Princess has done

a good deal for the promotion of women's education in her own dominions, and what little success the movement has achieved at Aligarh, is principally due to Her Highness's liberality. We hope the active sympathy and encouragement shown by the premier lady of Moslem India will rouse Mussalman gentlemen of light and leading to a sense of their enormous responsibility and make them resolutely set themselves to the task of organising women's education. Another interesting feature of the meeting at Delhi was the addresses given by two cultured Hindu ladies, Mrs. Naidu and Sarola Devi Chaudhrani. The Mussalmans, we are sure, fully appreciated the sympathy of these ladies with the cause of their Moslem sisters and listened with pleasure to their impassioned appeals on behalf of the education of women and of Hindu-Moslem unity. The address of Sarola Devi Chaudhrani, in fact, dealt mainly with the latter question. Whatever may be said about her views, we cannot but admire the courage with which she held forth on some of the most delicate aspects of the question in a Moslem assembly. Such boldness has in it the makings of a suffragette and we cannot but regard it as full of happy augury for the Sex in India. Coming to the work of the Section, we are sorry to note that Mr. Sheikh Abdullah, who has been in charge of it, had absolutely no progress to report about the work of

the whole year. A number of platitudes, strung together with impromptu conclusions and retailed in an apologetic tone to a bored audience, are scarcely creditable to their author. It would seem as if the Honorary Secretary either does not realise the importance of the work under his charge, or cannot organise it in detail with sustained effort and capacity throughout the year. The only thing sure and definite that he said was a wish to have girls' schools and boarding-houses opened after the fashion of England. This craze for an English model is not new, but unhappily there is neither rhyme nor reason in it but a pure personal freak. Women's education in England has been organised on lines suitable for the requirements of English girls. It is precisely because the needs of Moslem girls are different from their European sisters that we shall have to organise women's education here on entirely independent lines. The Boarding-house system is entirely unsuited to the peculiar needs of Moslem girls and a Girton or a Nuneham is not an ideal for the Mussalmans to imitate. We are sure that, even with the best possible arrangements for instruction and Purdah, very few Moslem parents will be found ready to send their daughters to Aligarh. What is really wanted is a Normal School for the training of female teachers, who would go back after finishing their course of instruction and training to different towns and cities to take up the work of teaching in Mohalla Makhtabs. This should be the ideal to be aimed at. It not only indicates the lines of least resistance, but also offers no great practical difficulties. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, in his comments in the *Institute Gazette* on one of our notes on the subject, himself admits the suitability of this plan of work and quotes the opinions of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk and other "leaders of the community" in its support. A girls' teaching school as distinct from a training school for governesses will not only never prosper, but is as clearly undesirable. The greatest need at this stage is to prepare trained female teachers. But they will not be created by good intentions. God is always waiting to help if only the people themselves are willing to make up their minds and work with energy and intelligence. Both of these qualities have been sadly lacking in the movement for Moslem women's education. After years of clamour and debate, the movement is hardly yet out of its infancy. We cannot but think that they only are to blame who are responsible for its conduct. They are apparently very sensitive and resent even the ghost of a suggestion of outside help. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur will himself, we hope, be ready to admit that those who happened to show "interest and sympathy" in the work were turned out of Aligarh counsels. We honestly believe that Mr. Sheikh Abdullah has not proved himself to be a successful Female Education Secretary, and that under other control much better results could have been achieved within a shorter time. We would be the first to acknowledge with gratitude the great services which Mrs. Sheikh Abdullah and her sisters have rendered to the Girls' School at Aligarh. Needless to say we would have been the first to congratulate the Honorary Secretary himself, if his work had been equally satisfactory and successful. But we are loth to merge the personality of the Sheikh Sahib in that of his better half, just as we are unwilling to concede that because the local Trustees of the Aligarh College can manage its affairs indifferently well, their wives can *pro facto* manage those of the Female Education Section as well, if not better.

* TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Through Haji Syed Kasim Sahib of Vizianagram Messrs. Haji Pacha & Co.; Haji Syed Qasim Sahib, Merchant of Warangal; Mohamed-bhai Rahmatulla & Co., Abdul Ghani Sahib, Merchant; Mohamed Kasim and Abdul Karim Sahib, Merchants, Aga Mohamed Ibrahim Sahib Khooni; Ahmed Husain Sahib, Merchant; Rs. 20 each ...	140	0	0
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M. Zawwar Husain, Esq., Kalabagh ...	1	0	0
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Mohamed Yusuf, Esq., Patna ...	23	12	0
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M. S. Sharvany, Esq., Bilonia, Aligarh ...	40	0	0
Nazir Husain, Esq., Ranchi ...	10	0	0
Through Mohamed Sahib, Esq., Bangalore An-juman-i-Mufidunniswan, Ladies of Qazi Mohalla ...	30	0	0
Through Moulavi M. Sadaqatullah Sahib, Benares ...	75	0	0
M. Ibrahim, Esq., Bangalore ...	1	0	0
Abdur Rahman Adhami, Esq., Allahabad ...	7	0	0
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Nasiruddin, Esq., Patna ...	6	0	0
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Nathu Sahib, do. ...	1	8	0
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Amirul Huq, Esq., Wakil, do. ...	1	8	0
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S. Ali Karim, Esq., do. ...	3	6	0
S. M. Nazir Alum, Esq., do. ...	1	8	0
M. Khuda Baksh, Esq., do. ...	2	0	0
M. Mohamed Ishaq, Esq., do. ...	3	12	0
M. Waezul Huq, Esq., do. ...	0	8	0
M. Zahurul Huq, Esq., do. ...	2	0	0
Shaikh Afzal Husain, Esq., do. ...	7	9	0
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Ladies of Asthayan ...	40	7	0
Children of Athai Husain, Esq., Sasaram ...	6	6	0
Qazi Najmuddin Ahmed Sahib, Meerut ...	1,000	0	0
Musharrafullan, Esq., Calcutta ...	1	0	0
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Haji Sahib do. ...	25	0	0
Abdul Hamid, Esq. do. ...	20	0	0
A Mahomedan Lady do. ...	25	0	0
Fazle Rahim, Esq. do. ...	10	0	0
Master Bu Nasr Md Ehtishamul Huq Khan do. ...	1	0	0
Sale proceeds of Qurban Skins do. ...	17	4	0
A Student do. ...	1	2	0
Akbar Sahab, Mistri do. ...	0	8	0
Mohamed Ali Sahab, Cooly do. ...	0	2	0
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A. M. Mohamed Ahsan, Esq., do. do. ...	4	0	0
and his brothers, do. do. ...	2	0	0
Najmur Rahman, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Amnuddin Ahmed, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
B. W. M. Abdur Rahman, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
M. A. Rab, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Mohibuddin Ahmed, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Saifuddin Ahmed, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
M. Abdus Samad, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Mohamed Hasan, Esq., Elliott Hostel do. ...	3	0	0
Janaluddin Ahmed, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
M. Ibrahim, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
M. Yasin, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Tayab Ali, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Mohamed Faig, Esq., do. do. ...	1	0	0
Rahimuddin, Esq., do. do. ...	0	8	0
Petty sums do. do. ...	10	0	0

	1,964	14	0
Less rebates on various cheques ...	1	0	2
Amount received during the fortnight ...	1,963	13	10
Amount previously acknowledged ...	1,634	2	0
TOTAL	3,329	15	10

* See page 581 for Corrigenda.

The Comrade.

The Announcement.

II.

LAST WEEK we criticised at some length the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government for carrying out two great schemes of far-reaching consequences, but indicated fairly clearly our general support of those measures taken each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes. The transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi is, we venture to think, a measure which would meet with unanimous approval, if we except the vested interests of Calcutta which stand to lose considerably. The Hindus of Bengal are in a fix, and no amount of florid manifestoes or torchlight processions can disguise the patent fact that to them the announcement is one of those peculiar morsels which can neither be swallowed nor thrown out. They have scored a victory in the modification of the Partition, but the victory has been gained at a cost which may in after times be found to be heavier than many a defeat. There are other vested interests also, such as those of the non-official European community of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and we shall be much mistaken if, in spite of its many sermons to "natives" on the evils of agitation and the virtues of moderation, it will not out-Herod Herod in condemning the transfer of the Capital. But India as a whole stands to gain by that measure and we hope to discuss later certain aspects of the transfer in greater detail.

To-day we intend to turn the searchlight towards the question of the Partition and its modification, though we cannot exhaust the subject in this article. We have held with a very large number of others, both Indians and Englishmen, that some kind of Partition was a crying necessity in 1905. But it has always been our belief that the most satisfactory arrangement was certainly not the one which Lord Curzon effected. Its greatest merit was that it freed a very large Moslem population in Eastern Bengal from the crushing yoke of Hindu domination, while it gave to the neglected half of Bengal a separate administration to look after its vital concerns. And we are constrained to say that, apart from the opposition of the monopolist to a reduction of his share of loaves and fishes, which would have been the consequence of any reduction of the area of the monopoly, the Partition of 1905 met with an unparalleled hostility chiefly because the yoke was lifted from the sore necks of the Mussalmans. But it is undeniable that linguistic and ethnic considerations were entirely opposed to the form which Lord Curzon's Partition assumed, and this supplied to the opponents of any form of Partition a rational basis for hostility to the measures carried out by a despotic and somewhat vindictive Viceroy. Had the Partition come in 1905 in the form which it has taken in 1911, it would still have been opposed, no doubt; but it would then have been opposed much less vehemently and with not a shred of reasonableness. Administrative measures are not always essentially ethical in character, and the line of least resistance which the moralist must ignore should often commend itself to the practical administrator. Had Lord Curzon's Government followed those lines the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal would still have been to a great extent labouring under the same load as they had patiently borne so long. But we venture to think that by depriving the anti-Partition agitation of its sole basis in fact, the Government would have also reduced the volume and force of that agitation. That Lord Curzon did not choose to do so was a blunder, and both the people and the Government have paid dearly for that blunder.

But it is not so easy to correct administrative blunders as it is to commit them. It is not always possible for Governments to sin in a hurry and repent at leisure. It will serve no useful purpose to discuss in greater detail what might have been. We must, therefore, concentrate our attention on what has been, what is, and what

should be. To-day the Government of India have issued a *fiat* that the old Partition should be annulled and a new one carried out. We have already dealt with the manner in which the Government have acted and we shall only add that in undoing the Partition of Lord Curzon they have adopted a despotic procedure from which even Lord Curzon would have shrunk. His Partition was carried out on the 16th October 1905, but he began his attempt to carry public opinion along with him in the middle of a heavy legislative session as early as in 1904. He found time for a tour through the districts most directly affected by his territorial redistribution. At Chittagong, at Dacca and at Mymensingh he gave exhaustive expositions of his measure. Even then public opinion attributed to Lord Curzon and Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Middleton)—and rightly so—a desire to rush through a far-reaching scheme of Partition. What is, then, one to say of the Government of Lord Hardinge and of the Marquis of Crewe, who never gave an opportunity to the public to have the least say in the matter, and have asked it to face another "accomplished fact" in December, in a matter for the first time referred to the Secretary of State towards the end of September, and breathlessly accepted by him in November? If this is not the homeopathy of despotism we know not what epithet to apply to it.

The Partition of Lord Curzon could have been rightly modified only on either of two grounds. It could have been declared to have been unrighteous and inequitable in its motives or administratively unsound in its consequences. But, as we shall show later, neither of these contentions have been put forward by the Government or their feeble echo, the Secretary of State. It is true that the Government of India have haltingly attempted to show that the opposition was "at first based mainly on sentimental grounds," but that "since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and especially of the representative element in them the grievance of the Bengalis has become much more real and tangible." It is "no longer a matter of mere sentiment" but "one of undeniable reality." We suppose the Government felt that they were required to produce some "new fact" to upset the "settled fact" before they could satisfy the conditions imposed on the Bengalis by Lord Morley, and in their search for that rarity discovered that only the enlargement of the legislatures could be pressed into service if the "bomb" had to be scrupulously avoided. We heartily sympathise with the difficulties of the Government and are even prepared to say that it was not abject fear that mainly actuated them to modify the Partition. But the last factor which could have entered into their calculations was the reforms. It is true that Lord Curzon could not have contemplated them, but, then, Lord Morley had them clearly at the back of his mind when he refused to touch the Partition even with a pair of tongs. Moreover, the reforms have not converted a majority into a minority or *vice versa*. When the Hindus of Bengal became minorities both in Eastern and Western Bengal, their influence became that of minorities, albeit educated, wealthy, solid and assertive minorities. The reforms only affected them so far as to make all representation direct as well as more extensive. If anything, the reforms provided safeguards for minorities of which the Hindus of Bengal could have availed themselves if they had chosen. The "substantial grievance" of the Hindus of Bengal that as minorities they "can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture" is one which is shared with them by Mussalmans in most other parts of India. In Sindhi, for instance, the Mussalmans cannot exercise the influence to which their wealth and numbers entitle them, because they are yoked to the wholly dissimilar provinces of Guzerat and Deccan in the Bombay Presidency, and not joined to Baluchistan and Western Punjab, to which linguistic and ethnic affinity point as the proper yoke-fellows of Sindhi. In short, there never was a question of equity and righteousness—to which, we are told, no law of limitation is applicable—as far as the Parti-

tion was concerned. But if there existed these supreme ethical considerations, then, we submit, that the time to pay heed to them was soon after the 5th of December, 1905, when the Liberals came into power, even if the Unionists had passed them by on the 16th October of the same year. "Honest John," who cared for these things, had succeeded Mr. St. John Brodrick, the heedless Gallio of the Unionists. The British Government could then have reconsidered the question in all its bearings, and could have soothed the qualms of conscience by stepping forward boldly and announcing that even if they had not always been as wise as Solomon and had sometimes blundered badly, they were honest enough and bold enough to confess their blunders and rectify them. Then all this waste of Indian money and official energy, all this Bengali agitation, and consequent anarchy would have been prevented. But then Lord Morley, although he did not share with Lord Curzon the belief that the "inconvenient storm of public opinion" was "machine-made" and "the work of political wire-pullers and political agitators," and although he was disposed to agree with those who thought that the Hindus of Bengal had in their minds "a distinct feeling that they were going to suffer a great wrong and inconvenience," declared that the Partition could not be annulled or modified, and, in the words of the *Bengalee*, showed that it was immaterial whether Liberals or Conservatives were in power, that there was but one party which governs India—in which all distinctions between Liberals and Conservatives and Unionists are merged—the party which will not re-consider a mistake, even if admitted as such, on the ground that it was a "settled fact." Our contemporary wrote at the time that "to-day we stand in the unhappy position of having lost all faith in both political parties in England. If Mr. Morley can act so, what may we not expect of others, of men who have never cared for principles in politics and who have made office the aim of their ambition?" Would that we could assure our contemporary that the faith lost through a Morley has been restored at last—at long last—through a Crewe. It is not because the Partition of a Curzon was unjust and inequitable that the Partition of a Hardinge has been sanctioned by the same Liberal Government.

If not inequitable in its motive and design, has it been a failure in its consequences? Unless we believe in a statement which is either too rebelliously original to be true or too platitudinous to be useful in practice, the Government do not acknowledge failure. By publishing a despatch obviously intended from the very beginning for public consumption in India rather than for converting a sceptical or unbelieving Secretary of State and Cabinet in England, the Government have deprived themselves not only of the chance of being glorified as intensely righteous, but also of an opportunity of establishing their courageous candour in confessing error. There is not a word in the whole despatch about the financial embarrassment of the administration, the unsatisfactory result of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or about the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca. The Partition is acknowledged to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view." It is stated to have relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal and to have given "the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal" advantages and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share." But when a paragraph or two later, the Government of India come to "sum up," they declare with the utmost boldness that "the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realised." That is a judgment which none but a despotic bureaucracy could have inferred from the premises that "much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam" and that "the Muhammadans of that province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them." We fear we can see in this reversion and the reasoning that is expected to recommend it neither righteousness nor the saving grace of a sturdy common-sense.

What then has induced the Government to modify the Partition? Is it fear? One of the four indispensable requirements of a settle-

ment which would be "satisfactory and conclusive" is, according to the Government themselves, that it "must be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation." This is so obviously true that we would not have even referred to it had not the Government done their mighty best to disprove it themselves. How else is one to interpret para. 9 of the despatch of the Government of India? It says:

Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has no doubt benefited greatly by the Partition and the Muhammadans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal.

Again, in para. 13, the Government of India, referring to the Partition, state that

It relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out, it was deeply resented by the Bengalis.

In para. 15 also the "violent hostility" of the Bengalis is the dominant theme.

Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Muhammadans of that province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis.

In effect the Government wish us to believe that although the new Province had benefited greatly from the Partition, and that justice was at last done to its Moslem population which is loyal and contented, all these advantages were sufficiently counterbalanced by "the resentment among the Bengalis," by "the bitterness of feeling" which was "very widespread and unyielding," and by their "violent hostility," to have induced the Government to modify the Partition in the manner in which they have done. If these clear statements to the direct contrary are sufficient "to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour and agitation," then surely words have lost their meaning or mankind has lost its senses. After all, the test of these things is not the convictions of the Government but what the people themselves believe, and if the Government wish to verify their own opinions and beliefs, they have not far to go. To use the immortal phrase of Lord Macaulay, which, however, has lost some of its force in these days in Bengal, "every schoolboy knows" that it is "clamour and agitation" that have exacted the modification of the Partition. It is impossible to convince any sane Indian to-day that "clamour and agitation" do not pay in Indian politics. Some are even inclined to think that agitation gains rather than loses if it has a slight flavour of force, and, more for the sake of our own countrymen than of our Government, we trust that even if the main proposition is universally accepted, the mischievous rider would prove wholly unconvincing.

But whatever influence "clamour and agitation" may have had, we are convinced that they do not form the main motive of the measure. For it is not the modification of the Partition but the transfer of the metropolis that has been mainly aimed at. For reasons which the Government of India have explained fairly frankly, though not exhaustively, they decided to shift the Capital from Calcutta, and in order to do this with as little opposition from Bengal as possible they discovered in the modification of the Partition the necessary sugar-coating for a bitter pill. That fatal doctrine with which European foreign politics has familiarised us to the extent of downright moral contempt, has, it seems, now peacefully penetrated itself into internal administration as well. It was the great Doctrine of Compensation which gave Morocco to France, and all

but gave Tripoli to Italy. To-day it gives the rescission of the Partition to Bengal. This is the full significance of the opening sentence of the Government of India's despatch, and the true explanation of the reasons why these "two questions of great political moment" are in their opinion "indissolubly linked together." As His Majesty's announcement declares, it is only "as a consequence of that transfer" that the Partition is modified. In para. 7 of their despatch, the Government openly declare that the Bengalis "should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are *specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment.*" It is the "proposal to make Delhi the future Capital of India" that is "the keystone of the whole project," and in spite of all that is said about the widespread and unyielding bitterness of feeling in Bengal, the Government of India were not at all prepared to modify the Partition if Delhi was not made the capital. "According as it is accepted or not our scheme must stand or fall." In other words, the ideal Partition is not like virtue its own reward, but only the price of a transfer of the Capital. The Marquis of Crewe is even franker, and in para. 7 of his despatch states openly that it is no more than "the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment" for "the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." The cat is at last out of the bag! But, then, why all this long drawn sermon on the genesis and results of the Partition, and the sanctimonious talk of Bengalis "labouring under a sense of real injustice which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay"? It is bad enough to treat the people as a pack of school children, but worse still to believe them to be fools as well.

Now, it is characteristic of the Doctrine of Compensation that it must not be paid out of one's plenty but out of the bare necessities of one's poorest neighbour. And India has been no exception to the rule. As Shelley had said, here, too,

The weak one is singled
To endure what it once possessed

The Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, to whose claims we shall refer in detail in a later issue, were the only people who happened to be "loyal and contented." What could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few worldly belongings in order to load the discontented if not disloyal Paul with rewards and compensations? The Mussalmans have no *Panther* to send to Agadir, and it is too well established a rule of diplomacy that no *Panther*, no compensation!

Peace on Earth.

"The time draws near the birth of Christ." Two days hence, on the morning of the 25th December, Christians of all races and climes will wake up to a festival of time-honoured solemnity and joy. Family hearths will sparkle with cheer, and the customary festivities will mark the day, as of yore, amid dance and song and mirth and the ringing of the merry bells of Yule. The devout will seek a new spiritual birth in communion with the spirit of the Lord. Christian Churches in their thousands will chant forth from their cloisters the glad tidings of peace and goodwill to all mankind.

Never was the great Message of the Prince of Peace more needed by the sinful denizens of this earth than it is to-day. Jesus of Nazareth came to heal the wounds of a pagan world that was torn and bleeding under the ruthless might and greed of selfish Rome. He taught men to remember their Covenant, to rise out of their dark and dingy horizons and embrace the whole world as kin, to cast out selfishness and not to trespass against their fellow men, to live in peace and goodwill on earth, for only those that are meek in spirit and hunger for righteousness shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven. The divine message brought infinite hope and healing to the bruised heart of man. It lifted him out of the sorrow that was speechless and anguish that was dumb. The spirit of a new born gladness began

to move over the face of the earth. From the prince to the lowly dweller of the cottage all felt the joy of resurrection and in their very intoxication of joy began to see in the image of the Master a Divine promise for the millennium. The new dispensation began to work its way into the daily lives of men and led to a new synthesis, which under the orthodox title of Christianity has permanently shaped the lives of a large portion of mankind. In the course of 1,900 years it has undergone strange mutations under the stress of secular forces, but it is still a vital creed and satisfies the hearts of millions.

Whether a religious belief creates the secular environment for human activities or is itself but a creature of the environment, we need not pause here to consider. To us, the only matter of interest on the eve of the solemn Festival that is held to celebrate the birth of Christ, is to see how far the spirit of his teaching enters into the lives and conduct of those who accept him as Divine guide. It happens at this stage of human history that the Christian nationalities of Europe dominate, to a very large extent, the destinies of mankind. They hold most of the sources of knowledge and power. Their scientific and industrial achievements, their political evolution which has led to infinite material wellbeing, the immense sweep and variety of their thought embodied in sciences, arts and literatures of growing beauty and power have given them the position of the over-lord in international affairs. All the non-Christian races are either under their direct guidance and control or subject to their indirect but powerful influence. They have fixed the type and tone of modern civilisation and have set the pace to all human endeavour. Their thoughts, manners, customs and institutions, their methods of work and industry, their weapons of peace as well as of war are finding their way into every country, however different in social and political practice and dissimilar in ethical conceptions and faith. Europe is the home of ideas, the source of light, the envied model that the rest of the world is consciously or unconsciously copying with feverish energy and pride. Is Christian Europe itself true to its ideal? Has the Divine Message still the sanctity of a covenant or has it sunk to a mere convention more honoured in the breach than in the observance?

A spiritual creed after the rough and tumble of a long struggle with mundane forces cannot but lose some of its pristine vigour and inspiration. The indomitable conviction that braced the believer for the torture-agony of being broken on the wheel or burnt at the stake may not have lost its idealism, but it has lost much of its fervour. The blood of the martyr is no longer the seed of the Church, for no blood is spilled now either in defence of a dogma or in fighting against heresy. Christian Europe thinks too much and believes at discretion. The irresponsible freedom of doubt has its attractions, and no one would willingly thrust his head into the noose of some highly exacting principle. A well-groomed man of culture should have a keen, fastidious and critical sense of humour, and whatever else he may tolerate, he should despise all enthusiasms as freaks of underbred and ill-balanced minds. Toleration has lost all its ancient grace and meaning. The fanatic thought the unbeliever to be fit only for Hell and damnation, but he left it to God to punish the heretic, and meanwhile tolerated his existence. But the modern man of culture has no strength of belief to tolerate unbelief. He has grown indifferent even to his own indifference.

The unchartered freedom of thought and of chance desires that characterises all the intellectual and spiritual tendencies of the most advanced societies of modern Europe, may lead one to imagine that the absence of religious fanaticism and bigotry is exactly the atmosphere for the growth of universal brotherhood and peace. Nothing of the kind, however, can be at all possible in such an atmosphere. Liberty and peace can thrive only within well-defined limits, whether those limits are set by state or religion. Spiritual anarchy gives place to the pettier but far more grinding tyranny of fashion. Europe has smashed its spiritual dogmas, but it has failed

children and their imperfect education ; of the haphazard development and organisation of knowledge and of other myriads matters vitally important for human welfare, which would take Mr. Stead's breath away. But the thing he would be most anxious to know would naturally be the character of human aims and ideals. He would speak of human religions, and after hearing an eloquent exposition of the teachings of Christ from Mr. Stead, he would wonder why such glorious rules of conduct were not observed in practice. Human nature was imperfect and slowly grew and learnt by failures and misdirections. But after two thousand years to have to confess that Christian ideals were as yet no better than pulpit orations and Sunday sermons, was a matter of infinite pity for mankind. Speaking of the diversity of human beliefs he would remark that the Martians had attained to a unity of religious conception, but that if men might still differ about their Heavens they could surely unite for the purposes of common existence on the Earth. The amelioration of the conditions of life, the growth of creature comforts, the progress of knowledge, the disappearance of distress, poverty and disease would be equally beneficial for all. It was almost intolerable to him to have to feel that man could hate and persecute his fellowman for different conceptions of the life-purpose, that Mussulmans or Hindus were despised by Christians or by each other on account of their faiths, that a Jew could be tortured and done to death because he was a Jew. Yet this was the daily fare of the life of humanity on this planet. The Martian would be torn by alternate feelings of pity and despair. And while the spectacle of humanity, grovelling amidst wars, famines, aggressions, labour strifes and conflicts, economic and material waste, squalor, disease and misery would move him deeply, a sermon on "The Triumph of Civilisation" by a Liberal Bishop of Italy, the servant of Jesus Christ, would drive him in despair back to Mars. If the message of the Prince of Peace has failed to influence the Christian civilisation of modern Europe, the Martian visitor might perhaps move his Society to send a mission to promote "peace on earth and goodwill among mankind."

The unearthly visitor might even speak of the organisation of life in cities, their dinginess, their gray discomforts and their slums ; of the consequent stunted growth of the race ; of the division of labour and its manifest cavelties and absurdities ; of the chance rearing of

We regret that owing to misprints and clerical mistakes the following errors have crept into the announcements of contributions to the Turkish Relief Fund

* Mr. Jafarullah's contribution had already been announced in the previous issue.
† Mr. Mo'jameed Hanif of Aligarh contributed Rs. 20 and not Rs. 50.

Storm.

Not often. Love had days informed with life
Intense. World-ignorant, in sooth, we were ;
Haply heart-ignorant ; we dared explore
Love's utmost reaches, guideless in the strife
With new desires ; nor feared to brave the strife
Of rolling waves on passion's restless shore.



The Battle of the Boons.

By OUR SPECIAL WAR CORRESPONDENT, GENERAL GUP, G.U.P.
K.I.C.K., K.N.O.C.K., K.I.L.L., OF THE "GAOL OR
GLORY BOYS" REGIMENT.

ON THE 12th day of December, your Special War Correspondent, whenever tests at scars although he never felt a wound—excepting the rather formidable gashes inflicted by the maternal barber—turned his martial footsteps towards the great battleplain of Delhi. It was here that according to "the sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history", and are about as reliable as the "authentic war news" published by the Italians in the year of their disgrace, 1911,—it was here, I say—and so say the Government of India, whom you may disbelieve at your peril—that "the Pandava Princes fought out with the Kurawas the epic struggle recorded in the Mahabharata." It was here that the Great Battle raged for 18 days, at the end of which both parties snored peacefully like brothers, having been gorged by brotherly blood, of which, being thicker even than camp water, they had drunk bucketsfull.

But even the glories of that Great Battle pale into insignificance and fade from the stencil-plates of memory in comparison with the tragic encounter that I am about to describe. Ever since His Majesty had expressed his intention of visiting this Imperial City more than a year ago, the mobilization of the Boons had commenced. It was not only the Regulars like "Relief from All Taxation" and "Disbandment of the British Army" that were called out. Reservists and Redifs of all colours and complexions had also begun to flock to the flagstaff on the Ridge; whence the combatants were to descend to the Amphitheatre. Even old veterans that had been believed to be dead and buried these fifty years, such as the "Restoration of Oudh," limped into view many months before the day of battle. Unborn babes also, such as the "Prevention of Cow-killing," ill-conceived and of doubtful parentage, were struggling for an entry into the lists of Boons. The "Royal Viceroys" of the Gaekwar and the Aga Khan was pompously parading on the royal road to Delhi, while Kurr Hardie's "Labour Republic" and Dr. Rutherford's "Imperial Duma" were reconnoitring in the neighbourhood. Sujut Suren Babu's "United Bengal" and Bhupen Babu's "Modification" were also struggling for some coin of vantage. Nor was "Behar for the Beharis" absent from this animated scene. U. P.'s "Council Government," the Punjab's "High Court" and Nawab Salimullah's "Further Vivisection of Bengal" and the "Abolition of Scaldah Station" were among the sturdy warriors. Some had guns and muskets; others swords, and lances, and battle-axes. But the Mild Hindu carried a Bill of his own in his hands with something of the valour of Maharashtra and Bal Gungadhar Tilak. The Moslem League sometimes fraternised surreptitiously with the Mild Hindu and sometimes marched far in advance of the Congress vanguard under the banner of a "Sandhurst for Gatekeepers and Opium-eaters." "Indian Volunteers" hustled the "Repeal of the Arms Act", and brushed past "Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations." "Free Salt" mustered strong, and the Barons of Oudh had hastily equipped a "Sixty Years' Revision" failing an up-to-date "Permanent Settlement." "Pensions for Patriotic Political Prisoners" rubbed shoulders with the Nizam's "His Majesty" and the Maharaja of Durbhanga's "His Highness". But among all these Boons Rampant the "Serene Highness" of Mir Jafar's Direct Descendant was enjoying a splendid isolation.

tion "Presidentships of the Railway Board for Railway Guards" vied with "Director-Generalships for Telegraph Signallers" in valour and with "Surgeon-Generalships for Military Assistant Surgeons" in indiscretion. But striding ahead of all were the "Pasteur Institute for the Py dog" and a "Substantial Subsidy for the Statesman."

Equipped with a telescope for Big Boons and a microscope for Small Boons and a megaphone to hear the still small voice of H. E. your Special War Correspondent proceeded towards the Amphitheatre, a mightier arena than the Coliseum for the display of gladiatorial prowess and a sterner battlefield than the plain of Kurukshetra for the test of martial valour. When the trumpeters had ended their ride on prancing palfreys and had finished blowing their own trumpets and beating their big drums, the English Herald read in English the Proclamation of His Majesty, and the "Moslem Herald" hurst the tympanums of our unprotected ears with his full-throated Punjabi-Urdu, improved by an occasional million of Pushtoon gutturals from the Borderland. Then began the fray, and Boon after Boon was smitten hip and thigh by the valiant little band of H. E. The Mild Hindu's Bill protected "Universal Primary Education" only so far that the baby knight of the Lecture-Room was allowed to encroach stealthily on the monopoly of the veteran knight of the Barrack-Room. Many soldiers and civilians found that their Calendar for purposes of pay had somehow got an *adhik mas* of 15 days' duration. Orders of British India were littered everywhere and were picked up not only by the Frontier Militia and the Military Police but also by the Imperial Service Troops. But social reformers were severely injured by unexpected shot. Assignments of allowances of the Order of Merit, which gave to widows of soldiers a three years' probation for securing a husband, extended the period to death, and thus removed the dire necessity of seeking the earlier calamity of a second lord and master. And "Victoria Cross," the darling of the subalterns, rested contentedly after the fray on the sooty bosoms of Indian warriors. Locality on the frontier got *Jagirs* and *Munfis*. Locality in the interior was rewarded with relief from *Nazars* on succession to States and remission of debts. Prisoners went romping about twitting the C.I.D., while Gratitudes lauded the justice of a new Daniel come to judgment who let off Antonios heart-whole and yet gave their pound of flesh to the Shylocks. "The Old Curiosity Shop" of ancient learning got a new lease of life, and the Khan Bahadurs who needed no "distinctive badge" to mark them off from mankind at last found their one desideratum, "honour and respect." As Mark Antony has it, "So are they all, all honourable men!"

But all these great victors in the battle of Boons were such lean and puny creatures that the beholders wondered by what miracle they had vanquished the mighty foes that opposed them. Little did they know that although some formidable foes had become *hors de combat*, the real victor had yet to be ushered in by His Majesty himself—the unknown Knight who entered into the lists in this Ivanho, Delhi the Disinherited, that won at long last the prize of an Empire's Capital from the King of Justice and the Queen of Beauty. Bhupen Babu winked with one eye and wept with the other when his "Modification" came limping behind. But "loyal and sturdy Behar" stole away a prize in the scramble, and the "loyal and contented Mussalmans" of Ehsanman were left to console themselves with the goose-and-sea-fish of the *Nizam Bahadur*. Poor Ehsanman had wanted a Boon—and a good one. That is how modern Governments purchase Peace with Honours!

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Tripoli.—The Italians have advanced and occupied the seaport of Tajura. Numbers of Arabs submitted without fighting.

It is stated in Constantinople that the question of the Dardanelles is now considered as shelved.

The Egyptian Government has sent a company of soldiers to occupy Sollum district of Barca (Tripoli), which Turkey has temporarily ceded to Egypt till the end of the war.

Reuter wired from Mombassa on 16th December.—Owing to the hostility of Mahomedans at Zanzibar the Italian mail boats have ceased calling there.

Reuter states there are no grounds for the exaggerated reports with reference to the despatch of Egyptian troops to the Sollum district of Barca, the action being merely due to the recent decision of the Egyptian Government to establish a frontier post in Sollum within the Egyptian boundary.

The Nationalist journal *Al Alam* has been suspended for three months for violent attacks on the Government.

Reuter wires from Rome that the Italians made a strong reconnaissance on the 19th instant and attempted to surprise and surround the enemy occupying the oasis beyond Ain Zara. The enemy, however, was stronger than expected, numbering over 3,000. Fighting went on all night, the enemy finally retiring. The Italians had 86 casualties. Severe fighting broke out on 16th December at Iserna when two thousand Turks made two separate attacks on Italian troops, who were constructing defence works. The Italians, who lost three killed and twenty-four wounded, had to call up repeated reinforcements before they succeeded in driving off the Turks.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Sofia, November 18.

The revival of the famous "Internal Organization" in Macedonia is the direct result of the failure of Young Turk administration in that unhappy country. The Organization was founded in 1903 by two Macedonian Bulgars, Damian Grueff and Gotze Delcheff, who succeeded in welding together the various revolutionary bodies existing in Macedonia at that time. It has always been a purely Macedonian Society, refraining as a rule from co-operation with the revolutionary groups in Bulgaria, and proclaiming as its object the attainment of autonomy for Macedonia. From the date of its foundation till 1908 it practically exercised an *imperium in imperio* throughout the country, maintaining its own police and tribunals and levying contributions in the various *rayons* or districts which owned its sway. In July 1908 the chiefs of the Organization, being convinced of the sincerity of the Young Turks' promises, lent then aid to the military revolution, and in the following year several of them with their men participated in the march to Constantinople. For some months after this event the Organization practically suspended its activity, and to some extent became merged in the Bulgarian Constitutional clubs, which were at first recognized by the Young Turks, but were soon suppressed. The harsh measures subsequently adopted by the new régime and the cruelties practised during the disarmament of the Christian population, led to the revival of the network of secret societies which now extends over the whole country; the Internal Organization has resumed its former activity and preparations are being made for a terrorist campaign in the coming spring.

INDICTMENT OF THE YOUNG TURKS.

In a memorandum addressed to the Consuls of Great Britain, Austria Hungary, Russia and France in Macedonia the executive of the Internal Organization describes the Young Turk revolution of 1908 as a *coup de théâtre* designed to throw dust in the eyes of Europe with the object of getting rid of the control of the Powers in Macedonia. No effort has been made to ameliorate the condition of the subject population, which is described as more intolerable to-day than during the reign of Abdul Hamid. Pillage, assassination and the violation of women are of common occurrence; the Bulgarian cultivators are expelled from their farms to make room for Moslem immigrants; torture is systematically practised; Turkish bands are organized for the persecution of the more intelligent Christians; the Christians recruited for the Army are treated with brutality; forced contributions are exacted for the Fleet and for other objects; and a barbarous law has been illegally applied for the

suppression of revolutionary bands. Compared with the last four years of the Hamidian epoch, when European control existed and the country enjoyed a certain financial autonomy, the condition of the people is infinitely worse and their sufferings have increased.

The revolutionary movement, the document proceeds, which was suspended in 1908, has consequently revived. It was resumed last spring in certain districts owing to the atrocities committed during the disarmament; other districts remained quiet for tactical reasons approved by the Organization. After a struggle of 18 years the Organization retains its vitality. The Turkish Army, however effective it may be against a foreign foe, will avail nothing against discontent at home. Great sacrifice must be faced, but not greater than the sufferings now endured at the hands of the Turkish authorities. Experience has shown that orderly Government and equality of rights cannot be attained in any Turkish province until it has been withdrawn from the direct authority of Constantinople, and provided with autonomous institutions guaranteed by the Powers. For this reason the discontinuance of the reforming activity of the Powers and the abandonment of the Reval programme are to be deplored. The Internal Organization, the memorandum concludes, accepts the responsibility for the conflicts which have taken place with the Turkish forces during the last two years, and declares that henceforth it will carry on the struggle with all the means at its disposal in order to obtain autonomy for Macedonia.

Salonika, November 23.

In the course of a long and important interview Hadji Adil Bey—president of the Committee of Union and Progress—and Dr Nazim Bey have to-day informed me that:—

First, the war between Turkey and Italy cannot be terminated except by a solution favourable to Turkey. Secondly, whilst the action of Italy has undoubtedly produced a sentiment of antagonism amongst the Moslem population of the whole world towards Christian Europe, the Committee and the Turkish Government have done nothing to create a feeling of Pan Islamism in Turkey. Thirdly, Turkey has no intention of attacking Greece or any of her other Balkan neighbours.

During the last ten days I understand that at least 13,500 troops have been sent to Northern Albania. It is not clear here whether this measure has been taken with a view to possible hostilities with Montenegro or as a precaution against unforeseen events in Albania.

Rome, November 26.

THERE IS NO change in the situation at Tripoli. A desultory fire is still being maintained by the enemy against the eastern side of the Italian lines without any great effect. Such reconnaissances as have been made both by Cavalry and aeroplanes have failed to discover any large bodies of the enemy, who seem to be concentrated altogether at Ain Zara and the neighbouring oasis. The heavy guns of the *Carlo Alberto* are brought to bear on the further parts of the oasis whenever the wind permits the use of a captive balloon for the purpose of directing the fire.

Malta, November 29.

The *Ph* arrived here to-day bound for Tripoli with railway plant, rolling stock, and up-to-date machinery, including a new rail-laying machine. Some 400 sappers with a full complement of officers are on board. Another ship with further material is starting for Tripoli direct to-morrow.

Rome, November 30.

Details of one or two skirmishes are given in to-day's official report from Tripoli. The work of strengthening the new positions is being actively pushed forward in spite of frequent attempts on the part of the enemy to interrupt it. Yesterday the Bersaglieri and Grenadiers buried the bodies of the men killed in the action of the 23rd instant.

The Italian steamer *Citta de Catania* has captured off Capé Hadrian a Greek sailing ship named the *San Nicola* with contraband on board and has towed her to Benghazi. (Reuter.)

The Aden correspondent of the *Times of India* writing on the 2nd instant, says:—The situation in the Red Sea is growing more serious. According to advices received from Hodeida this morning by the Khedivial steamer, the Italian cruisers, *Staffetta* and *Calabro*, which have been stationed in Mossawa and Assad waters for some time, proceeded to the Turkish Coast of the Red Sea on the 30th November and opened fire on the Turkish port of Mocha and also on Yukhtel, lying a few hours from the former port, and destroying a good many buildings. From Mocha, the Italian warships went to Bab-Al-Mandab, and bombarded Shaikh Said, which is some distance from Perim. The Turks are reported to have

replied from the Shaikh Said forts, but the result is not yet known. According to Turkish despatches received in Hodeida, on the 1st instant, however, the Italian warship *Calabria* has been disabled and the other cruiser is said to have been sunk off Shaikh Said by Turkish shells from the Shaikh Said forts. It is said that the object of the Italians, in bombarding Mocha and the other Turkish places is to prevent an attack by the Turks in Mocha and Shaikh Said, on Rahaita, and the adjacent Italian places, which are some hours from Shaikh Said.

Shaikh Said is a fortress of some strategic importance, for it has several forts commanding the route to Mossawa, and other parts of the Coast of Erythraea. The garrison has now been strengthened. These forts are reported to have now been improved and have been equipped with more guns. It is also reported that over 2,000 Arab Volunteers enlisted in Taz and the surrounding places are being concentrated on the hinterland of Rahaita and it is not improbable that Rahaita may be attacked.

Moslem Feeling.

Under the auspices of the Anjumani-Mufidunnisvan a meeting of the women of Kazi Mohalla, Bangalore, was held in the premises of the late Khan Bahadur Mohammad Salih, in connection with the war in Tripoli. Speeches were made and prayers were offered for Turkish success in the war in Tripoli. The chief result of the meeting was the contribution of money in aid of the Turkish Relief Fund, which was sent to the *Comrade* Office.

At a recent meeting of the London All India Moslem League, the following Resolutions were passed —

1. That in view of the profound feeling of indignation at the Italian invasion of Tripoli, in violation of the Law of Nations, which, as the most recent reports coming from the East attest, is not confined to Mussulmans, and of the certainty that a continuance of the conflict will aggravate the bitterness on both sides, and that any extension of hostilities, as has been threatened by Italy, will add to the growing unrest, the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League feel it their loyal duty to appeal to their fellow-subjects all over the British Empire to urge upon the Italian nation to desist, out of regard for their own traditional love of liberty, from the prosecution of the war to subjugate a people whom they had avowedly gone to liberate from the Turkish yoke, and who have now shown by their determined opposition their repugnance to submit to a rule wholly alien to them by race and religion; and that in any case the Italian army, in remembrance of their own struggles, should not treat as "rebels" the inhabitants of the invaded country fighting for freedom, or be permitted to destroy their date and olive plantations which supply their chief sustenance.

2. That as loyal subjects of the King, and deeply interested in the peaceful and contented development of the Indian peoples under the regis of the British Crown, the Committee feel it their duty to invite the attention of the British nation to the ferment the Russian advance into Persia has already caused in India, and to its injurious effect on the feelings of the Mussulman people; and they respectfully and earnestly join in the appeal that England should use her best endeavours to save Persia struggling for regeneration from a course of treatment which, if persisted in, must inevitably lead to her dissolution, a consummation neither desired by Great Britain nor conducive to the interests of the British Empire.

Protest by the Islamic Society, London.

PROCEEDINGS of the meeting convened by the Islamic Society at Caxton Hall on the 11th November 1911.

The Chairman, Khalid Sheldrake Effendi, called upon Mr. Jelal Shah to read letters from those who could not attend the meeting.

The first resolution was proposed by Mr. Orme.

Seconded by Dr. Rutherford.

Supported by Archdeacon B. Potter, Bishop of Cyprus.

The second resolution was proposed by Mr. Jelal Shah.

Seconded by Mr. Jackson.

Supported by Mr. A. Rauf Ali.

The third resolution was proposed by Mr. Mahomed Sharaf.

Seconded by Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan.

Supported by Mr. Khaja Ismail.

1. That this meeting, convened under the auspices of the Islamic Society, condemns the war of Italy against Turkey in Tripoli and expresses its horror and indignation at the terrible atrocities perpetrated upon defenceless people, especially the women and children, by the Italian army in Tripoli, as reported in the English papers and confirmed by official information from Constantinople, and that in the name of Justice and Humanity we call upon His

Majesty's Government, as our friend, to ask the Italian Government that these inhuman butcheries, if they have really taken place, shall immediately cease and that compensation be made to the families who have thus suffered.

2. That to more fully express our active sympathy with these unfortunate victims we call upon all Mussulmans to boycott all Italian goods, and to refrain from all business of any description the principals of which are Italians.

3. That the Italians should not be allowed to carry on the war into other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and copies of these resolutions be sent to His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Press, and a special copy to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

The Atrocities in Tripoli.

MR. FRANCIS M'CULLAGH, the war correspondent of the *New York World* and the *Westminster Gazette*, described some of his experiences in Tripoli before a large audience at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on 21st November. The meeting was attended by a number of Italians, who excitedly interrupted the lecturer from time to time and declared that his statements as to atrocities committed by Italian soldiers were untrue. Mr. W. T. Stead, who presided, appealed for order, and promised the objectors that they should be given a hearing afterwards. In this way order was restored for a time, but the Italian objectors could not be silenced, and eventually the police were called in. Mr. M'Cullagh stated that before attending the meeting he had been challenged by an Italian to a duel, and there was loud cheering by the Italians present when he was asked why he had not accepted the challenge.

Mr. M'Cullagh, whose lecture was illustrated by photographs shown upon a screen, taken by the *Daily Mirror* correspondent, who has just been expelled from Tripoli, said that he was neither anti-Italian nor pro-Arab. It was love of Italy that had made him speak and write as he did. The worst enemies of Italy were those who tried to hush up the horror and to leave such a man as General Caneva in command of a gallant army. (Cheers.) He proceeded to describe various acts of the Italians which he had himself witnessed. On 26th October, while some Italian reinforcements were passing a factory, behind which there was a native village inhabited exclusively by workers at the mill, two shots were fired. It was said that one Italian soldier was wounded in the leg. He could never find that soldier. But for these two shots over 4,000 people lost their lives. ("Shame!") A slaughter began in that village which lasted for three days and extended all over the oasis. There was no other cause whatever for the slaughter. He had seen hidden women and little boys who had been shot by the Italians. It was not war but murder. Arabs were killed on the flimsiest pretext. Men were put to death because knives, or razors, or empty cartridges were found in their houses.

Sir Francis Vane said he had never known people less likely to commit such atrocities than the Italians. What they had to protest against was the international hooliganism called war. The provocation for the alleged atrocities had not been shown on the screen.

Lieutenant Ivace, an Italian officer of the 3rd African Regiment, said that 324 Italian soldiers were killed in a treacherous way. The people who killed them were murderers and were treated as such.

On the motion of Mr. Mason, M.P., seconded by Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., a resolution in the following terms was carried by a large majority:—

"That this meeting having heard Mr. M'Cullagh's statement as to the deeds done by the Italian Army on three consecutive days after fighting had ceased, and having further heard the statement of the laws of war drawn up by the last Hague Convention, to which the British and Italian Governments were parties, calls upon His Majesty's Government to make immediate inquiries into the authenticity of the specific statements that these rules of war were violated in the shooting of unarmed men, the massacring of surrendered prisoners, and the killing of women and children, and desires that the Government should do what it can to vindicate the authority of The Hague Code by publishing, instead of suppressing, the facts, and by making formal representations to the Italian Government as to the violation of the rules of war committed by the Italian troops in the oasis of Tripoli."

Italy's Task in the Mediterranean.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

The chances of peace appear as remote as ever, first because there is no basis upon which the belligerent Powers are mutually prepared to treat, and secondly because neither of them has yet shown itself capable of reaching a decision by an act of force.

It will be obvious to any one who studies the Italian Press that an uneasy feeling prevails that Italy is in for a more arduous enterprise than she anticipated. There is no lack of patriotism and of enthusiasm for the war, but the first ardours are giving way to a spirit of reflection, and it is seen at last that though it is easy to make war it is not so easy to make peace. Great as is the advantage which Italy possesses from her dominance at sea, it has yet to be proved that sea power alone can bring such pressure to bear upon the Turkish Government as to compel it to make peace against its will.

THE SITUATION AT TRIPOLI

Italy must have accumulated at least 30,000 men at Tripoli itself by this time. This large force continues to allow itself to be cooped up at the western end of the oasis by a Turkish force which can scarcely exceed 3,000 Regulars supplemented by a varying number of Arab auxiliaries. On the 6th and 7th November, the arrival of reinforcements allowed General Caneva to recover part of the line which he abandoned after the fighting on the 26th October, but the Italian eastern front is apparently Feshlum-Fort Sidi Messiri, and Henni is still in Turkish hands. It is really extraordinary that the Italians should not have been able to clear the eastern end of the Tripoli oasis and to drive their antagonists back into the desert. It is true that the palm groves and enclosures afford good cover and that an attack may not be child's-play, but the enormous disparity of force and the Italian control at sea should make this operation very easy for good troops. Heavy weather and much rain occurred up to the 18th November, inundating many Italian trenches. This may have delayed action if there is an idea of landing troops at Tajura to co-operate in the attack, but the rain ceased on the 19th November and no further excuse for inaction is valid. The trouble about the defensive tactics hitherto employed is that they injure initiative and activity, and cause a lethargy to spread through all ranks. It never pays to make spades trumps in colonial wars, or indeed in any other.

THE SITUATION IN CYRENAICA

Practically the same tactics have been followed at Benghazi as at Tripoli. Very slowly and cautiously the lines have been extended, and large numbers of the inhabitants have been deported. But no attempt has been made to take the field, while at Derna a reconnaissance last Friday met with considerable resistance. Everywhere the Italians are on the defensive and are closely watched. A contingent of aeroplanes and pilots is being despatched to all the Italian garrisons on the coast. No other form of reconnaissance seems to have been so useful.

THE AEGEAN PROBLEM

An Italian offensive in the Aegean is still among the good things promised which do not come, but this action may be nearer than many of us think. It is not at all likely that any Power has actually forbidden an Italian offensive in these waters, but it may very likely be true that representations of a friendly character have been made to Italy showing the disadvantages which will be entailed upon neutral Powers by the action proposed. None of us wants to see a blockade of the Dardanelles, neither France nor England wishes to see the trade of Smyrna or Beyrout hampered; Austria would be much concerned about any action taken at Salonika, while Russia and Greece display anxiety concerning the islands suggested as Italian objectives. A belligerent fleet in the Aegean would be as welcome to all of us as a bull in a china shop, and there is the additional drawback to Italy that none of these so-called decisive measures will necessarily produce any decision favourable to peace.

But Italy is compelled to do something to carry out her menace of drastic action if the Decree of Annexation had no effect, and on the whole it looks as if the seizure of Turkish islands and a blockade of some sort would represent the line of least diplomatic resistance. It may be the case that the Third Division was originally earmarked for action in the Aegean, but it became involved in the contest in Africa and cannot now, perhaps, be spared. A Fourth Division is now nearly ready, but whether it is destined to act against the islands in co-operation with the fleet, or with the other troops in North Africa, is not yet certain.

The new division is composed of the 37th, 50th, 26th and 57th regiments, and doubtless there are with it the necessary mountain and other guns, engineers, and auxiliary service. It is to be noted that the Infantry are drawn from 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th Army Corps regions, and that Italian garrisons in the North are no longer spared the drain of the war. Further, it appears that these regiments are practically only *regiments de marche*, and will not be so solid as corps of permanent composition. Thus the 57th regiment has been made up with 1,500 men drawn from Verona, Venice, Mantua, Belluno, Treviso, Conegliano and Udine. The 26th regiment takes 322 men from the 12th, and so on. For colonial warfare this may not matter much, but if the 4th Division is to be snatched with Nizam troops a more solid organization would have been preferable. Turkey has naturally reinforced the garrisons of her islands and has also assembled troops at other points liable to attack.

Practically nothing has been heard of the Italian fleet of late, and its whereabouts is a matter for conjecture. Part of it is needed to support the coast garrisons, another part to escort transports and store ships, while yet another fraction is engaged upon the general blockade of the coast. The ships have no doubt returned to the home ports from time to time to renew their coal and supplies, and some may need repairs. It seems probable that the Bay of Tobruk may be the point of assembly for the remainder. Judging by the state of preparedness of the 4th Division, the second phase of the war may now be expected to begin at any time.

COST OF THE WAR.

The present cost of the war is said to be nearly two million lire a day, or something under two-and-a-half million sterling a month and a credit of 65 million lire has been opened on War Office and Admiralty account up to the 30th November. It is claimed by the *Rivista della Corte dei Conti* that Italy has resources amounting to 824 million lire upon which she can draw, or in other words enough to finance the war for over a year after exhausting all possible expédients except loans. These 824 million lire are made up of Treasury balances 348 million lire, statutory anticipations 125 millions, Treasury bonds authorized 223 millions, Savings Bank deposits 67 millions, and mobilizable metallic reserves 61 millions. Italy has certainly managed her finances well during the last 20 years, and now stands in a relatively favourable situation to confront the cost of a great war for a few months, but whether it is worth her while to sacrifice the result of these years of effort for the sake of the potential benefits of the Tripoli adventure seems very questionable. It is also to be observed that the wear and tear of continual service is likely to tell upon the Navy, that the troops drawn from the north weaken the Italian position in this quarter; and, lastly, that the Army in North Africa is composed of conscripts who are unsuited to service during a long war, and still more unsuited to the duties of a permanent garrison. The want of native troops and of an oversea Army of the British type is very severely felt by Italy at this juncture.

Two Italian Books on Tripoli.

L'ORA DI TRIPOLI. By ENRICO CORRADINI. (Milan: Treves. 3-501)

LA NOSTRA TERRA PROMESSA. By GIUSEPPE PIAZZA. (Rome: B. LUX. 37)

Enrico Corradini is the stormy petrel of Italian Nationalism. It is he who, more than any one, contributed to the founding of the Nationalist movement and has been one of its most fervent apostles, and he has been most active in arousing public opinion to the necessity of an Italian occupation of Tripolitaine. Last summer he visited the African vilayet to study its conditions, and wrote a series of articles on the subject for *L'Idée Nationale*, the militant Nationalist organ, these, together with a lecture delivered in various Italian cities, he has now published. The volume is undoubtedly a party pamphlet, but it is written with so much vigour and eloquence and such obvious sincerity as to convince the most sceptical. The author paints a mournful picture of the neglected and backward state in which the Turks have left Tripolitaine, in spite of its undoubted agricultural resources, hitherto hardly touched, and its mineral possibilities. His description of Cyrenaica, written with the fervour of an enthusiast and the pen of a poet, leaves an impression of a land flowing with milk and honey, of forests of giant olives, vine-clad hills, luxuriant vegetation, masses of oleanders, mysterious underground waters, and marvellous landscapes. Nor is this account a fantastic one, other writers, both Italian and foreign, bear out Signor Corradini's words. Here indeed would be an ideal land for colonization by Italy's emigrant peasants, and what the latter have done in transforming Tunisia under French auspices they might well do in Tripolitaine, where the soil is certainly not less fertile, hence the unspeakable Turkish regime is got rid of. The author knows Tunisia, and points out the lesson. He regards the occupation by Italy of Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica as intimately bound up with the solution of the South Italian problem, combating the assertion of the Socialists that the question of the *Mezzogiorno* must be settled before any attempt of colonial expansion.

The *Mezzogiorno*, he writes, will transform itself by its own force together with the transformation of its neighbour, North Africa. Has it not begun to transform itself to some extent by its own strength alone through emigration to distant America? And by its own strength alone will it continue to change until it reaches its best condition when it can migrate to near-by Africa. It will not then immigrate, it will project itself thither. A great part of the wealth which South Italians produce in America is lost to the *Mezzogiorno* and to Italy—all that part which goes to the profit of the Americans and all that part which is acquired by those South Italians who do not return home. Between the *Mezzogiorno* and America, where South Italians do the work which transform them morally and economically, there is a limitless solution of continuity—the Ocean, whereas between Africa and *Mezzogiorno* the Mediterranean is a convenient connecting link.

Signor Corradini, however, regards the occupation not merely, not even primarily, as an economic question, it is as a political necessity that it appears to him most urgent, to save Italy from being hemmed in on all sides by potentially hostile Powers. Tripoli cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely in its present condition, and if Italy does not occupy it, some other Power, presumably Germany, will do so, and Italy will find herself throttled economically and politically with all hope of future expansion for ever barred. He further considers the enterprise as a means of raising the nation's spirit and dragging it out of the slough of despond in which these last years of petty internal politics and Parliamentary intrigues had left it; indeed, all observers of Italian affairs have noticed the change in the public spirit since the expedition to Tripoli was undertaken. The various political theories of the author are set forth in this volume, his bitter contempt for the Socialists, his Imperialism, his distrusts on the pusillanimity of the Italian Government dominated by its Socialist bodyguard, his insistence on the necessity for what Americans call "purge politics". A vigorous foreign and colonial policy he believes is the only way out.

Giuseppe Piazza is more of a journalist than Signor Corradini and his book is a collection of impressionist sketches and a record of travels and experiences. But it is also imbued with political tendencies, and its chief interest lies in the fact that, although the author went to Tripoli as the correspondent of a Giolittian newspaper (the *Tribuna*) at a time when the Italian Cabinet was strongly averse to the policy it has now adopted towards Turkey, he expresses practically the same views as Signor Corradini. He shows how the only vivifying element in the hopeless wretchedness of Tripoli under Turkish rule was Italian influence. Italy had built the only schools worthy of the name; the *Cancro di Roma*, which was the only solid banking institution in the vilayet, has also established a number of commercial agencies in the various towns, erected a flour mill, oil presses, established a line of coasting steamers, and attempted farming on modern principles; the chief merchants and the best doctors are Italians, and Italy has created hospitals and ambulance stations. Yet the Ottoman authorities since the Young Turks had come into power persistently thwarted every form of Italian activity and subjected Italian citizens to constant persecution, which extended even to such nations as had dealings with them. Signor Piazza is not less enthusiastic than Signor Corradini as to the agricultural resources of Tripolitaine and its possibilities as a field for Italian colonization. But he is anxious concerning the gradual advance of French influence from the West and Anglo-Egyptian influence from the East, whereby important strips of territory have been sliced off on both sides, the famous Ghadames oasis is being absorbed gradually into the French sphere, and the caravan trade is drawn more and more towards the port of Tunisia and Egypt, thus reducing the potential value of the province—a further reason for hastening Italian occupation. He dwells on the great importance of Tobruk both as a fine natural harbour which offers a splendid naval base and as a point of transit for the Indian mail, for if a railway were built from Tobruk to Alexandria the journey to Egypt and India would be shortened by some twenty hours. Derna he believes is destined to become one of the chief winter resorts of the Mediterranean.—*The Times* (LITERARY SUPPLEMENT).

Italian Illusions.

Had Mr. Trevelyan published this book a few months earlier he might have been held fortunate. Nothing could have been more appropriate than that the last volume of his history should make its appearance in the jubilee year of Italian independence, while it was unopposed by anything worse than exhibitions. Equally fortunate would he have been had it seen the light a month or two later, for then he might have modified some of the raptures of his Epilogue by the evidence of recent events. Then he would hardly have soared to such a dithyramb as the following. "The power of this great national movement has, fortunately been directed only to the security of Italian liberty and not to the oppression of others." But even when written, this sentence was not strictly correct. The Italians had tried to "oppress" others, but failed so memorably on the field of Adowa that they did not try it again till this year with such results that even Mr. Trevelyan has been compelled to administer a reproof to his *protégés* in the *Times*. But the author had already qualified his own ecstasies to some extent by pointing out that there is no alien race in Italy to oppress. We should have said that even so there has been gross oppression in the south of Italy, at least where the population for years has groaned under cruel burdens of taxation while the public funds have been squandered on corrupt officialdom and wholly unnecessary armaments. If we are to take Mr. Trevelyan at his word, then nearly the whole of this expenditure has been criminally in excess of Italy's needs. He states that "Italy has now been neutralised as securely as Switzerland, to the immense benefit of the cause of peace and goodwill among men." But we cannot honestly crave in aid this statement, for it strikes us as completely contrary to facts. The ambitions of Italy are always threatening

Austria and the eastern shores of the Adriatic, so much so that the two countries are building ships vigorously against one another and throughout Italy a violent campaign is always in progress for the acquisition of Trieste and the Trentino. Italy is also a member of a combination of Powers pledged in certain circumstances to fight others. There is no kind of analogy with Switzerland. As to the second half of the sentence, Italy, feeling her rear secure owing to her allies, not her "neutralisation," has used her liberty for anything rather than "the cause of peace and goodwill." Still in the dithyrambic vein, the author goes on to state that "all classes from king to workman; all provinces, from Piedmont to Sicily, are bound together by these memories." This is at least a great exaggeration, for in the south of Italy public spirit still hardly exists and feeling for the north not at all. It is the most serious reflection on the present *regime* that so little has been done to raise the level of the south, or to remedy such horrible and ghastly poverty as exists in the Basilicata and elsewhere. As to the sympathy of other parts for the south, it is greater, for the inhabitants are more civilised; but we cannot forget the remark of a Florentine shop-keeper on the earthquake at Messina. "They are men and we must weep for them, but they are all brigands."

These passages only bear out what we knew before, that while Mr. Trevelyan has the qualities of a successful historian, he is lacking in others, more important. He seems to want almost entirely the critical faculty. He chooses an extraordinary figure like Garibaldi and is carried away by the contemplation of his hero, and describes his exploits in first-rate style. His accounts of the battles and marches are full, fair and accurate, but when we want to know about the condition of the various parts of Southern Italy, what the social and political antecedents were that made the south so different from the north, why so few Sicilians went on to help in freeing the mainland, and why the Neapolitans did nothing at all but shout, he hardly does more than inform us that these things were so. The men of the north really freed Italy, so far as fighting went, and policy too, both the great statesmen and the soldiers came from there. In many parts of the south there was no passion for liberty at all, in fact, many districts preferred the Bourbons, whose rule no one can defend. The fact is that in the south there was not and is hardly to-day any sense of citizenship, civic responsibility, or commercial ambition. The revolution was in the main imported and not native to the soil.—*The Saturday Review*.

An Irish M. P. on the War.

MR. JOHN DILLON, M. P., speaking at the Irish Parliamentary Branch of the United Irish League, London, said in the course of his speech:—

It was commonly said or supposed that modern European politics were governed by principle. The fact was that they were governed by finance. To understand modern politics they must get down to that fact. And finance was absolutely soulless. . . . At the present moment the Great Powers in Europe were engaged in a debauch of highway robbery that was, he positively believed, without a parallel in the annals of the world. . . . Look at Italy, without a shadow of justification, without warning, crossing the Mediterranean and seizing upon a large territory belonging to a friendly Power, and at the present moment shooting people—natives there—down in defiance of all the common rules of civilised warfare, people who were simply defending their country, and treating them as if they were rebels against an authority in their own land, which had not even been established. One of the ironies of the situation to-day was that the Press of England, France, and Germany were denouncing the Italians. But had Italy done anything worse than France? Was not the action of France two years ago in Morocco as bad? In his opinion it was worse. In 1904 England sold Morocco to France because France sold Egypt to her. In all the terrible troubles to-day they could trace one string of consequences. When the French march on Fez began he made inquiry and found actually that the alleged necessity for that movement had no foundation in any fact. The truth, as it appeared then, was that there were nine "English" people—the number included three ladies from Dublin (laughter)—and that the whole European population was thirty people, who were not in the least danger. (Laughter.) Yet under that pretext the French army was marched to Fez and gross acts of barbarism were perpetrated around Fez.

When news of these things came in he had asked in the House of Commons whether the British Government had remonstrated; and Sir E. Grey had said that he heartily approved of this movement, because otherwise he did not see how the Europeans could be saved. But the simple fact was that England's hands were tied by the agreement. When he (Mr. Dillon) said the march on Fez was an ill-omened expedition he had been laughed at. He did not mind that. It was not the first time. But he had been right. (Hear, hear.) What he said had proved to be true. (Hear, hear.) That march had brought on the Italian attack upon Tripoli, one of the grossest outrages that had ever been perpetrated. (Hear, hear.)

acts by the Powers could not be taken singly or as isolated acts. If public law was to be set at defiance, how was peace to be maintained? The truth, so far as he felt it, was that nowadays when he heard a Minister talk about the prospects of universal peace, he began to suspect no, he almost concluded, that some iniquitous and bloody war was in contemplation. He was afraid that the Italians were beginning to find out that this war was not such an easy matter as they supposed it would be. Some imagined that Islam and Mohammedanism were a dying religion, and represented a dying civilisation. There never was a greater mistake than that. That faith was now undergoing in the East a great revival. It was spreading. This attack by Christian Europe in Egypt, in Morocco, in Tunis, in Tripoli, and in Persia, Mr. Dillon went on, might lead to another revolution in Turkey and to the breaking up of the Turkish Empire. But that, he it noted, would not relieve Europe from the revival of Islam. It would, on the contrary, in his opinion, have a different effect. Moslems would probably believe that the object of Christian Europe was to destroy them; and he put it in all seriousness to Christian people, did they imagine that they were going to recommend the Christian religion to those people by associating it in their minds with robbery and wrong? In the days of the Crusades there were noble deeds to inspire the warriors. There was the Holy City to be re won. But to-day, so he concluded, they would be false to the traditions of the Irish movement, to the sentiment which had sprung from the experience of long years of oppression, if they failed to sympathise and to express that sympathy with other oppressed and struggling nationalities.

For Peace with Justice by Arbitration.

By H. T. STAD.

ONE of those decisive moments has arrived in the history of mankind when the destiny of the future hangs upon the promptitude with which we seize an opportunity which once neglected goes by for ever.

For years past we have seen the stealthy encroachment of lawless Might upon the Rights of Nations. It was difficult to say at what precise point this tendency could be challenged. There was always some semblance of justification pleaded by the aggressor. Always some complication which rendered it difficult, if not impossible for the masses of mankind to form a clear idea as to the issue at stake. But at last an occasion has arisen in which it is impossible for anyone to be in any doubt as to the issue that has been raised. The Italian attack upon Tripoli is one of those rare crimes which are devoid of any semblance of justification for excuse, which are equally a violation of the moral law and the law of nations. Against this we must one and all take our stand or for ever hold our peace.

Anything more wicked than the Italian seizure of Tripoli it is impossible to conceive. It is as if the Author of all evil had deliberately said to his friends in council, "Go to, let us see whether or not the conscience of the world is dead. We pricked it with Morocco; it did not stir. We seared it with Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and it remained impassive. Perhaps it is really dead. But let us make certain. Therefore let us create a crime so flagrant, compounded out of outrages so inexcusable, that if there be even a lone glimmering spark of vitality left in the moral sense of the world, it must be fanned into a flame. If the conscience of mankind will stand the Italian seizure of Tripoli it will stand anything. Therefore let us try it on."

The Devil has tried it on, and we are face to face with one of these supreme moral questions which divide the destiny of nations. "Some great cause—God's new Messiah!" has once more risen in our midst to divide the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right. The governments have, by a process of natural selection, gravitated to the side of the goats. But hast thou chosen, oh, my people, on whose party you shall stand, "Ere the doom from the worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?" It is a question for you, for me, for all of us. Above all it is a question for all who profess, however perfunctorily, to belong to the Church of Christ.

The Italians, their own allies—nay, their own ultimatum—being witness, are absolutely and demonstrably in the wrong. They have trodden under foot their own solemn treaties, they have defied their own allies, they have done none of the things which they ought to have done, they have done all the things they ought not to have done. There is no excuse conceivable for them beyond the excuse of the highwayman and the burglar: "I coveted my neighbour's goods, I have taken them and I mean to keep them." But against this monstrous claim, which destroys at one fell blow the treaties on which European peace depends, and the regard for the great usage of the comity of nations, whereby alone it is possible for weak nations, to exist in safety by the side of their stronger neighbours, Humanity is rousing itself to protest. That protest will grow stronger every day until at last it will force Cabinets to do its bidding and Italy will be compelled to disgorge its ill-gotten plunder in Africa.

I appeal to my countrymen to do what in them lies to defend the threatened law of nations and the endangered safety of smaller

Powers from this monstrous and inexcusable attack upon civilisation and humanity. I bear no ill-will to the Italians. The more articulate among them have temporarily gone mad. The Italian Government needs a strait waistcoat. It is for you and for me to see that that strait waistcoat is applied.

It is a testimony borne for British Christianity. Last month the Churches, established and disestablished, were worked up to an extraordinary pitch of excitement in order to prevent one black man beating one white man in a boxing match.

But when a nominally Christian nation carries fire and sword into the territories of its neighbour in order to seize a province the Christian Churches preserve an ominous and sinister silence.

The Socialists throughout the whole of Europe have protested and are protesting against this monstrous crime. The Christian Churches are mute. Is Christianity dead amongst us? And if Christ came to Europe would He find the only followers of the Prince of Peace among the Socialists and those who repudiate His authority?

It is for you and for me to decide. If at this supreme moment we remain silent we become accomplices in the crime, and we shall share in the retribution which sooner or later will overtake the transgressor. For myself I have done what I could. I was sent to Constantinople as the messenger of the International Arbitration Emergency Committee, and I have secured from the Sultan and from his Ministers and from the representatives of the Ottoman people, a declaration unanimous and enthusiastic in favour of submitting the whole dispute to arbitration. Italy refuses to allow any international authority to decide upon the justice of her claim. Every friend of peace, every believer in international arbitration is bound to do his utmost to support the appeal of the Turks to an international tribunal. If we are silent and apathetic at this supreme moment, we shall be like those men who held the clothes of those who stoned Stephen the First Martyr of the Christian Church.

I am no partizan of the Turks. No living man has written more articles and published more pamphlets denouncing the misdeeds of the late Turkish Government in Europe and in Asia. But even the Devil has a right to fair play, and the Turks, even if anti-human, ought not to be treated as wild beasts. Three years ago the Turks abolished their despot, established a parliament and manfully attempted to introduce a régime of liberty and progress. Now, while still struggling with the enormous difficulties of their task, they are waylaid by an international highwayman, whose avowed design is to wrest from them their African possessions. However atrocious Abdul Hamid may have been, Italy has no right to annex the provinces of his successor.

A public meeting of the people of London has been called to hear the report of my Mission to Constantinople, and to that meeting I propose to submit the following resolutions:—

1. That this meeting expresses its profound regret that the Italian Government, forgetting the noble part Italy has played in the past in the cause of international arbitration, should have made war on Turkey without affording any opportunity either for the friendly Powers to use their good offices as mediators, or for an independent examination into the facts, or for the settlement of the dispute by the Tribunal of the Hague.

That this meeting further expresses its satisfaction with the decision of the Ottoman Parliament to appeal to the peoples and Parliaments of the world in defence of the violated treaties, and to demand that the whole dispute should be referred for settlement on principles of equity and right to an International Court of Arbitral Justice, and, therefore, this meeting calls upon Sir Edward Grey, as Foreign Secretary, to lose no time in notifying to the Italian Government that the British Government, following the precedent of previous Administrations in 1871 and 1878, will refuse to recognise the validity of any alteration of the *status quo* in Tripoli until such change has received the approval of all the signatories of the treaties of 1856 and 1878.

That this meeting hail with enthusiasm and delight the prospect of welcoming in London the representatives of the emancipated Ottoman peoples bearing the standard of obligatory arbitration, and calls upon all civilised peace-loving citizens throughout every land to seize the opportunity thus afforded of demonstrating their devotion to the cause of international arbitration and their abhorrence of lawless wars of predatory aggression.

Finally, that the Chairman be instructed in the name of this meeting, to communicate this resolution to the Sovereigns, Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries, and Ambassadors of the signatory Powers.

2. That this meeting instruct the Chairman, Secretary, and Mr. Stead to appoint an International Committee of Appeal to the peoples, to prepare the public for the coming of the Ottoman deputation to focus the various forces, religious, political and socialist, which are in sympathy with the cause of treaty right and compulsory arbitration, and to use all and every lawful means to appeal to the conscience of the people to demand that every State which makes war without first offering arbitration shall be treated as an outlaw by all the other nations of the world.

I appeal to my countrymen and countrywomen to support this attempt to express the universal sentiment of indignation and of horror which has been excited by the Italian attack upon Tripoli, and to insist that all such crimes shall be rendered impossible in future by the establishment of a real International High Court of Arbitral Justice with compulsory powers.

Everything depends upon the prompt, energetic individual action of each one of us. I appeal to you to follow my lead in this crisis, and I have confidence that I shall not appeal in vain.

The Arab Conquest of Tripoli.

AFTER the death of the second Khalif, Omar, the first act of his successor, Othman, was to dismiss Amru from the Government of Egypt, which country he had conquered, and to replace him by Saad Ibn Serik, whom he sent to Egypt with forty thousand soldiers. No sooner had Ibn Serik arrived in Egypt than he led his army towards the Tripolitan frontier, which he reached in the year 646 of the Christian era and the twenty-fourth of the Hegira. When near Tripoli he encountered the African troops of the Eastern Empire, and defeated them in successive engagements, fought all along the coast. The Governor of the province, a general named Gregorius, rapidly gathered together an army of about one hundred thousand men, and began attacking the Arabs. Thereafter fighting went on each day, but only from morning until noon, both sides finding it necessary, or at least advisable, to rest during the hottest hours of the day.

Fighting with the Christian army, and by the side of Gregorius, was a daughter of his, who was as brave and expert in warfare as she was beautiful to look upon. Wishing to stimulate the zeal of his army, Gregorius made it known that anyone bringing to him the head of the Arabian general should have this daughter for his wife and one hundred thousand gold pieces as a reward. This stratagem fired the ambition of his young men to such an extent that the Arabian general, learning how things stood, thought it prudent to keep to his tent.

For some months the war dragged on, until the Khalif Othman, becoming impatient, despatched the bravest of Moslem generals, named Ibn Zubeir, of Egyptian fame, with 1,200 men to reinforce the invaders of Tripoli. When the general arrived he found the army fighting while its leader was hiding in the tents. He asked the reason for this, and upon being told laughingly inquired of Ibn Serik why he did not retort by the issue of a proclamation offering the same prize to any one of his men who could bring him the head of the Roman general?

The following day Ibn Zubeir took the command of the army himself, issued such a proclamation, and divided his army into two camps. He then engaged the enemy with half of his men until midday, and when noon came and both sides had withdrawn as usual for rest and horses were unsaddled, he sallied forth suddenly with the other half of his men, who had been resting. Taking the Romans completely by surprise, he threw them into confusion, and then they took to flight after losing their general and seeing his daughter taken captive. The refugees fortified themselves in the beautiful city of Spitala, about 150 miles from Carthage; but the Arabs pursued them thither, and captured the town with its rich treasury, which according to the historian provided every Arab horseman with 3,000 dinars and every foot soldier with 1,000. This coin must have been the Roman silver denarius, worth about 9½d. of our present money, not the gold dinar, which was of later issue and worth about 16s. of our currency.

From that time Tripoli remained an Arabian possession until, in 1551, the Turkish pirate Dragut took it from the Arabs in the name of the Sultan, and became its first Pasha and administrator. Years went on, and Turkish adventurers succeeded one another without much interference from Constantinople, which had become the capital of Islam, until, in 1835, the misdeeds of the Janissaries in the province obliged the Sultan to take over the administration of the land, which Italy is now wishing to obtain possession of by force, against the will of both Arabs and Turks, and in face of the protest of Moslems the world over.—*The Near East.*

Press Opinion.

"Les Annales."

Until the Turko-Italian war broke out it is probable that very few English people knew very much about Tripoli other than those whose business it was to be acquainted with it. M du Taillis says:—It is now some considerable time since the Tripoli question reached maturity; the fruit is more than ready to be plucked, and Italy has determined to pluck it, if a little rudely. It is a corollary to the Moroccan affair, *protocoles de désintéressement* having been signed some seven years since by France and England in favour of Italy. The Turkish revolution, the coming into power of a reforming party, lacking experience and somewhat pretentious, at Constantinople, has, little by little, rendered the present state of

affairs inevitable. The stake for which the Turks and Italians are playing is a North African Province, bounded on the west by French Tunis and on the east by the Anglo-Egyptian provinces. Under the name of Tripoli are included the little States of Tripoli itself and Cyrenaica.

It will not be uninteresting to examine the actual value of this land to its ultimate possessors, whoever they be, and what it represents, as against the amount of money and force now being expended with a view to its annexation. From personal recollection with the aid of notes left by M. H. de Mathuisieulx, it should be easy to determine precisely on these points, and to form logical deductions as to how far Italy should go in her efforts to obtain a decisive victory. Tripoli is a poor place! A few superb oases connected with the sea-shore by barren desert. If one determines to make a journey into the interior, it is first necessary to scale abrupt escarpments, with here and there a barley field, for on the plateaux of Neboul, Gariana, and the Yffren there is little cultivation, only a few herds, and a few fig or olive orchards. There is an exception in favour of Cyrenaica, however, in the plateau of Barka, whose fecundity was much vaunted by the ancients, Herodotus being among the number. To-day, Benghazi and Derna are bereft of much of their old time splendour, though the feeling one has is that they have merely fallen into the deep slumber of Islam.

But can it be denied that Tripoli, the town itself, is of considerable commercial importance, as being the emporium of the desert? Twenty-five years ago, one would have been compelled to answer in the negative, as did both Barth and Nachtigal, the great explorers. But to-day, when the Soudan is communicated with so quickly, and by so many different places at a time: by the Nile, steamers and railways, by the Congo, and the French Sahara: to-day when the principal African traffic, that of slaves, has ceased, and when France has shown her power and gained respect in the farthest regions of Timbuctoo and the Tchad: to-day the great tracks of Rhat and Ghadamès, whose terminus was Tripoli, are deserted. From all accounts, in a good or bad year it would not be possible to count more than a thousand camels loading in Tripoli for a journey into the Soudan.

Turkey, however, has ruled methodically since Charles the Fifth, strongly withstanding the Berbers, and watching with jealous care over the maintenance of her suzerainty, right up to the time of the diplomatic parleys between M. Pichon and S. E. Naoum-Pacha. In fact, Turkey has expended great efforts in Tripoli. The Sublime Porte has about 8,000 men in the two places, Cyrenaica and Tripoli. The infantry, despite insufficient instruction, consists of energetic and determined soldiers. Their want of strict discipline is made up for by a fierce fanaticism, which is in the Ottoman a type of patriotism particularly awe-inspiring to the stranger. The cavalry and artillery are stationed at the only port which Tripoli possesses, and have made great progress these last few years, thanks to the efforts of a Prussian major. The infantry keeps special guard over the strongholds of Djebel, the Turkish rampart facing the desert. Thus it acts in the office of police to keep any unruly natives in order. Gariana, in the Yffren, is particularly troublesome, and obedience is difficult to enforce. Despite all this, with the faith that doubles courage, these strongholds are strongly held, and will be the special thorn in the side of Italy.

It is perfectly certain that the Turks could not allow Tripoli to pass out of their hands without a struggle. It has, it must be admitted, become a poor thing in their hands, but it remains of colossal importance to them. To the Sublime Porte Tripoli is the open eye watching over the African Musselman. After seeing, in succession, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, then Senegal, the Soudan, the Congo, and the Sahara pass from them, the Turks must now hold on to Tripoli, if they are to have an African citadel at all, by means of which they can assure the necessary union between themselves and the millions of the faithful—Arabs, blacks, or Berbers. Through Tripoli, thanks to Senoussism, the Sultan is able to hold well in check the powers of Christianity that are leagued against him in the heart of the black continent; through Tripoli he receives subsidies and reinforcements of arms; through Tripoli, lastly, he reigns over peoples without number, and lands without limit. Thus, despite its acknowledged lack of material importance from a commercial view, Tripoli must be retained by the Turks at all hazards, if only for its moral effect.—M. JEAN DU TAILLIS.

The "Near East."

IN THE relationship of nations there are diverse fields of conflict. It has been said, for instance, that while Rome conquered Greece politically, Greece conquered Rome intellectually. In the same way, though Turkey may suffer defeat on the military plane, it is more than probable that Italy will be even a greater loser on the economic. From the economic aspect it is difficult to understand how the Italian Ministry was led to take so disastrous a plunge. The bad example of Austria, who in less difficult circumstances and with a stronger backing brought to a successful issue her Bosnian adventure, had no doubt something to do with it. It was remarked at the time that the

Dual Monarchy, in setting at defiance as she did all international obligations, was creating a precedent pregnant with evil, and we now see its first fruits in the indiscretions of Italy. For the Italian Government no doubt thought that, by carrying matters with a high hand, Italy, too, would avert reprisals and acquire Ottoman territory upon a basis of subsequent compensation. But in this they seem doomed to disappointment, and, if any thought has taken root in other responsible quarters in Europe that violence, such as Austria's, has now become an acknowledged instrument in the shaping of international relations, that thought is destined to meet with early arrest; for the economic, if not the political, chastisement of Italy that seems bound to be the consequence of her folly, will serve by way of warning.

In no way can Italy emerge from this conflict without deep economic scars. When Great Britain, from different motives and not without provocation, was confronted in the late Boer War with a task that tried her powers even less than the war with Turkey promises to try Italy's, large calls were made upon the resources of the people, and lean years of business followed that in many respects have not yet passed away. Yet the British derived no equivalent compensation for their outlay, for no tribute or loot came as the reward of their efforts in South Africa. The Transvaal and Orange Free State, when they were annexed, merely represented, in the act of annexation, a measure of consolidation of British South Africa, and Great Britain had no consolation other than the satisfaction that she had got one of her children out of a difficulty at much cost to herself. No more remarkable instance of the soundness of Mr. Norman Angell's doctrine that the acquisition of the territory of other peoples brings no economic advantage to its new possessor is to be found than the case of the two Dutch Republics and the results that accompanied their annexation. If such a conclusion may be reached as touching the acquisition of territory so rich in natural resources as the Boer States, what possible advantage can Italy derive from territory so admittedly barren as Tripoli? A country whose chief export is esparto grass, and whose inhabitants are obliged to import a part even of their food supply, can hardly be regarded as a source of profit whoever may own it, especially, too, as, according to all available reports, it is virtually without mineral deposits. Upon economic grounds at least, such a country the more fastidious of the Powers would sooner be without, and yet Italy for the sake of acquiring it has plunged blantly into a costly campaign of which no living soul can see the end or count the consequences. The expense Italy may be called upon to meet might in some measure have been covered by an indemnity, for, with States as with individuals, the unsuccessful party pays the costs. But the bulk of the outlay seems likely to occur over the operations in Tripoli, and Tripoli, according to the recent official notification, is now Italian soil, and so hostilities there no longer denote a state of war between recognised belligerents, but rather are an act of rebellion on the part of the inhabitants against a constituted authority. Italy, therefore, in suppressing the rising, is, by her own admission, engaged upon a domestic matter, and so the cost of the suppression cannot form the subject of an indemnity. Hence, the greater part of the expense of the campaign must be met out of Italian pockets, and there is little doubt it will make a bigger hole in them than their possessors care to contemplate.

The expense of the military operations is a direct and immediate loss to the Italian people, and this will no doubt make itself felt, as national savings are depleted, by additional taxes, public loans, and an augmentation of the national debt implying the permanent increase of expenditure as more interest is called for. But there is the indirect if not more remote loss due to interruption of trade, loss of markets, and the impairment of credit arising out of a weakened financial position, and this is a loss the magnitude of which only time can fully reveal and experience teach. Though the financial stability of Italy has remained proof against the trials of the earlier stages of the war, indications of economic tendencies of another kind are already apparent. It is becoming more and more obvious that, in offending the Moslem world, Italy has given offence where her commercial interests were afforded the greatest room for expansion. It is said that 40 per cent. of the cotton products of Italy are exported to Turkey, and it is now apparent that the Ottoman people, owing to the war, are resolved to boycott Italian goods. The consequences of this can only be fully appreciated in Italy when its effect is seen, as it assuredly will be, upon the individual Italian, and the demands of the war are translated into terms of shortness of food and clothing, irregularity of employment, and encroachments upon the health and happiness of wife and children.

Not only is Turkey, however, in consequence of the war, rendered an unwilling purchaser from Italy, but she is made a less capable purchaser. Turkey may suppress Italian commercial activity within the Empire, and may by 100 per cent. duties exclude Italian imports, and Italian interests may suffer accordingly. But Turkey herself is a victim to the economic stringency the war is bringing about, and were she prepared to continue to trade with Italy, the altered conditions are rendering her no longer so competent. For, according to reports from Constantinople, the political situation has completely dislocated trade in Turkey, and brought business enterprise to a standstill. The withdrawal of gold by the Government and their monopolisation of the mint, coupled with the fact

that the crops are now moving and gold is being taken on a large scale up country, have created a scarcity in the Turkish market which has brought about a crisis more severe than any that has occurred within the experience of the chief business houses of the country. This monetary stringency is being followed by a general financial and commercial unrest, and money in private hands tends more and more to be withdrawn from circulation. This naturally reduces the community's power of purchase, and those who are the first to feel it are the traders with whom the community usually conducts its business. In this way Italy, in disturbing the economic equilibrium of the Ottoman people, has only brought additional retribution on her own head, for with the destruction of Turkish trade she is causing the destruction of her own commerce. It seems, therefore, that a rude awakening is in store for her. For, with the cost of the war to meet and with diminished resources due to impaired trade to draw upon, no military successes that may attend her arms can possibly outweigh the economic reverses that must accompany them.

The "Saturday Review."

VERY few people in this country take the trouble to study Italian newspapers. Doubtless, as a rule, they are wise, but if they did look at these journals they would be rewarded at the present time by some very instructive reading. The *Tribuna* which is credited with being at least a "semi-official" journal, has been entertaining its readers with very full and picturesque accounts of the "punishment" of the Arabs in the Oasis, stigmatised as "I traditori dell' oasi." Here is the description given by the correspondent of that journal of the appearance of the locality after the "punishment" in question: "A field of filth and slaughter" he calls it, and he goes on to say, "by the fire of our men almost all the inhabitants of the Oasis have been destroyed. Every garden has become a cemetery or a great burial pit." As this is the description given by a Government journal of 30th October, foreigners may be forgiven if they place some reliance on the evidence of the *Times* correspondent. It would seem as if even the Italian journalist thought that his countrymen required some apology, for in the same paper's issue of 27th October appeared a long and most venomous attack on British policy in the Transvaal War. The attempt was, of course, to prove that Lord Roberts had had Boers shot in cold blood, as the Italians had massacred the Arabs of the Oasis. Nothing analogous, of course, ever did happen in the Transvaal. The Proclamations may have been unwise, but they were not enforced in this particular. We can only wonder that an Italian official paper thinks it wise thus to libel their best friends. English journals have by no means been foremost in attacking Italy; on the whole they have displayed marked restraint of language and comment throughout, in contrast perhaps to the violent tone of her allies. Italy will be foolish if she carries on a campaign of vilification against England in order to cloak the misdeeds or blunders of her own army.

In this connexion we must quote one more delightful sentence from the *Tribuna*: "Fortunately we are a people of well-balanced mind, and know how to hold our nerves in leash and moderate the flow of blood in our veins." This will prove a very useful quality when the recruits get to grips with the fanatics of the desert, out of range of the big guns of the men-of-war. But the talk and abuse of a very friendly nation to which we have referred can only be explained by the fact that the Italian public is slowly awakening to the reality of the Tripoli affair, and what it really means to conquer a desert country without supplies and haunted by an elusive and fanatical enemy. It is stated that the war has already cost Italy about £20,000,000, and this is probably within the mark. Every day campaigning continues will add greatly to the strain, because Tripoli is not a country where war can pay for itself, or where the inhabitants can be made or induced to furnish supplies. On the contrary, everything must be shipped there and carried with them by the troops. This is altogether apart from the question of water, which is likely to be a serious one. According to a correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*, the soldiers only carry half a litre with them, and are most inappropriately clothed, being habited in heavy suits quite unfitted for the climate in which they are campaigning. These details which have at length made their way to the British reader help us to form some forecast as to the difficulties really ahead of the Italians.

Drawing deductions, therefore, from the little that has already leaked out and is obviously trustworthy, we may assume that it is to the interest of the Italians to bring the war to as speedy a conclusion as possible. Time is on the side of the Turks. Every day makes the situation of the Italian troops more trying. Disease may at any moment break out in a devastating form, more troops are arriving and will have to be fed, and the state of the invaders' nerves will not improve. The adventures of M. Kann, the correspondent of the *Figaro* at Benghazi, are worth reading. After obtaining leave from the Admiral in command to proceed thither, he was suddenly deported, grossly insulted by Italian sailors as an "assassin" and "traitor," his correspondence opened and his private telegrams, on his arrival in Italy, delayed. And all this, as he adds, not long after "the Italian Government had notified the Porte that they were about to introduce civilisation into Tripoli."



دہلی کاروفیشن دربار

۲۴ ستمبر سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء

جس طرح سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء میں دہلی کاروفیشن دربار کی تاریخ میں دہلی کاروفیشن دربار کی وجہ سے اب زمین موقع اور لائی زمانہ ہے اس طرح طلسمات ساٹس میں سے عجیب ترین طلسم ساز باز گشت کی ایجاد ہے اور ساز حالہ باز گشت میں بہترین وہ ساز ہے جسکو آپ گریمو فون کے نام سے جانتے ہیں۔

ملہ سٹان کی مرزبان میں اور ہر مشہور عورت بامرد گاہے والے کے رکارڈ ہم لے محض آپ کی تفریح و تفتن طبع کے واسطے تیار کئے ہیں۔ ملہ سٹان میں علم موسیقی عام طور پر جس کا کردہ میں محدود ہے اس سے آپ نا واقف نہیں ایک مدت سے اس کی طرف متوجہ تھی اور اہل علم کہا کہ جو کچھ موجود ہے رفتہ رفتہ وہ بھی نابود ہو جائے مگر ہماری ان ٹپک کوششوں اور بے دریغ صرف زور سے اسے ابھی لاد رہا ہے اب اور رکارڈوں کے تیار کر لئے ہیں کہ جو کل اہل علم کے واسطے مایہ نظر ہوں اور ہمارے واسطے موجب امتیاز ہیں۔

گریمو فون اب سامان عجیب میں نہیں بلکہ ضروریات زندگی میں داخل ہے اور اسی بنیاد پر یہ مر گری میں ہوا چاہئے۔ نہ صرف رکارڈ کا قسیمہ ماہ ۲۴ ستمبر کے واسطے حسب معمول شائع ہو گیا ہے فرداً فرداً رکارڈوں کی مفت بیان کرنا شروع ہے۔ ہر رکارڈی لاجواب ہے اور ہر گانا سننے کی قابل ہے۔

ہر وقت کی قدر، مائے اور ہوا میں لاک کا بہتر مولا کہ ہمارے باضابطہ لوکل اجنٹ کی کوئی پر تشریف لیجا کر ناز و قرین رکارڈ خود سننے گا۔

دی گریمو فون کمپنی، کلکتہ
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The Week.

The Royal Visit.

THE following Court Circular was issued on the 26th December—

The Queen-Empress, attended by her suite, left the Circuit House at Agra on her way to Jaipur. A guard-of-honour of the Royal Irish Regiment was mounted at the Circuit House and the escort was furnished by the 13th Hussars under Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor. Her Imperial Majesty was received at the station by Mr. Reynolds, the guard-of-honour being supplied by the 13th Rajputs. Her Imperial Majesty's train departed soon after 10 A.M. On arrival at Jaipur station at 5 P.M., Her Imperial Majesty was received by the Maharaja of Jaipur, accompanied by the Resident, Colonel Blomfield, and by the principal officers of the State, after which she proceeded to the Residency, where the 42nd Deoli Regiment furnished a guard-of-honour. Her Imperial Majesty gave a dinner party this evening. The following ladies and gentlemen had the honour to be invited: Colonel and Mrs. Shaw, the Hon. Nawab Sir Saiyid Ali Khan, Major Fisher, Sir Sydenham and Lady Jacob, Major Shaffer, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Berkeley, the Rev. Dr. Jameson, and Mrs. Sherrinford.

The Queen-Empress, attended by her suite, visited the palace at Amber this morning. In the afternoon the Maharaja of Jaipur had the honour of conducting Her Imperial Majesty to the Jethwara garden. After dinner, Her Imperial Majesty witnessed a Naga dance in the garden of the Residency.

The Queen-Empress, attended by her suite, left Jaipur for Ajmer by train at 10 A.M. on 21st December. The Maharaja and the Resident were present at the station to take leave of Her Imperial Majesty. On her arrival at Ajmer at 3.30 P.M., Her Imperial Majesty was received by Sir Elliot Colvin, Agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana. Guards-of-honour were furnished at the station by the 44th Merwara Infantry and the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Rifle Volunteers. Her Imperial Majesty proceeded direct from the station to Mayo College, the escort being supplied by the 7th Light Cavalry, and upon arrival was received by Mr. Waddington, Principal of the College, who had the honour of conducting her through the buildings. Her Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to command that every one of the students should be presented individually to her. Her Imperial Majesty, after drinking tea at the College, witnessed a competition of the students in tent-pegging and other sports, and then proceeded to the Residency, where a guard-of-honour was mounted by the Royal Irish Regiment.

The Queen-Empress, attended by her suite, visited the village of Pushkar by motor, on the morning of 23rd December, returning to the Residency in time for luncheon in the afternoon.

Her Imperial Majesty drove out to visit Dargah and Arhai-din-ka Jompra, attended by the Duchess of Devonshire, the Earl and Countess of Shaftesbury, the Hon. Venetia Baring, Sir Elliot and Lady Colvin, Lieutenant-Colonel Bannerman, Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, and the Hon. John Fortescue. Major Money and Captain Hill were in attendance on horseback. The Cadet Corps of Mayo College furnished an escort under command of Thakur Bahadur Singh of Khara.

The Royal visit to Ajmer concluded when Her Majesty left by motor for Deoli, en route for Bundi. Before leaving Her Majesty inspected the sites selected for the King Edward Memorial and the Carzon Wyllie Memorial, after which Her Majesty said good-bye to Sir Elliot Colvin, and the procession of motors quitted Ajmer at 10.30. A halt was made for a few minutes at the entrance gate of the Mayo College grounds just outside the city, where the boys and the staff were grouped at the side of the road. A bouquet was presented and Her Majesty's motor resumed its journey to the accompaniment of enthusiastic cheers from the boys. The Queen-Empress's visit to this old Imperial city has been an unqualified success. Her Majesty took the greatest interest in everything, and before taking her departure expressed to Sir Elliot Colvin her gracious approval of all arrangements and the pleasure which the visit had given her. Not only Ajmer but the whole of Rajputana deeply appreciates the signal honour conferred on it.

Bundi, December 24.

The Queen-Empress, attended by her suite, left Ajmer yesterday morning by motor for Bundi.

Upon her arrival at Deoli at 1 P.M., Her Imperial Majesty was received by the Political Agent, Major Peacock, and Miss Peacock at the Agency, where she remained for luncheon. A guard-of-honour was mounted at the Agency by the 42nd Deoli Regiment. Resuming her journey, Her Imperial Majesty was received at the Satur gateway, six miles from Bundi, by the Maharao Raja of Bundi and by Major Peacock, both of whom attended her to the Imperial camp. In the evening Her Imperial Majesty gave a dinner party, to which Major and Miss Peacock and Major and Mrs. Condon had the honour to be invited. This morning the Queen-Empress drove, with her suite in attendance, to the fort and palace of Bundi, through which the Maharao Raja had the honour of conducting Her Imperial Majesty. Thence she proceeded by motor, still attended by the Maharao Raja, to the Sar Bagh, Shikar Burj, and Phul Sagar, returning to the camp for luncheon.

At 2-30 P.M. the Maharao Raja came to take leave of Her Imperial Majesty, who afterwards left Bundi by motor for Kotah. At the border of the State of Kotah, some five miles from the city, Her Imperial Majesty was received by the Maharao of Kotah at the head of a body of troops and by the Political Agent, Colonel Berkeley, both of whom attended her to the Agency, which had been prepared for her reception. Guards-of-honour were mounted by the 42nd Deoli Regiment and of the State Troops of Kotah.

KING-EMPEROR'S CAMP, December 24

The following was the Court Circular for December 24th — The King-Emperor arrived at Kasra Camp last night. His Imperial Majesty attended Divine Service in the camp this morning. The sermon was preached by the Rev. John Godber. Sir Henry and Lady McMahon, Miss McMahon and Lieutenant Colonel and Mrs. Mannors-Smith had the honour of being invited to luncheon with His Imperial Majesty.

KASRA, December 25th.

The following Court Circular was issued on Christmas Day from the King-Emperor's Camp. — The King-Emperor attended Divine Service in camp this morning. His Imperial Majesty was attended by the whole of his suite.

The following is the programme of the Royal visit to Calcutta

December

30th, Saturday — Arrival of Their Majesties at Howrah Station, Calcutta. Official reception by the Government of Bengal and presentation of the Corporation address at Prinsep's Ghat. State Procession to Government House. Massing of 25,000 children of Calcutta and the suburbs along the Red Road. Public holiday. Afternoon Races, Decorations and illuminations at night.

31st, Sunday. — Their Majesties attend Divine Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral.

January 1912.

1st, Monday. — Morning and afternoon, Polo Tournament. Proclamation Parade. Evening, State Dinner.

2nd, Tuesday. — Morning, Proclamation Parade. Afternoon Horse Show. Review of Troops. Garden Party. Evening, Levée.

3rd, Wednesday. — Morning, Finals of Polo Tournament. Afternoon, King-Emperor's Cup Race. Evening, Torchlight Tattoo and Fireworks.

4th, Thursday. — Afternoon, Garden Party. Horse Show. Evening, the Royal Court, Drawing Room.

5th, Friday. — Their Majesties attend the Pageants at the Maidan.

6th, Saturday. — Afternoon, Tollygunge Races. Evening, General Illuminations in Calcutta.

8th, Monday. — Their Majesties leave Calcutta from the Prinsep's Ghat.

Morocco.

REUTER wires from Madrid: — Natives near Melilla attacked Spaniards on Friday. Severe fighting took place over a front of nearly forty miles. Spanish casualties were nine killed and thirty-eight wounded, including several officers. Natives lost heavily.

Reuter wires from Madrid: — There were further furious attacks on Spanish positions in the Melilla hinterland on Saturday and Sunday. The casualties were seventeen killed and 41 wounded.

Franco-Spanish negotiations on the subject of Morocco are making little progress. The French proposals so far have been

met by Spanish counter-proposals, which are seemingly unacceptable to France.

Reuter wires from Madrid: — Five Spanish columns attacked and succeeded in driving a band of Riffians across the Kert river after severe fighting. The Spaniards lost two killed and forty wounded.

MUCH bad blood is being made between France and Spain by wholesale accusations, in which General Luque, Minister of War, has participated, that the French are stirring up the Riffians and furnishing supplies. The Premier's organ condemns these charges, but they augur badly for the Franco-Spanish negotiations.

A large Spanish force assumed the offensive on the 27th instant, and according to a Madrid message, drove off the Riffians. The Spaniards afterwards followed them up along the Kert river, punishing them severely.

The Consular Court at Ujda has acquitted M. Destailleur, French Commissioner in Ujda, the Vice-Consul, and the head of the Customs, who were charged with the peculation and gun running. China.

In consequence of the Peace Conference deadlock, the Consult-General of the Powers have made unofficial representations to the Imperial and revolutionary representatives, urging them to arrive at a speedy understanding in the interests of all concerned.

Wutungfang has replied that a hasty peace, not according to the wishes of the people, would probably lead to a more serious outbreak.

Reuter wires from Peking: — In an interview Yuan-Shuh-Kui said, he would never agree to a Republic.

The Peking correspondent of the *Times*, who is now at Shanghai, telegraphs that every revolutionary of every class declares uncompromisingly that the Manchus must go.

Yuan-Shi-Kai still adheres to the monarchical idea, but it is confidently expected in Shanghai that he will yield to the inevitable and become President of a Federal Republic.

Reuter wires from Peking. — The Government fears that the Conference at Shanghai will fail to reach a settlement. The rebels are preparing to march northward *via* Pukow.

Indians in Canada.

THE Canadian Government has decided to permit the immigrations of wives and families of Indians, mostly Sikhs, who have settled to the number of four thousand in Western Canada. A Commission will be sent to the West to investigate the conditions, and report to the Minister of the Interior before any relaxation of the continuous passage regulations is considered.

The Gaekwar and the "Times."

In view of the statement that the Gaekwar of Baroda when travelling in Europe in 1910, did not shrink from associating with such people as Krishnavarma, the latter writes to the *Times* saying that since June 1907 when he migrated to Paris he has never seen or corresponded with the Gaekwar.

New Delhi.

A small committee consisting of a civil officer, an engineer and architect will probably be appointed first of all to consider matters connected with the planning of new Delhi. The total amount of land as required by the Government of India for the new capital is nearly 115,000 acres.

It is notified in the current *Punjab Gazette* that certain lands in the neighbourhood of Delhi are required by the Government of India for the new capital of Delhi, and the Collector of Delhi is directed to take orders for the acquisition of these lands. The lands in question are situated in the Delhi and Ballabgarh tahsils. No less than 126 blocks of land are specified, the largest of which in the Delhi mouza is over eight thousand acres in extent.

The Change.

It is not expected that the administrative changes in connection with the re-union of the two Bengals and the formation of the province of Behar and Orissa, can be carried out before May as Parliament does not meet until 14th February. A Bill amending the Indian Councils Act of 1909 must lie before both Houses of Parliament for a certain period before it can be passed.

Hindu University.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has presented two lakhs to the Hindu University Fund.

TETE A TETE



Our attention has been drawn to the telegraphic version of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's article in the *Institute Gazette* of Aligarh on the future condition of Mussalmans in India, which appears in the Allahabad daily in its issue of the 24th instant, by the *Pioneer's* editorial comments on the 25th.

The *Pioneer* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*.

They succeeded in shocking us after we had been assured in our own mind that our nerves had become so inured to the periodical shocks prepared for its readers by this sensation-loving journal that nothing which it may ever write would surprise us. We need hardly say that we had already read the article of the Nawab in the Urdu journal itself, and that it had impressed us not only as a most temperate criticism of the re-union of the two Bengals and an earnest appeal for the timely redress of the Moslem grievance, but also as a well-timed advice to the Mussalmans not to lose their heads and follow counsels of despair. We were certainly not prepared by a careful perusal of this article for a carping criticism thereof in an Anglo-Indian journal. No, not even in the *Pioneer*. But surprises never cease. We read in the pseudo *Thoughtful* of Allahabad that "while the Bengalis and Behari (sic) are equally full of joy over the new arrangements, the Mussaman population of Bengal is expressing its dismay, and the Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk has written in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of 'entire dissatisfaction' and 'a great community in mourning'." It is to be regretted," says the ponderous critic of Allahabad, "that the Secretary to the Trustees of the M. A. O. College should have chosen a students' magazine for the publication of such phrases." The *Pioneer's* attitude towards Aligarh and its Secretary since the removal of Mr. Archbold is well known, though few are perhaps aware that the *Pioneer* as an advocate of British dominance at Aligarh sometimes wreaks its revenge on Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk so far as to mutilate his replies to its own criticism of Aligarh before publishing them some weeks after receipt. But in the instance under notice the *Pioneer* surpasses even its own record. We have nothing but contempt for the *Pioneer's* knowledge of Aligarh affairs, but we had certainly thought that journalistic conscience did not go so far as to belittle the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* to be a "students' magazine." To have mistaken the well-known organ of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement, which has always played a most conspicuous part in shaping the political as well as social and educational opinions of the Mussalmans, for the *Aligarh Monthly*, which is the "students' magazine," is a moral too delicious even for the *Pioneer*. But the "phrases" which are, according to the *Pioneer*, so absolutely unthinkable in a "students' magazine," are nowhere to be found in the *Institute Gazette* itself. The translator makes the Nawab say that among the Mussalmans the decision is received with "entire dissatisfaction." A more accurate translation of the passage to which the correspondent of the *Pioneer* refers is that "so far as it (the reunion of the two Bengals) affects the Mussalmans, it may be understood to be the consensus of opinion that this reunion is generally disliked." Even this can be condoned, but what is one to say of the next "regrettable phrase," which the *Pioneer's* correspondent puts into the mouth of the Nawab, the statement that "unless this is done, Their Majesties, will leave behind them a great community in mourning." Well, the fact of the matter is that the Nawab has said nothing of the kind. What he did say was that "our hearty wish now is only this, that on his departure from this country His Majesty should leave nothing behind him but exclamations of joy and gratefulness." When a newspaper once wrongly announced the death of Mark Twain, the great humorist contented himself with saying that the report was "much exaggerated." Perhaps the *Pioneer* is guilty of nothing beyond a similar "exaggeration." Evidently the *Pioneer* would love nothing better than the Mussalmans acting as the catpaw of the bureaucracy, and shouting "Hallelujahs" when they burn their fingers. But after its ignominious failure to repress Hindu agitation or prevent its being rewarded,

surely the *Pioneer* is not sufficiently brazen to expect the Mussalmans to act as sycophants and toadies.

It is with the deepest feelings of regret that the news of the death of the Hon. Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, C.S.I., Member of the Madras Executive Council, will be received throughout the country. He was one of those few Indians who have risen by sheer dint of merit to the highest positions in the State. His talents were varied and conspicuous. Both as an advocate and a Judge of the High Court he had impressed the Bench and the Bar with his legal attainments and upright character. When after the sudden retirement of the Maharaja of Bobbili, the first India Member of the Executive Council of Madras, Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer was given the vacant seat, the appointment was hailed with satisfaction by the public. The Governor of Madras has borne grateful testimony to the enthusiasm, honesty and ability with which Mr. Iyer discharged the duties of his responsible office during the brief period of his association with the government of the Presidency. Both in private and public life Mr. Iyer had won the esteem and affection of his countrymen. Many educational institutions owed their existence to his liberality, and his help was given with equal generosity to all movements for public good. It is not only a loss to Madras but to the whole of India that a man of such talents, beneficence and lofty aims and character should have had his career of usefulness cut short so suddenly.

SAVAJI RAO GAEKWAR'S is not a name unknown in India or even in Europe. The great ruler of Baroda has often figured in large headlines of newspapers, and has proved a stimulus to Indians of all ranks,

Gaekwar Baiting

and religions who love their country. But the latter portion of the year 1911 has not been an auspicious time for the Gaekwar. First of all came the Gaekwar-Scindia marriage alliance, and a good deal was said about "the principles of a life-time." We have no wish to revive that controversy, but we hope we are justified in adding that leaders and editorial notes and letters to the press have generally been written as if it was the Gaekwar himself who was going to commit bigamy. After all the Maharaja is only the father of the Princess and only one of the parents, and unless it is assumed that it is only the wishes of the patriarch of the family that must be consulted and carried out, we have not sufficient data before us to pass any moral judgment on the Gaekwar. After the report of the alliance came another incident which became generally known only when the explanation of the Maharaja came presumably to close it. The wording of the Press *communiqué* went to show that the Governor-General considered the publication of His Highness's letter sufficient to remove "an unfortunate impression about the ceremony of the Durbar." But the "copy" supplied by the publication was too tempting for the London *Times*, and utter lies have since been published and persisted in, the denials of the Gaekwar and Krishna Varma notwithstanding. We possess a much closer experience of Baroda than five generations of the editors of the *Times* can boast of, and we believe ourselves to be in a position to discuss Baroda affairs independently. But for all the manliness and independence shown by the Gaekwar in his dealings with agents of the Government—an attitude for which we are in a position to know how dearly he and his State have paid—there is not a shadow of suspicion attaching to Sayaji Rao Gaekwar on the score of extending his patronage in a special degree to Indian extremists and anti-British campaigners. Some of the most trenchant criticism of Hindu politicians of the Congress, both Moderate and Extremist, and some of the most sturdy support of the policy and measures of the British Government and of the action of the Moslem League has in recent years come from the pen of some of the State employes at Baroda, and more than once over their own signatures. But the Maharaja has been loth to check their freedom so long as they did not offend against the laws of the State or of British India. These facts can be vouched for by many Anglo-Indian and Indian journals in India, although the *Times* is as usual wholly ignorant of them. We would commend to our London contemporary the remarks of the *Empire* which ought to direct the erring footsteps of the *Times* from the pulpit of exalted balderdash to the ordinary level of commonsense. If the Gaekwar had been playing such a dangerous game as the *Times* shamelessly mentions, we may be sure he would have had sense enough to disguise his seditious designs under the cloak of abject servility. Fault may possibly be found with the manner of the Maharaja, but to utilize an unfortunate incident for a base and splenetic attack on the foremost Indian ruler is hardly worthy of any English journal. Most Indians are led to believe that had the Gaekwar demoralised his State by his own unchecked concubinage, as is not rare, alas! in Indian rulers, or had he spent the substance of his subjects on race-horses and polo-ponies and on feasting jockeys and a certain class of subalterns, permitting his Resident to be the Mayor of the Palace, all would have gone well with the Gaekwar. His only fault is that he has improved his State

beyond recognition, bringing it into line with neighbouring British territory, and that in social reform and mass education he has set an example even to British India which is confessedly hard to follow. Such an impression is most unfortunate, and we trust the Government of India would take early steps to contradict the baseless fabrications of the *Times*. This, we may add, is our own opinion, and we have never consulted the ruler of Baroda or any of his *entourage* before trying to do our obvious duty. We hear of the people of Mysore agitating in favour of an alteration of the existing Warrant of Precedence among Ruling Chiefs. We are confident that H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore has no hand in the matter; but it is our belief that he should assert himself to check the agitation at this particular juncture which is most unsuitable. The *real* Warrant of Precedence is in the Maharaja's own hands, and if great improvements in administration are about to be introduced into Mysore, as we hear His Highness contemplates, then the Ruler of Mysore need be in no doubt about his future rank. An illustrated English paper mentions that the Grekwar was made a Ruler from a farmer boy. Be that as it may, what we have to consider in such a case to-day is how the "farmer boy" has acquitted himself during all these years. We know of some Chiefs who would not be able to acquit themselves well even if they were made "farmer boys" from a Prince!

THE Congress Resolution exhorting Indians to encourage home industries and abstain, as far as practicable, from buying foreign goods and give preference to swadeshi articles was passed in the flicker of a dying enthusiasm. The speakers seemed to be engaged in an effort of special pleading for a forlorn cause. The only movement that could be of vital consequence to the economic development of the country, a movement demanding not only genuine devotion and self-sacrifice but a great constructive effort has floundered hopelessly in the rush of cheap rhetoric and sentiment. The flaunting of an empty "Resolution" every year, as if the movement was only just begun, has something more serious and significant in it than a mere comic futility. It lays every Indian, who has waxed eloquent about Swadeshi on the Congress platform, open to the charge of practical incapacity. The Swadeshi movement not only requires personal sacrifice in buying things made in India, but also demands a sustained and organised effort to start new industries, preserve and improve the old ones and develop the economic resources of the country. Nothing worth the name has been done in these directions since the movement was ushered in the strife and turmoil of politics. Perhaps it was conceived more in hate of the "Feringhee" than in genuine love for the Motherland. All the same its failure has stamped the Indian with a want of fruitifying resolution and capacity.

IT HAS long been an idea of ours that newspapers in India should devote part of their "agony columns" to the publication of accounts of the thinnest of thin meetings convened to congratulate, condole with or thank the powers that be, of telegrams sent to important personages by their polar opposites, and of descriptions of the reception accorded to people whose only sustenance is popular applause. An appropriate heading for this Vanity Fair would be "Wanted Known!" We believe that if such a consideration was shown to would-be self-advertisers, the Mussalmans would loom larger in such columns than their "numerical proportion," "political importance" and all the claims of "gate keeping" could ever warrant. And for some not very occult reason, the greatest congestion would be experienced somewhere in the vicinity of approaching Council elections. We are not afraid of mentioning names; but we fear the gentlemen who have recently delighted to see themselves appear in print oftener than the German Chancellor or the Grand Vizier of Turkey would thereby get a much-desired advertisement, and thus we are certainly loth to give to them. Not so long ago the Burdwan Conference gave these would-be celebrities the opportunity of figuring in press telegrams and correspondence columns. But it is the misfortunes of Turkey and Persia that have proved a veritable God-send to them. It is an ill wind, indeed, etc., etc. All we should like to know is what right have the members and self-elected officers of a society, loosely constructed and devoted for providing relief for the sufferers from Italian aggression in Tripoli, to communicate to the Sultan of Turkey, the Grand Vizier, the President of the Parliament, the War Minister, the Committee of Union and Progress and Comité Union Libérale, Constantinople, a message about the future arrangement of the Caliphate. We own that every Mussalman who believes in the Caliphate has a right to approach the Caliph and offer advice if he deems it necessary. But we cannot admit that a Red Crescent Society, which exists only for the relief of sufferers, has as such any *locus standi* in the matter. If we turn to the message cabled by these gentlemen we stand amazed at its unabashed audacity and impertinence. "The Moslem World expects Caliphate to protect Dar-ul-Islam instead of dissensions.

The Moslems in meeting received the news with profound shame, disappointment, regret and alarm. They strongly urge in the name Allah, of the Prophet and patriotism to stop the dissension and save the Caliphate from disaster and disgrace. Else cede Dar-ul-Islam to Christendom without bloodshed" This amazingly impertinent message reminds us of the well known lines:

تو کار زمین را نگر ساختی * که با آسمان نیز پرداختی

(Thou didst conduct the affairs of the earth so well indeed, that thou must needs meddle in the affairs of heaven also.) "It is nothing short of unparalleled conceit in gentlemen whose work in the Bengal Legislature during the last two years has been received with more "profound shame, disappointment and regret" than the news of Turkish dissensions by "the Moslem World," and whose frantic efforts to cadge votes has begun to cause unbounded "alarm." This cable was not an isolated action, but like the Burdwan Conference, only a link in the long chain of popularity-hunting; and another link was forged shortly afterwards in a meeting convened by the same persons on the 24th December "to consider the present position and to determine the future policy of the Mussalmans." It is noticeable that while the Burdwan Conference was essentially a separatist movement, the cable to Turkey was sent on behalf of "the Moslem World," and the meeting of a week ago was equally universal in its character. We do not know who and how many attended. But the house where the meeting was held is not likely to have sufficed even for the *élite* of the Moslem Society of Calcutta, much less for those of the whole of Moslem India or "the Moslem World." And what was the upshot of it all? The following resolution was adopted, we suppose, *nem con.*: "That this meeting is of opinion that the time has come for the Mussalmans to change their policy towards other communities, but considering the importance of the question it is desirable that the line of policy to be adopted should be determined after further deliberation." We are wholly opposed to the policy of fighting other peoples' battles, and we trust the Mussalmans will never lend themselves as catspaws whether it be to European bureaucrats or Hindu politicians. We also feel that a *rapprochement* with Hindus is currently desirable. We are even prepared to admit that the Mussalmans should take a periodical stock of their political assets and balance them against their liabilities. But "immediate changes" are not to our liking, and we cannot conceive that if the Mussalmans go to the Hindus in sackcloth and ashes to-day, desiring a re-union, the new friendship would be any more lasting or useful than the one it is obviously meant to displace. The only lasting friendship would be based on respect, not on pity, and the disparity of wealth and intelligence such as exists in Bengal to-day between Hindus and Mussalmans would be as sure an enemy of real friendship between the two as the disparity between the conditions of a prince and a pauper. All the same, all sources of friction should be removed, and efforts should be made to look at the differences fairly and squarely, and to discover, after a business-like enquiry, what really keeps the Hindus and Mussalmans apart. The President of this year's Congress has discussed at some length the mischief of "sham history." We would suggest an equally earnest consideration of the mischief of "sham sentiment" and of political hysteria. Be that as it may, we cannot commend the self-conceit that suggests the periodical convening of meetings which come to the wise conclusion that no conclusion is yet possible. But if they take the place of the column "Wanted Known" for the self-advertising gentry, they are not held altogether in vain.

THE diplomatic farce that the Muscovite has been playing at Teheran has at last developed into a grim and ghastly tragedy. What is happening at Tabriz and other places—the bloody chase to which the Cossack license and savagery has given rise, the forcible occupation of Government buildings, the bombardment of the town, the shooting down of officials and hundreds of peaceful inhabitants, the butchering of women and children—was inevitable and clearly foreseen. It is in fact a deliberate and cold-blooded move in the now familiar game which the entire East has been witnessing for months past with indignation and disgust. The acceptance of one ultimatum after another has been forced on a helpless Government at the point of the bayonet. Mr. Shuster, whose honesty, devotion and ability were being ungrudgingly applied to the task of extricating the country from a hopeless financial muddle, has at last been dismissed. But the end of the drama is not yet, and it was not with this object that the Russian ultimatums were launched. Even if the whole nation were to go down on its knees and beg its oppressor to spare its sovereignty and independence, it would not turn him from executing his "ruthless will," and all prayers and supplications would be in vain. Russia wants to be the sole and undisputed master at Teheran, and will wade through streams of innocent blood in order to achieve her end. Her assurances may have imposed on British statesmen. In Persia they have meant the despatch of Cossack border guards who have given, in just a little massacre of poor Persians, an earnest of the righteous intentions of the Tsar. No diplomatic

pretence need disguise the fact any longer that Persia has got to go the way of the Finns and the Poles; and whether the British Cabinet would like it or not, it has got to face the new situation, complicated by the long-drawn agony of a persecuted nation and the shifting of frontiers in the Middle East. Sir Edward Grey has so often played false to his professed liberal principles that it would be idle to expect that he would respond to appeals for justice, or try to save a helpless nation instead of compromising the most vital interests of the British Empire in the East. He and his Convention need not wait for history to come to judgment. The events now in progress in Persia have furnished to the world a full measure of himself and his policy. Will the British Nation and Parliament continue to tolerate Muscovite iniquity, the gradual destruction of Persia and the abject weakness of their own Minister? The highest interests of the British Empire, apart from the considerations of humanity and justice, hang on this question. Some Anglo-Indian journals which questioned the right of the leaders of Indian Moslems to "meddle" in foreign affairs are now preaching to them from a great height the duty of explaining the inevitableness of a British Expedition to Persia and the *bona fides* of the British Government. While we trust that influential Moslems will do nothing to excite Moslem passions, we confess we do not recognise any such claims on the part of the Foreign Secretary who has treated the feelings and appeals of Indian Mussalmans with silent disdain. We do recognise that what is happening to-day is inevitable and what may happen hereafter will be equally inevitable. Some nations are born with Empires, others acquire them, but Empire has always been thrust on the British nation. India, Egypt, and South Africa, all illustrate this outstanding fact of British expansion. The end of Persia has come, and it is due to the Anglo-Russian Convention, though a series of intermediary causes, has as usual intervened. It is not the action of the Fidas in the North or the Kashghais in the South that will bring about the foreign occupation of Persia, Temporary, of course, but just as temporary as that of Egypt. These incidents have happened only to-day, but the *Saturday Review* frankly enough anticipated all this four weeks ago. It wrote even then that "it is obvious now that Russia means to have and allow no interference with complete control of the North." The apology tendered, by our advice, has quite failed of its object. A demand is now made that Mr. Shuster and Mr. Lecombe shall be dismissed and that in her choice of officials Persia shall be guided solely by the advice of Great Britain and Russia. She must in the end comply with these demands (their rejection by the Mejlis cannot be taken seriously), also with the claim for an indemnity for the expenses of Russian troops. It is admitted that the British Government has been fully consulted, and parts of the ultimatum are in the name of both Powers. *Finis Persia*. This is the end of any pretence of Persian independence. It was bound before long to become an absurdity. Such sentimental considerations as those put forward by Lord Curzon in an able speech at the Persian Society dinner could not avail, unfortunately, to avert the inevitable. We shall henceforth have to make ourselves masters of the South as the Russians will be of the North, and then our Empires will be coterminous." The end has come at last, and we wish Sir Edward Grey and the Liberals joy of it. But if we have not misjudged our Russians, we hope to meet them one day—at Nishki or Chantun.

One of the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Congress related to the repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act and the removal of the Regulation, of 1818 from the Statute Book. It was urged that "in view of the loyal enthusiasm evoked by the Royal visit and the official pronouncements about the improvement in the general situation, these measures as well as the Regulations authorising deportation without trial" should be repealed. The demand is just, though we have little hope that it will be conceded by the Government in the very near future. The circumstances that led to the forging of the repressive weapons are still fresh in official memories; and even if the Government were disposed to consider the whole matter in the light of recent improvement in the situation, the provincial bureaucrats would scarcely like to divest themselves so soon of their new executive glories. There can be no question, however, that all need for repressive measures has ceased to exist. The growth of sedition and anarchical crime was mainly the result of the agitation against the Partition of Bengal. The Councils Reforms removed much of the genuine discontent of the educated classes legitimately desirous of having a voice in the councils of the Government. The modification of the Partition ought to kill the bomb-revolutionary and anarchist. At any rate, it would be in keeping with the new spirit of trust and conciliation which has of late been much in evidence in some of the acts of the Government, if the heavy embargo on the freedom of the Press and of public meetings is removed. Public opinion in the country has, through the stress and storm of adversity, grown fully alive to its responsibilities, and it is no longer necessary that it should be fettered with laws suited only to the exigencies of a semi-civilised administration.

The Comrade.

The Announcement.

III.

IN DEALING with the treatment of the Mussulmans of East Bengal last week, we had occasion to refer to the Doctrine of Compensation which seems to have travelled beyond the limits of foreign affairs and to have peacefully penetrated into internal administration. We had occasion to mention that the Mussalmans had no *Panther* to send to Agadir, and that it was too well-established a rule of diplomacy that no *Panther*, no compensation. Not that the Government are wholly callous. They have evidently not reached that stage yet. There are times when they believe they "could not defraud the legitimate expectations of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal who form the bulk of the population of that Province and who have been loyal to the British Government throughout the troubles" without exposing themselves to the charge of "bad faith." But while the charge of bad faith towards the Mussalmans is a skeleton in the cupboard, the Government of India have not been so indiscreet as to leave that dreadful receptacle unlocked. The charge of bad faith does not push them from their stools like the ghost of Banquo. They save over their conscience with the comforting thoughts that "the Muhammadans would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality with, or possibly of small superiority over, the Hindus," that Dacca would be another Lucknow, the second capital of the new Governor-in-Council, and that "the interests of the Muhammadans will be safeguarded by the special representation which they enjoy in the Legislative Councils."

Now, as regards the first "wooden spoon," surely the Government of India are not themselves, nor consider the Mussulmans to be, so obtuse as to regard "approximate numerical equality with, or possibly small superiority over, the Hindus" as the equivalent of a two-thirds majority? They could not have forgotten that when the Government of the United Provinces proposed to increase Moslem representation in local bodies from a seventh to a fifth, every Hindu paper throughout India began a vigorous campaign against that Government and silenced the official batteries within a month. If a reduction of 7 per cent. in the Hindu majority in local bodies of the United Provinces was a sufficient *casus belli*, surely the reduction of more than 14 per cent. in the Moslem majority in the Provincial Council of United Bengal is large enough to disturb Moslem equanimity.

As regards the "second Lucknow" argument, may not Dacca, which is more than 16 hours' journey from Calcutta and involves two changes, be a second Bankipore rather, which, was after all only half that distance and still remained unvisited by the Lieutenant-Governor of Western Bengal. Moreover, one is not sure that an arrangement which would make the Government peripatetic in the United Provinces would be any improvement on the cold neglect of Dacca in the good old days. In the United Provinces there is hardly any public opinion to control, or at least guide, the bureaucracy, and it is our conviction that this is so partly because the United Provinces have a locomotive administration.

There is still the sheet-anchor of the Government, the separate representation of the Mussalmans. With the re-distribution of the areas nobody knows what new proportion Moslem representation may assume in Bengal, and a bird in hand is generally worth several in a bush. But even assuming that this safeguard is adequate, could it not have protected so wealthy and cultured a minority as the Hindus of Bengal? Why did not the Government assure them that even if they were "labouring under a sense of real injustice" it could have been removed by their utilising the safeguards of the minorities even better than by a modification of the Partition? As a matter of fact, as we shall show later, the Hindus of Bengal have been amply protected in both the Councils of divided Bengal. But there is still another and a greater consideration. Who can now be persuaded that Lord Minto's Separate Representation will not follow Lord Curzon's Partition on the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire? The Government of Lord Hardinge have given their pledge no doubt, but then Lord Minto had pledged still more clearly and solemnly that separate and adequate representation would be accorded to the Mussalmans in local bodies as well. More than five years have passed and the pledge is still unredempted. But why need we go so far? Was not the Partition of Bengal to be looked upon as a "settled fact"? When another Liberal M. P. said that democracy was entirely opposed to and would resist the doctrine of the settled fact, what was it that that great Liberal, Lord Morley, told us? He said in the House of Commons:

Now if that be so, I am very sorry for democracy. I do not agree with my hon. friend. I think democracy will be just as reasonable as any other sensible form of Government, and I do not believe democracy will for a moment think that you are to rip up a settlement of an administrative or constitutional question, because it jars with some abstract *a priori*

idea. I for one certainly say that I would not remain at the India Office or any other powerful responsible departmental office, on condition that I made short work of settled facts, hurried on with my catalogue of first principles, and arranged on those principles the whole duties of Government.

This was what Lord Morley had pledged himself to less than four years ago. But what a mockery are those words to-day. Remember, it is not only this that democracy has ripped up the settlement of an administrative question while the Liberals are still in power, and Lord Morley, if not at the India Office, still holds a powerful and responsible office in the Cabinet. There is something far more unsettling than the ripping up of a settled fact. It is the platitude of the Government of India that Government schemes "could only be justified by success," and the revolutionary doctrine that success signifies nothing more or less than the satisfaction of those that know how to clamour and agitate. In the light of these two doctrines, is there any pledge that can be considered sacred? That which assured the Mussalmans about their separate representation certainly cannot. Whosoever may regard separate Moslem representation as a settled fact, those at any rate who opposed the Partition do not regard it as such. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar had exhausted the resources of polemics last Easter at Bareilly in opposing that safeguard of minorities, and more than anything else it was the vigour of that attack which cleared the way for his leadership of this year's Congress. The same old arguments are repeated in his Presidential Address that have resounded from other political platforms, while all arguments that go to show why a defenceless minority was forced to apply for a partition of the franchise are ignored in the approved way of the Congress. We think we had dealt adequately with Mr. Dar after Easter, and whatever may be his feelings after Christmas, we must confess, we have no heart to go over the old ground once more. All that we need say here is that he claims that the principle of communal representation has been "denounced by the whole country," that its approval only by "a section of the Mahomedans" is supported by their interpreting "a certain passage in Lord Minto's speech to the All-India Mahomedan deputation in their own way," that "injustice was done to the Hindus but they remained quiet," that the arguments favouring a modification of the fallacious test of numbers in politics have been "tricked out in the costume of sham history," that "history is like the child's box of the letters of alphabet which you may arrange in any way," that "the Hindus will never tolerate" such arguments, that "they shall never rest contented so long as that humiliation is not removed," that "Mr. (now Sir Lewis) Jenkins, the Home Member, perpetrated a cynical joke at their expense when to Mr. Malaviya's Resolution he replied that before Government could undertake to correct the disproportionate representation of Mahomedans, the Hindus must first convert the Mahomedans to their view," and that "it is official pronouncements like this which compromise the strict equity of British rule." One can see that the clamour and the agitation are there just the same. So also is "the growing estrangement" between Hindus and Mussalmans for which the Government of India have shown a refreshing concern in their despatch. Only the customary symptoms of "a very widespread and unyielding bitterness of feeling" against the Government are apparently required to make the Government rip up another settlement.

It is undeniable that the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal laboured under many difficulties before the Partition was carried out. They were for the most part the descendants of the depressed classes of Hindus, and although Islam had improved their social status, their conversion had added to the ignominy of the low-caste the reproach of the renegade. They were also tenants and wage-earning labourers, and that too, in a permanently settled area. Above all, they were ignorant and helpless. Yet they endured all this quietly and as only the weakest of the weak can endure. It was not they who had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. But the Partition came to them as a well-deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition began to improve and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that like all *novaeux riches*, these political *parvenus* sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about in the peacock vein. But like the exaltation born of a draught of baschab, it did not last long, and the reaction has come with a suddenness that is terrible. The emancipated slaves are once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters who are once more in the position of the slave-driver will be more than human if they do not use the lash and the bastinado a little lavishly. And this is the boon which the Government of India have in their unaided judgment and with a full-throated laudation of their generosity conferred on the "loyal and contented Mussalmans." Well could they have said with the Poet, in anticipation of this boon:

دیکھتی پاتے میں عفاقی بتوں سے کیا نہیں
اک برص من لے گیا ہے کہ یہ سال اچھا ہے

(Let us see what boons the lovers receive from the idols of their affections. A *Brahman* has declared that this would be an auspicious year!)

The questions are what should the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal do at this juncture, and what should the Government do to break their fall? We have considered in the course of the last three weeks every advice that has been offered to the Mussalmans, and we may add that we ourselves have not escaped those impulses of the moment to which the announcement gave rise. We trust we shall be charged neither with sycophancy nor with callousness for the wrongs of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal if in adding our own counsel to those of others we declare that in our judgment the Mussalmans should accept the decision of the Government. But while this is our advice to the Mussalmans, we cannot conceal the fact that it is the Government of India that stand more in need of friendly counsel than the people whom they have apparently ignored. They must temper the wind to the shorn lamb. It is not enough to secure to the Mussalmans a majority of about two millions in a population of 42 millions. Even to-day in the Provincial Council of Western Bengal there are only 6 Mussalmans out of 32 non-officials, and 4 of these owe their seats to the separate electorates which Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar would regard merely as a cynical joke of the Government. From Bengal itself only two Mussalmans were elected, as against 11 non-Moslems, and in the Government nominations too the "favourite wife" failed to secure even a single seat, while the termagant obtained three, including the Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, who is a host in himself. One would have thought that in Eastern Bengal at least the Moslem majority would assert itself. But the Mussalmans number no more than 8 out of 24 non-officials in the Council of that Province. Of these 4 owe their seats to the separate electorates, which on paper ought not to have been necessary to protect a 66 per cent. majority, and two Mussalmans of the influence of Nawab Sir Salimullah Bahadur and Nawab Syed Nawab Ali have come in through the back door of nomination. Taking both these Councils together, we find that out of 44 elected members, only 12 are Mahomedan, 8 of whom owe their seats to separate electorates, and that out of 12 nominated non-officials only two are Mussalmans. Thus, out of an aggregate of 56 non-officials, elected or nominated, the Mussalmans number 14, or a mere fourth.

When the area represented by these 56 members is redistributed, we doubt whether the Mussalmans of the new Province of Behar would secure an average of four Mussalmans to eight Hindus which they have now obtained. But, howsoever Behar Mussalmans may fare, those of the two portions of Bengal will find it impossible to secure more than the 10 seats that they now possess out of a total of 40 non-officials, as against 21 Hindus. It must be remembered that all that the Government promise to the Mussalmans in Bengal is "a position of approximate numerical equality with, or possibly of small superiority over, the Hindus." It is only the re-grouping of the population that will take place and nothing more. Following the lines of that re-grouping, we find that, other things remaining the same, the Mussalmans of Bengal, in spite of their approximate numerical equality with, or possibly a small superiority over, the Hindus, will secure no more than a 25 per cent representation in the Legislative Council of re-united Bengal. As regards the Imperial Council, Behar has now one Hindu and one Mussalman, and the two Bengals three Hindus and three Mussalmans. But it must be remembered that the Hon. Mr. Ghuznavi owes his seat to the spin of the coin. In the ordinary course, therefore, Bengal Mussalmans can expect at the present ratio no higher a ratio of representation than 7 to 9, and this after the Moslem interests are safeguarded to some extent by the separate Moslem electorates existing side by side with joint territorial electorates.

It will be premature at this stage to suggest details of any future re-arrangement, but we think we shall not be asking too much for the Mussalmans if we demanded some security that both in the Provincial and the Imperial Legislatures the Mussalmans will for a certainty have a few seats more than those that may fall to the Hindus, and this chiefly by election. We may only add that this will never be possible without the introduction of the principle of separate communal electorates in local bodies. If superior wealth and education count for anything in the struggle for supremacy, a 50 per cent. representation will afford to the Hindus of Bengal a good enough opportunity of making their influence felt. After all, when the Hindus of Bengal numbered no more than a fourth of the total population of the old undivided Province, they could not only lord it over the Mussalmans of the Province but also crush the Hindus of Behar, Orissa, and Chhota Nagpur. With their present wealth and education, they should be the last to grumble if the possible Mussalman majority gets an equality of representation with them.

The second necessary safeguard is that for all posts in the gift of the Government of Bengal a minimum qualification should be fixed, and so long as the numerical proportion of the Mussalmans is not exhausted none but Mussalmans with the fixed minimum qualification should be employed. If Mussalmans with such quali-

fications are not available within the limits of the Province, they should be imported from the neighbouring Provinces. Unless this is done it will be impossible to destroy the Upas tree of the monopolist under which no other vegetation has yet prospered. Similarly, the Indian member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal should alternately be Moslem and Hindu. It is no secret that a Muhammadan official of Bengal of considerable talents had to be thrust back because another Muhammadan of Bengal had been selected for a still higher appointment. This shows that it is not necessarily the best men that is always selected. In view of the fact that all the three appointments to the Provincial Executive Councils were those of Hindus, the new post in Behar and the first vacancy in Bengal should go to Mussalmans.

We must admit that this looks like seeking shelter behind the Government when all communities should learn to put their trust in themselves. But it is our belief that taking their historical position into consideration, Mussalmans in Bengal, as in the North, have not had an equal opportunity with other communities. They were allowed to waste their energies in a vain endeavour to find sustenance out of the dry bones of some of their ancient learning to the absolute neglect of modern studies, and, what is far more important, modern methods of study. The Madrasah system of Bengal is a standing reproach to the indifference and neglect of the Government, and we see no hope for the Mussalmans if this system is allowed to continue. The least that the Government should do at this juncture is to open a first grade modern residential College for the Mussalmans at Calcutta and another at Dacca, which should be worked on the lines of Aligarh. The Durbar grant of 50 lakhs for education, taken together with the Opium windfall of last year some of which is earmarked for the same purpose, cannot be too small an allotment to permit the erection of such Colleges. What strict equity demands is that for the next thirty years at least the educational budget of the Mussalmans should be separate and a *pro rata* allotment should be made for Moslem and Hindu primary, secondary and collegiate education, for girls as well as for boys. It is manifestly unjust that the number of Mussalman students that are admitted into the Presidency College at Calcutta should be strictly and even ungenerously limited when the Mussalmans have no College such as the Hindu College exclusively for their use. Nor is it equitable that liberal aid should be denied or delayed to girls' schools opened by Muhammadans on the plea that there is no saving in the Budget on account of the growing requirements of the Betune College which is practically of as little use to Moslem ladies as Girton or Lady Margaret's Hall. We remember a cartoon in a Bombay paper depicting the Governor of Bombay as informing a Moslem politician dressed like a boy that he must first climb up the ladder of education before he could reach desirable toys such as high Government appointments. There certainly was not much humour in this cartoon as it was originally conceived, but it has amply been supplied by the Government of more than one Province which has left the toys on the high shelf, but has removed the ladder. And of no Government is this truer than of the Government of Bengal which reserves most of its niggardliness for its friends and so-called favourites. If the Government of India and the Secretary of State sincerely desire to see the Mussalmans qualifying themselves for the high offices and the representation on Councils to which their numbers entitle them, they will have to demand from the Local Government an annual report about the progress of Moslem Education in Bengal, and a more careful attention on the part of the Bengal Government to the programme of reform prepared by the Muhammadan Educational Conference. The Department of Public Instruction has taken the high road all these years. Is it not time to take the lower road pointed out by the Mussalmans themselves and to see if that would take them to Scotland earlier?

But it is essential that all these concessions should be announced immediately, and that the announcement should come from His Majesty himself. The Government must have learnt from the agitation against the Partition the lesson that the longer a wrong, real or supposed, remains unredressed the more difficult becomes the redress. It will be no statesmanship to delay an obvious act of justice so long that agitation on a colossal scale is commenced, and while much bad blood is needlessly created, all grace is removed from the act of righting the wrong. He who gives at once gives twice, and we trust the Government will give at once. The mere fact the Mussalmans of Bengal retain an insignificant and unfruitful majority instead of a majority of two-thirds in Eastern Bengal will not certainly allay their rising discontent. Nor what we have suggested as balancing concessions can be called "adventitious assistance." At any rate, it is idle to expect that the restoration of Delhi—which was not only "the ancient capital of the Moghals" but is also "intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history," as the Government of India rightly remind us—would itself be regarded as sufficient boon to the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal "in common with others of their faith" to make them forget the primary consideration, which is concerned with "the local aspect of the proposals." A perusal of the despatches makes us conscious of the fact that neither the Government of India nor the Secretary

of State regard in their heart of hearts the absence of all compensation to the "loyal and contented Mussalmans" as a satisfactory feature of their great scheme. But if it is not merely an unfruitful sentiment, we are confident that our suggestions would supply to the Government just those complementary concessions which would thoroughly justify Lord Crewe's proud boast that "regarding it as a whole, and appreciating the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes, and interests likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history, nor can I picture in any portion of the civilized world as it now exists, a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope, culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government, carried out, as I believe the future will prove, with so little detriment to any class of the community, while satisfying the historical sense of millions, aiding the general work of Government, and removing the deeply felt grievance of many." But, on the contrary, if the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal are left with a nominal majority, friendless and unprotected, it will not be possible to discover in history a more ignoble instance of rewarding loyalty with deprivation of recently recovered rights and punishing contentment as the worst of crimes.

The Indian National Congress.

WHATEVER difference of opinion may exist in regard to some of its salient features and methods of work, it cannot be denied that the Congress movement embodies some of the genuine and vigorous aspirations which move educated India to-day for a well-organised and common national life. Some of the ideals that it has set itself to realise are both inspiring and ultimately conducive to the good of the country. Their appeal to the educated Indian cannot but be direct, stirring and irresistible. His past traditions, present environment, his sense of vast and unique opportunities, and the interplay of the world forces in which his lot is cast, cannot but move him to strive for the unification of the diverse Indian races and raise them some day to the stature of a self-governing nationality. After more than a century of contact with the spirit of Western democracy and the great ideals to which it has given rise in politics, the Indian mind would have been an utterly abject and unbecome thing if it had not caught some of that spirit and risen to new vistas of hope and endeavour. The educated Indians, cherishing the somewhat distant ideals of self-government for their country, may be unthinkable monstrosities to the "No-d-d nonsense School" of Anglo-Indian politicians and journalists. To a student of history they are the only vindication of British Rule, a great, inevitable fact of the Indian situation, a beneficent reality.

The Indian National Congress represents the attempts made by some of the most patriotic and disinterested Indians to formulate the needs and aspirations of educated India. Unfortunately, however, some accidents in its career have deprived it considerably of the representative character to which as a professed organ of Indian opinion, irrespective of race and creed, it might legitimately lay claim. It started with representative self-government as the goal of its endeavours. Self-government, however, presupposes as its first postulate the existence of a homogeneous or, at any rate, a well-organised and united nationality, deriving its state-sense from a common history, community of present and future interests, common joys, common sorrows and common aims. The initial error of the movement was that it assumed the existence of a common and organised nationality where there was none. It presented a bold and ideally perfect programme of political reconstruction to the Government and delivered a vigorous and unsparing onslaught against the despotic vagaries and easy-going methods of the Bureaucracy. Behind it, however, yawned the hopelessly divided gulfs of creed and race, caste and sect—feuds, antagonisms and rivalries, religious prejudices, and intolerance characteristic of ignorance and rigid custom. The moral weight and prestige of a united effort was wholly lacking and the movement was set down as hair-brained and presumptuous. The Bureaucracy merrily went its way and Anglo-India sneered. It is a significant fact, which has, however, escaped notice or is scrupulously avoided by the Congress leaders in all public discussions, that the official attitude towards the movement is justified not so much on account of its impossible demands as on account of its sectional character. Official opposition was at the very outset based on the fact that the Congress was not the representative body that it claimed to be. It offended the *amok* *proprie* of the organisers to have to plead guilty to the charge, and forthwith they felt in honour bound to maintain that the movement was "Indian National". Earnest patriots who had no doubt set out with the best of desires and motives to build up a united nation, were hopelessly carried off the track in defending a mere track of sophistry. A noble hope was born and buried in nomenclature. A great ideal, for the realisation of which the Congress movement came into being, was, through a cruel irony of circumstance, assumed to have been realised. It is this assumption that has so far retarded the growth of a united Indian nation.

The injury that this inversion of endeavour and a policy of make-believe has done to the best interests of the country may best be judged from the existing state of Hindu-Muhammadan relations. That they are bitter and humiliating to a degree, will be patent to all those who are outside the ranks of the most aggressive and uncompromising type of communal fanatics on either side. It is no use mincing matters or sugar-coating plain facts with facile phrases and honeyed platitudes. The Congress agitation, limited in its scope and mainly confined to educated Hindus, gave birth to "nationalist" cries which drew their energising forces mainly from Hindu ideals and developed strange and menacing accents. The Moslem minority felt, quite naturally enough, that it had, perhaps, no place commensurate with its status and dignity in the scheme of the "Swaraaj" that stirred the hearts of the Hindu "Nationalist." To organise communal activities on independent lines became to the Mussalmans a matter of self-preservation and self-respect. To the best and most patriotic Hindus, on the other hand, the efforts of the Mussalmans to secure recognition of their communal individuality appeared to be an unfortunate development of separatism. They deplored it, and deplored it justly, but unhappily they as members of a dominant, powerful and enlightened community did nothing to allay the suspicions of a weaker and less fortunately-placed minority. Thoughtless and bolder spirits even began to accuse the Mussalmans of seeking official patronage and favouritism at the expense of the great interests of the country as a whole. Even some of their deepest religious instincts were not spared in holding them up to scorn as a species utterly wanting in territorial patriotism. Suspicions gave rise to hard words, and the fanatical reprisals in which some of the stalwart lions of the press on either side engaged, have been dragging the whole situation in a welter of vulgarity. We are face to face to-day with a problem that is most difficult to deal with, a legacy of suspicion and strife bred on ignorance, prejudice, want of mutual comprehension and tolerance.

It is idle to try to apportion blame in a matter essentially complicated in its very nature and arising out of errors of judgment and of temperament on either side. There is, however, one factor of overwhelming importance which governs the whole situation in all its bearings. It is the question of Moslem minority Indian nationality is a great and noble ideal. It appeals to educated Hindus and Mohammedans alike. But to the Mussalmans their sense of communal individuality is equally a great and glorious possession. A time may come when past history and sense of achievement and religious ideals may altogether cease to mould distinctive social groups and be supplanted by some great world process of the future. But as things are, they are their most precious endowments and cannot be wiped out of their consciousness. In the absence of the clean state to write one's ideals in what characters one pleased, it would be surely the wisest and most practical policy if the nation-building in India were to proceed, not by idealising impatiently about the future, but by compromise, reconciliation and adjustment. A people vastly differing in history, tradition, religion and racial characteristics are to be trained and adapted to the needs of democracy and representative self-government. They cannot be dragged into a common nationality any more than a doctrinaire system or a constitution of the debating room can be imposed upon them ready made. It is here, in avoiding to seek the necessary *modus operandi* for the essential work of adaptation that the Congress movement has failed.

The 26th Session of the Congress was no better and no worse than its predecessors, at least, as far as its attitude towards the fundamental problems of the country is concerned. It is unfortunate that some of the most earnest preachers of the Congress platform should not have been able, after 25 years' strenuous experience, to shed the old trick of conventional phrase. There is always a fine and brilliant dexterity shown in playing with facts, but very few come to close grips with them. In big popular assemblies there exists no doubt an incessant demand for the glowing periods and loud declamation of the rhetorician, but grave issues of political development and general administrative policy are apt to sink into mere catch phrases in the heated atmosphere. As a matter of fact the Congress orators do not discuss; they simply furnish a feast to the fancy and the ear. The "Subjects Committee" may debate in secret conclave, but the General Assembly is only treated to a set performance, when speaker after speaker plays his allotted part on the stage. Naturally enough, there was no discussion over the resolutions that were "passed unanimously." The addresses, both of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President were huge affairs that occupied the whole first day of the Session. They travelled over the entire familiar ground in the old time-honoured fashion. It may be of course presumed that conventional treatment of conventional themes does not imply that the themes, at any rate some of them, are dead. But Indian affairs are not exactly where they were at the time when the foundations of the Congress movement were laid. Fresh facts and fresh developments in the situation should afford ample scope to the orator to impart fresh vigour of treatment to his "grievances as old

as British Rule." Nor is there any necessity, it seems to us, that a Presidential Address should be a treatise of heroic dimensions, beginning with the discussion of the first principles, and, after ranging over a vast wilderness of fact and fancy, ending with an apology

Apart, however, from these constitutional limitations, both the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu as Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Bishen Narain Dar, the President, were on the whole temperate in tone and advanced some very sound and wise views in regard to the general political situation of the country. We listened with pleasure to their desire for the growth of a well-equipped and strong Indian Nationality, for the advancement of education, for the gradual admission of Indians into the higher ranks of the public service, for the removal of some administrative inconveniences, for the introduction of popular institutions and for the larger association of Indians in the government of the country. It is, however, in discussing the separate representation of the Mussalmans in the legislative councils, that the President showed the besetting prejudice and narrowness of all Congress discussions. Arguments that he trotted forth in denouncing separate treatment of the Moslem position are as old as the "Indian National" Congress. We have amply discussed this aspect of the movement as well as the astute innuendo that underlies all protests against the efforts of the Mussalmans to secure fair and adequate treatment in the political progress of the country. We need not discuss that in detail here again. It is distasteful to the Mussalmans no less than to the Hindus to have to refer to considerations, political as well as historical, which have invested their problem with a peculiar character. But facts can not be hidden away under cheap rhetoric. If the effective representation of the Mussalmans has led the Hindus to "smart" and sulk uncomfortably, it is idle to complain, then, that "every effort for reconciliation is attributed to some dark and sinister design on their part." The unsettling of a once "settled fact" has naturally given new zest and energy to Congress agitation against the Council Regulations; and the President's words that "they (the Hindus) shall never rest contented so long as that humiliation is not removed" are perhaps intended as a broad hint that India is on the eve of another agitation more "unyielding" and pestilential than the one that has triumphed with the modification of the Partition. There are no doubt some misgivings amongst the Mussalmans that the pledges of the Government to keep their position intact in the legislative chambers of the country may not yield once again to adverse attacks which are sure to be more virulent and confident of success than ever, in view of recent events. But the Mussalmans ought to know how to defend themselves and their rights. If they are unfit to stand on their own legs, surely no government will ever care to save them from political annihilation.

It is refreshing to turn from such a violent and militant Hindu bias of the President to a more pacific note which he sounds towards the end of his elaborate Address. In fact he touches the *crux* of the matter in his concluding remarks and makes some very wise observations regarding the social and moral conditions of the people and the prospects of their political development. He says:—

Self-government, such as obtains in British Colonies, is a noble ideal, and we are perfectly justified in keeping that before our eyes; but is it attainable to-day or to-morrow or ever in the lifetime of the present generation? Consider where we stand in the scale of civilisation, when we have only 4 women and 18 men per thousand who are literate; when there are millions of our countrymen whom we look upon as "untouchables", when we have about a hundred thousand widows of less than five years, and caste rules still turbid sea voyage, and Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill is condemned as a dangerous innovation when; many Hindus do not sufficiently realise the fact that there are 65 million Mohammedans whose interests and feelings have to be cared for and the Mohammedans are equally oblivious of the interest and feelings of 240 million Hindus; when this is the condition to which we have been brought by centuries of decay and degradation, to talk of a national government for India to-day is to make ourselves the laughing stock of the civilised world. Agitate for political rights by all means, but do not forget that the true salvation of India lies in the amelioration of its social and moral conditions.

Let us trust that these truly wise words will be taken to heart and these noble sentiments will be translated into action. It is not so much what the Congressmen *talk* during three stentorian days that matters, but what they *do* during the three hundred and sixty-two days that follow. It is by that alone that we shall judge them.

Anecdote.

WHEN Grover Cleveland's little girl was quite young, her father once telephoned to the White House from Chicago and asked Mrs. Cleveland to bring the child to the 'phone.

Lifting the little one up to the instrument, Mrs. Cleveland watched her expression change from bewilderment to wonder and then to fear. It was surely her father's voice, yet she looked at the telephone incredulously.

After examining the tiny opening in the receiver, the little girl burst into tears.

"Oh, mamma," she sobbed, "how can we ever get papa out of that little hole?"

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

It is learned from Russian official sources that while the Russian Government is desirous of withdrawing its troops as soon as possible, no pledge for immediate evacuation will be given on compliance with the Ultimatum. No action has yet been taken regarding Mr. Shuster's position.

Telegrams from St. Petersburg show that the fighting at Tabriz on the 21st instant, was very severe, the Fidaïs attacking from the roofs and in the streets. The Russians repulsed a formidable attack at Bagitcheina with artillery. The Russian colony took refuge in the Consulate until reinforcements arrived. Then the artillery began a bombardment of the citadel, where the Fidaïs had mostly gathered. Russian corpses were horribly mutilated by Fidaïs. Reuter learns that, after the fighting at Tabriz, the Russians occupied all the Government offices and the telegraph station. The bombardment demolished many private buildings, and fifty Persians were killed. The Russians have occupied the police and telegraph offices at Resht, where a number of Government officials have been killed. Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—After ministerial consultation, the Viceroy of the Caucasus has been ordered to send the largest possible reinforcements to Tabriz. The *Nouye Vremya* quotes the Director of the Persian Department of the Foreign Office as saying that Russia will take justice into her own hands in Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli, and will show no mercy to the Revolutionary dregs shedding Russian blood. Reuter wires from Teheran:—The Vice-Governor of Teheran estimates that five hundred Persians have already been killed. He declares that Russians ignore overtures for the cessation of hostilities and are butchering women and children.

The Persian Charge d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office, St. Petersburg, on the 22nd instant and notified M. Sazonoff of Persia's acceptance of all the demands contained in the Russian ultimatum. With the approval of the Cabinet, the Regent has dissolved the Mejliss. Government has definitely accepted the Russian ultimatum. The Russian Minister has signified his acceptance of the Persian reply.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—The Cabinet has notified Mr. Shuster of his dismissal.

Following on his recent dismissal, Mr. Shuster has notified the Government of his willingness to hand over his office when his successor has been nominated.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—Shooting still continues at Tabriz.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—Telegrams from the Vice-Governor of Tabriz represent the situation as appalling. He says:—"I swear before God that innocent women and children are being butchered in cold blood. Five hundred Persians have already been killed. The Ark, the most ancient and finest edifice in Persia has been totally destroyed."

The situation at Shiraz is most serious.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—The Consul-General at Tabriz declares that the Russian troops treated the peaceful inhabitants with humanity, and this notwithstanding atrocities committed by the Fidaïs on the Russian wounded and the mutilation of the killed.

He further says that Russian troops rescued and sheltered women and children from the bombarded houses. A hundred Russians were either killed or severely wounded in the fighting.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—A telegram from Russian Juffa states that three rifle regiments, three squadrons of Cossacks and two mountain batteries are leaving for Tabriz.

It is reported from Shiraz that the Persian road guards fired on Indian sowars as they were proceeding to meet the British Consul. One sowar was killed.

Reuter learns that the Persian reply to the Russian ultimatum states that in view of her strong desire for cordial relations with Great Britain and Russia, Persia will be careful in future that her appointments of Foreign officers will not be made in a way likely to injure the lawful interests of those two Governments and that she will consult the Legations beforehand.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg that it is announced that as the Persian Government is powerless to punish the authors of the Anti-Russian outbreaks in Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli, the Russian Government has directed the Russian commanders to take the severest repressive measures, which are to include arrest and trial by Court Martial of the Persians, disarmament

of the Fidaïs and other troublesome native elements and the destruction of places where resistance might be offered.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—A further attack has been made on Indian sowars, this time near Kazeroon. Two sowars were killed.

Mr. Smart, British Consul at Shiraz, was travelling thither from Bushire with an escort of sowars when the party was attacked by Kashgai Road Guards near Kazeroon. A severe fight ensued in which one sowar was killed and three wounded. Mr. Smart is missing. His wounded horse was recovered. The escort fought its way to Kazeroon.

Reuter wires from Teheran that the sowars who were recently twice attacked numbered 100, and their losses are now stated to be two killed and seven wounded, while two others are missing. They are now holding a position at Kazeroon and 150 sowars under the command of Colonel Douglas are hurrying to reinforce them. Consul Smart was left behind when the escort retreated, and is now reported to be lying wounded in a caravanserai eight miles from Kazeroon.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Moslem League an important public meeting of Muhammadans, attended by representatives of the Hindus, was held at Poona to protest against the aggression of the Russians in Persia and of Italy in Turkey and to request the British Government to extend a helping hand to Moslem countries struggling to maintain their independence. H. H. the Aga Khan, President of the League, occupied the chair. The speakers included the Hon. Sir R. Bhandarkar and Professor Pranjpe.

A telegram to the *Times* from Teheran states that details from Kazeroon show that the attack on the Indian sowars was preconceived and carried out by seven hundred tribesmen. Infantry from Jask, and all available ships, are reported to have been ordered to Bushire. The South appears to be up. It is thought that a British punitive expedition is likely.

Speculations on the Crisis.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, December 6.

THERE is much diplomatic discussion on the situation which will be produced by the arrival of the Russian force and on the manner in which it should be handled. I have reason to believe that Russia expects her demands to be conceded and has not determined in advance on a definite course in case of a refusal. So long as the Mejliss sits and remains obdurate, the situation is one of stalemate. Mr. Shuster, though he is ready to go on the slightest suggestion from the Mejliss, appears determined to remain in view of the decision of the Mejliss, and "to wait for the bayonets." Russia will probably be forced to take over the administration and to disband the Mejliss. If she takes over the administration, she has clearly a right to expel Mr. Shuster, in which case the American Government could probably offer no objection. If, however, she does not undertake responsibilities for the Government of the country, the expulsion of Mr. Shuster would constitute a violation of his contract, upon which I understand the United States would look askance.

On the other hand, Russia's assumption of the administration would raise a delicate and difficult question with her partner Great Britain, since Russia would thus become responsible for the Central Government of all Persia. The *entente*, to be preserved, must be put on a new basis, and the two Powers must establish either a dual control or separate protectorates. There is a good deal of loose talk about moving the Central Government to Ispahan and leaving Russia in possession of the North. This is probably impracticable, for the Russian sphere actually touches Ispahan. The Mejliss, it is generally believed, must disappear, as unless Mr. Shuster remains, it is quite impossible that the two Powers can come to any terms with that very stubborn body.

The whole situation has elements of tragedy. Mr. Shuster has throughout expressed his opinion that Persia can only exist by having a definite understanding with Great Britain and Russia, that the initial mistake lay in drafting the Anglo-Russian Convention without reference to Persia. If a new Convention were devised to which Persia could assent, he would loyally act within it. A proposal of this kind was actually on foot some weeks ago, and commended itself to the Regent and to the British and Russian Ministers here, but the precipitate action of St. Petersburg made its fulfilment impossible. Both Legations fully recognized the advantage of

having a business man to deal with, one who, while commanding the confidence of the Persians, would carry out Persia's undertakings in the spirit and in the letter. Previous experiments with financial advisers have been failures owing to Persian obstruction, as they were believed to be the instruments of foreign Powers; and diplomats here recognize, that the advisers appointed under Article II. of the Russian ultimatum must suffer the same fate, unless they are actually supported by the strength of both Powers, as English officials have been supported by England in Egypt. A protectorate is, therefore, considered inevitable.

Meanwhile, there seems no reason (except fear for his own life) why Muhammad Ali, profiting by the confusion, should not come to Teheran.

Some uncertainty appears to exist regarding the position of Great Britain with reference to the Russian ultimatum. The first article, after demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster and Mr. Lecoffre, requires the "execution of Article 2 of these demands in respect of the position of the persons whom Mr. Shuster has taken into the Persian service"—meaning, presumably, the remainder of the American Commission. The following is an exact translation of the demand of Article 2:—"An undertaking from the Persian Government to invite foreign subjects into the Persian service only after first obtaining the consent of Russia and England."

I learn that Great Britain offers no criticism on Articles 1 and 2. Her recent representations in St. Petersburg relate solely to Article 3, requiring an indemnity.

A few Russian soldiers have already arrived, but merely as an addition to the Legation guards. The first portion of the main force reached Kazvin to-day and will probably halt there a few days. European feeling here is that Persia will be ill-advised to attempt resistance, but telegrams pour in from all the provincial towns urging the Government to fight and offering men. A similar telegram has been received from the Persian community in Bombay.

Unfortunately, there is no one capable of persuading either the Government or the Mejliss to attach importance to the assurances which Russia offers to Europe. The Armenian leaders and all the Persians identified with the Constitution consider that their own lives will be forfeit should the ex-Shah return. The Armenians fear the same fate under any form of Government which Russia might establish here. Hence, the danger of an actual collision with the Russian troops.

Diplomatic relations remain unbroken, though something much resembling a state of war exists.

Vosuk-ed-Dowleh has resumed office. The excitement has increased, but complete order prevails and no reactionaries have been molested since Sunday. The feeling to-day is specially directed against Great Britain. Mollahs in the Mosque of Sipah Salar accused Great Britain of hypocrisy in declaring her neutrality, since Russia would never have acted unless she had been sure of English support.

The boycott has extended to the provinces, and a boycott of English merchandise has begun at Isfahan and Shiraz. In the latter town it is said that they refuse to sell firewood to the English.

The following telegram has been received from the Persian Women's Society:—

Teheran, Dec. 5, 1911, 10.45 A.M.

To Women's Suffragist Committee London.—The Russian Government by an ultimatum demands us to surrender to her our independence; the ears of the men of Europe are deaf to our cries, could you women not come to our help?

In reply, the Women's Social and Political Union has telegraphed the following message:—

Badr-ud-Doja, Persian Women's Society, Teheran:—Your touching appeal received. Unhappily, we cannot move British Government to give political freedom even to us, their own countrywomen. We are equally powerless to influence their action towards Persia. Our hearts deeply moved by sympathy with Persian sisters and admiration for their militant patriotic deeds.—PANKHURST PRITHICK LAWRENCE.

Debate in the Lords.

(THURSDAY, DEC. 7, 1911.)

Speech by Lord Curzon.

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, in rising to call attention to the state of affairs in Persia, to inquire as to the policy of His Majesty's Government, and to move for papers, said:—My lords, I am sorry that the noble marquis the Leader of the Opposition is not present to-day. He had intended to take part in this discussion, but is prevented by circumstances with which your lordships are familiar and which you all deplore. My object in rising is to call attention to the state of affairs in Persia. It is a very anxious and critical situation, and one that is calculated to cause serious apprehension

in the minds of those who have a regard for Persian independence, and who would like to see that country, once so powerful and mighty, take its place again among the nations of the world. I hope to obtain some statement of the policy of His Majesty's Government from the noble viscount. I have, I need hardly say, no indictment to frame against His Majesty's Government. I have not that desire, and even if I had, I have not the material for doing so. What I want in the main is to ascertain from the highest quarters what that policy is. I am not clear that His Majesty's Government have a thought-out policy or that they know precisely in what direction they are going. My first object, therefore, is to enable the noble viscount, if he desires to do so, to take this opportunity of giving us explanations and information about points that are at present obscure. My next object is to point out certain developments in the present situation which, unless they are foreseen and guarded against, will lead to a position extremely dangerous both to Persia and to ourselves.

I have a sort of suspicion from what one reads that we are drifting into dark and perilous paths in our Persian policy, and it may even happen that Persian independence will vanish while we are discussing by what methods it may best be maintained. I include in my question a motion for papers. I believe that the last papers presented to Parliament were contained in the White Paper, Persia, No. 1, 1911. That carries the narrative of events up to December, 1910, or nearly a year ago. I do not desire to press the noble viscount on the matter, but need hardly say that if the Secretary of State should find it possible to lay papers dealing with what has happened since then, it would be a source of satisfaction to those who are interested in the matter in both Houses of Parliament. I propose to confine myself to recent events and not to trouble you with anything in the nature of a retrospect. That would be tedious and not necessary for the present situation.

The only incident in the past, and that a very recent past, to which I need refer is the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement in 1907. As we have often been informed, that was a great and momentous event in the history of Asia. It was the starting point, if not the direct cause, of the greater part of what has since happened in Persia, and I expect that its consequences will be found to be greater and greater as time goes on. As your lordships will remember very well, that Agreement related not to Persia only but to all those various spheres in which British and Russian interests came in contact with each other over the entire surface of Asia, and as such that agreement has been one of the two main pillars of British foreign policy during the last six years, the other of course, being the *entente* with France in Europe. Over and over again His Majesty's Government have congratulated themselves and the country upon the salutary effects of this Agreement—its effects upon the peace of Asia, upon the security of our Indian frontier, upon the finances of India, and, most of all, upon the relations between these two Great Powers. I do not demur to these self-congratulations. I think, so far as I have any right to give an opinion, that on the whole they have been well deserved. Certainly, I should be the last to wish to see any reversion to the unhappy state of affairs, the bickerings and squabbling and suspicion, the frontier incidents by over-zealous officials, that used to happen between the two Powers, not only in Persia but in other parts of Asia, before that date.

But in one respect I still differ profoundly from I do not say the policy but the contents of that Agreement. I remember that the noble viscount, in a debate on this matter three and a half years ago, said that in his opinion the Persian part of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was its most admirable part. I held then, and am afraid that I hold still, that it is the least admirable and worst part, and warmly as I sympathized with the inclusion of Persia in the terms of that Agreement—and I may remark in passing that it was part of the policy and intention of the Lord Salisbury, had he remained in power, to come to such an Agreement himself—I held that it was a one-sided bargain, unequal and inequitable in its effect on British interests in Persia. I have not altered these views, and am afraid that there has been a good deal of confirmation for them in recent events. (If you compare the position of Persia now with what it was before the Agreement was signed, I am afraid there is no doubt that it is incontestably worse. I am not going to be so unjust as to suggest that this is the consequence of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. What I say is this: that that Agreement has not arrested the decline of Persia, in some respects it has actually accelerated it, and at this moment we are confronted with the imminent danger that under the shadow and shelter of that Agreement there may be consummated the very effect which it was the main object of the Agreement to avoid.

I believe the Agreement has been the means of removing much misunderstanding between Russia and ourselves in Persia. Ministers have frequently told us that since the Agreement, there has been a warmer understanding between the two Powers, that quarrels have been avoided, and that the occupation of parts of Persia by Russia has been avoided. But what I submit is this, that the part played by Persia in the Agreement is also of vital importance. The

advantages of the Agreement would be dearly purchased if while we and Russia were complimenting each other on the degree of harmony that existed between them, Persian independence is allowed to be impaired and Persian prosperity is found to have been brought to ruin. I am sure the authors of the Agreement would themselves admit that the Agreement was concluded not merely with the excellent and unselfish object of relieving the strain on our resources and on our respective frontiers, but also in order to give Persia a fair field for building up again her own fortunes. Above all the Agreement had in view the fundamental principle of the independence and integrity of Persia. If we look at the present condition of affairs, when we see the northern part of Persia in the occupation of Russian troops and a Russian force within 100 miles of the capital, and threatening to descend on it, when we see the Persian Government in a state of apparently complete disorganization, when we see a deposed and banished Monarch hovering on the frontier and threatening civil war, above all when we read the terms of the Ultimatum presented by Russia to the Persian Government, I am afraid we cannot speak confidently about the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Persia, and the less we say about its prosperity and security the better.

It may be said that these consequences have been due in large measure to the weakness and inexperience of the Persian Government itself and to the blunders of its Ministers and to the bad advice under which they have acted. I daresay there is a good deal of truth in that. I think the Persian Government have made some serious mistakes. I think they were guilty of a grave error in refusing the assistance of Anglo-Indian officers to re-organize the *Gendarmes* in the south. It may be their officers have been sometimes tactless and ill-advised and it may be that in their relation with the Russian Government they may have shown insufficient regard for the susceptibilities and dominant influence of that Great Power. That may be; I do not know that it is. But if it be true I do not doubt there is a good deal to be said also on the other side. (Hear, hear.) I doubt very much whether the attempt of Persia to build up a Constitutional Government for herself has received any overwhelming marks of sympathy or encouragement from Russian subjects in Persia.

What we have to deal with, however, is the situation now before us. There have been, as we know two Ultimatums. In regard to the first, His Majesty's Government advised compliance on the part of the Persian Government. So far as I know the facts, I think that advice, although unpalatable to the Persian Government, was probably wise, and I do not desire to criticize it. But only a few days later, when the difficulty appeared to have been satisfactorily concluded, we read of the second Ultimatum which was presented to Persia by Russia. The cause of the second Ultimatum is stated to have been the action of Mr. Shuster, the American 'Treasure-General' to the Persian Government, in circulating in Persia a document drawn up by him and which was published in *The Times* in this country, containing strong and unpleasant remarks about the policy of Russia in Persia, and also, I may add, about ourselves. I do not know if this document was officially issued either by Mr. Shuster or the Persian Government to the Press in that country. It has been denied that it was. If it was so circulated it was a foolish and provocative act. I think there is evidence to show that Mr. Shuster, who is a fearless and independent man, and who, I believe, acted throughout with a single and disinterested desire to do his duty to the Government he was serving, has exhibited an unfortunate lack of acquaintance with diplomatic usage and diplomatic language on occasion, and has sometimes been impulsive and unwise. But was the action of Mr. Shuster, in circulating the pamphlet, supposing it to be true, really a sufficient excuse for the armed occupation of Persia by a foreign Power? Was not the second Ultimatum, following immediately on the satisfaction of the first, rather a harsh measure? Was not the term of 48 hours' grace a very brief period to give to a weak and helpless Power? Were not the whole of these proceedings of a rather peremptory and precipitate character?

Now as to our degree of responsibility. One of the main features of the Ultimatum was a demand that involved future action by the British Legation at Teheran, that was, of course, the British Government. Now, His Majesty's Government cannot wash their hands of responsibility for this Ultimatum, for we were told by the Under-Secretary in another place two days ago that the Ultimatum was shown to our Foreign Office before it was sent, and that they expressed the opinion, in reply, that we could not object to the demands respecting Mr. Shuster, to which I do not further allude, or to the demand regarding the appointment of foreign advisers. Therefore, in giving the answer we assumed joint responsibility for the Ultimatum, because we participated in the demand. We did not present it, but we certainly associated ourselves with it, and we have since confirmed our policy of association by advising the Persian Government to accept. The only point about which we appear to have made any protest, so far as I know, was that we made representations to Russia about the very harsh condition that Persia should pay the expenses of the invasion. I hope the Government of Persia will not be called upon in her impoverished condition to pay for that. (Hear, hear.)

What have been the consequences of this Ultimatum? The have been what I think might have been expected. The Persian Government which is inspired by a very strong national feeling, and which has behind it, as far as I can judge, the support of the great centres of population and all sections of the community, declined to yield. They felt that a serious blow was being dealt at their independence, and I am afraid it is not a very consoling thing to us to read in the newspapers that the agitation which is now going on in Persia is especially directed not at the threatening or invading Power, but at Great Britain. While Russia has issued the Ultimatum we seem to have incurred the odium. I cannot think that this testifies to a very happy diplomacy. It throws rather a lurid light upon the halcyon days we were led to expect when we made the Russian Agreement. (Hear, hear.) But there is really much more at stake than the incidents of the passing crisis. I want your lordships to consider for a moment the terms of the particular demand in the Ultimatum that in future the Persian Government is to appoint no foreign officials without the consent of the British and Russian Governments. When His Majesty's Government assented to this demand, I wonder if they realized what it meant? Under the guise of a perfectly laudable desire to prevent friction between Russia and ourselves, does it not mean a denial, or, at any rate, a serious infringement of Persian Sovereignty? Can it be contended that a Government which is not at liberty to appoint its Civil servants without the consent of other Powers is really an independent Government? I wonder if there is an independent Government in the world on whom such an embargo has ever been placed? Can we reconcile this with the terms and the protestations of the Anglo-Russian Agreement? If His Majesty's Government say that Persian independence has gone, then their position is entirely logical. But supposing they take the position that Persian independence still exists, then it seems to me that to place these fetters upon it is really to practice the policy of self-deception which deceives nobody but yourselves.

Let us see how this particular demand in the Ultimatum will work out in practice. The Persian Government has had the greatest difficulty in obtaining foreign officials for its service. It has applied for Italians and Swedes, and I believe in both cases it has been refused. What, then, will be the consequences? Does it mean that in future only Russian officials are to be appointed in the Russian sphere in order to satisfy the Russians, while British officials only are to be appointed in the British sphere to satisfy ourselves? I am sure the noble viscount will deny that it has that meaning, but I venture to say that in practice that will be found to be the natural and inevitable consequence. Three years ago I based my main objection to this Agreement on the ground of the startling disparity in size, importance, and significance of the two spheres. The noble viscount is perfectly familiar with the argument. You have as the British sphere a small triangle of territory in the south-east corner, adjacent to the Indian frontier, selected solely for strategic reasons, deficient in commercial importance, possessed of only one considerable city and of only one trade route. The whole of the west, north-west, north-centre, and north-east, in fact, the great bulk of the country, containing a large population and all its trade, is within the Russian sphere. If Russian officials only are to be appointed where foreign officials are appointed in the Russian sphere whilst only British officials, less perhaps, than half a dozen, are to be appointed in the British sphere, you will see what a serious step you are taking towards the certain and ultimate partition of Persia itself.

Whichever way we look at it, we are moving, however unconsciously, however unwittingly, in the direction of partition. (Hear, hear.) When the Agreement was concluded three years ago, the Secretary of State, when he was challenged with its probable consequences, was most particular upon this, that it was only economic partition in these spheres—that these were to be spheres in each of which we were not to contest the commercial concessions of the other Power. So far so good, but now, if this is persisted in, you advance from economic to administrative partition. From administrative partition you must inevitable go on, because these officials must exercise political influence, to political partition, from political partition you must advance to geographical partition. By this logical and, I am afraid, inevitable advance you will find that you are proceeding on this downward and slippery path towards the very goal which you most of all desire to avoid.

I am sure I need not argue at any length in your lordships' House the unhappy results that will ensue from any such partition. Your lordships know well enough that, if you bring the Russian frontier down into close contact with the British frontier, you do the very thing which for years we have been spending money in order to avoid. (Hear, hear.) You practically do away with the whole policy of buffer States. You bring your strategic frontier, which you fixed at Seistan, right into the heart of Persia, a frontier which can only be defended at the cost of a great burden on Indian finances and of an inevitable addition to the Indian Army. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe that there is a single person in the country who desires that consummation. (Hear, hear.) I am quite certain it is repudiated by every member of His Majesty's Government; but what I fear is that, all unawares, you are moving, sliding, drifting in the direction which I have described. (Hear, hear.)

I want to say one word about the threatened occupation of Persia by Russian troops. We have been told in another place that the Russian Government have given the most categorical assurances of the temporary and provisional character of their occupation. I entirely accept those assurances. I cannot believe that Russia can seriously want that her troops should be embarked on this campaign. But I must utter this word of caution. Does not experience show to us that temporary and provisional military occupations in weak countries by European Powers tend, by a sort of fatal law, to prolong and perpetuate their own existence? We went into Egypt for the first time with an armed force in 1882 with the idea that our occupation was to be purely provisional and that our retirement was to be speedy. Successive Governments laid that down as a principle of their policy for years. And there we are to-day! The chain has gone on lengthening and strengthening ever since, and it is one from which we cannot, even if we would, escape. You find an illustration in Persia itself at the present moment. Three or four years ago the Russians entered into a military occupation of the north and north-west part of the country which was to be purely provisional and temporary. Yet 3,000 soldiers are there now and have been there ever since. Moreover, one must remember that, however sincere and honourable the intentions of the Russian Government, there does exist in Russia, and still more among Russian agents and nationals in Persia, a very strong party who openly advocate the partition of Persia by Russia and who are anxious for nothing more than that Russia should find her way down to the Persian Gulf, and that party will throw all the obstacles they can in the way of the retirement of the Russian troops. There is this further point. If we may judge from experience elsewhere, is it not the almost invariable case that when an army of occupation is withdrawn it seldom withdraws without exacting some very substantial *quid pro quo* from the country whose territories it has occupied and which it will not evacuate without consideration? I hope my argument has been clear in bringing us to the point that it is extremely desirable that this military occupation, however provisional it is intended to be, should not take place at all.

The danger is not limited merely to the military occupation. This morning I read a telegram from *The Times* Correspondent at Terehan commenting on the situation. He says:—"Russia will probably be forced to take over the administration and to disband the Mejlis.... This would raise a delicate and difficult question with her partner Great Britain, since Russia would thus become responsible for the central government of all Persia. The Entente, to be preserved, must be put on a new basis, and the two Powers must establish either a dual control or separate protectorates." My lords, those words are most serious. They are most tremendously, almost appallingly, serious, in their diagnosis of the situation. They imply that the position in Persia is worse than anything I have sketched. They appear to contemplate an assumption by Russia of a share of government in that country which is wholly incompatible with its independence, or, alternatively, an assumption of responsibility by us in conjunction with Russia which, I am sure, every one of us would be most loth to undertake. They imply also that the Entente between Russia and ourselves can only be maintained by the sacrifice of the principal objects for which it is created.

In this very delicate and troubled situation, may I suggest that the criterion which the British Government and the British people should apply in this matter should be, not merely the stability of a European alliance, but the good of Persia itself? Look at the position in that country. During the last four years, the Persian Government have had to create a Parliament, evolve a Constitution, to suppress rebellion, to depose a tyrant, and to expel him when he returned. They have passed through a long chapter of anarchy and assassinations, they have had two Ultimatums presented to them, foreign troops are even now within striking distance of Teheran. In these circumstances, wherein lies the hope of Persia? What is it we can do for Persia itself? The Government are as anxious about this as I am. The hope of Persia at this moment does not lie in any further humiliation of that country, it does not lie in any division of spheres or interests between Great Britain and Russia, and least of all does it lie in any forcible suppressions of that spark of nationality which the worst misfortunes and the greatest blunders of the Persian Government have not sufficed to extinguish. It does lie in common action between Great Britain and Russia. That is quite clear. Yes, but it must be common action in which we are loyal, not merely to our Russian allies, but also to our Persian friends. This is not the time to talk of stability or the continuance of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. We must assume that. It is the time to show that that Agreement can be made effective in the interests of Persia itself. I am quite sure we shall not impress them with our desire or ability to come to their assistance if our interpretation of the Agreement is merely that we follow silently and meekly in the footsteps of our allies. By all means let us be loyal to our obligations, but do let us show the Persian Government and people also that we have a definite policy of our own, and that that policy combines the three features for which we have always contended and to which I hope we shall still adhere—namely (1) the continued independence of Persia, (2) the avoidance of partition in any form; (3) the

maintenance, it may be under different conditions—because I think some change will probably be required—but the maintenance, so far as is possible, of Constitutional Government, which, whether it be good or bad at the present moment, does undoubtedly reflect the sentiments and aspirations of the Persian people as a whole.

It is possible, nay, I think it is necessary, to take an even wider view. Persia is a Mahomedan State. It was once one of the great and powerful Mahomedan States of the world. Most of those countries seem to have fallen in recent years upon evil times. Ultimatums, usually with only 48 hours' grace, rained upon them like hailstone from heaven. I should like to see England hold out an occasional umbrella against this storm. We cannot lose sight of the tremendous law of inter-action in the Mahomedan world. You strike at one part of it and the sort of nervous shock which you set up runs through the whole frame and is very likely perceptible at the other end of the globe. We cannot be insensible to this sort of world-wide commotion. Let me give two illustrations. Two days ago I received a telegram of encouragement and benediction from Lucknow, which was once the capital of the Shia Mahomedan dynasty, and is still the centre of a great Shia Mahomedan population. They are watching these happenings in Persia, and they want to know what their Government is doing in the interests of Persia. Directly after I got this telegram there happened to walk into my house an officer who has been serving lately upon the extreme northern frontier of India among a small Shia population, with a Shia chief. Whenever he went to see this chief, he was informed that newspapers circulated in that part of the world, and the first question put to him was, What is Great Britain doing to the Shias in Persia? These stories are indicative and eloquent. They show that what you are doing in Persia's interests not Persia alone, but the whole of your Mahomedan population in all parts of the world. There is one thing of which I am convinced that if, in your policy in Persia, however unwittingly, you appear to provide for the frittering away of Persian independence you will alienate millions of Mahomedans, many of them our fellow-subjects. I apologize if I have shown any emotion in dealing with this question but it is a matter which I have studied at first hand and which I feel most deeply. I do not think I have said anything with the spirit and essence of which the noble viscount will disagree. I dare say I have made many criticisms which he will not accept. But I appeal to him for some clear intimation, if it can be vouchsafed, of the course the Government are taking, and, above all, I ask him and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to use the weight, power, and the enormous influence of Great Britain in Asia to resuscitate and not to extinguish the poor, the flickering light of Persian independence. (Cheers)

Lord Morley's Reply.

VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN, who was indistinctly heard, said:—"I am well aware that there is no member of this House who can speak upon Persia with such knowledge and experience of all that hangs upon the situation in Persia as the noble Earl. He is quite right when he expects that I shall find little fault, or I may say none, with the spirit and essence of what he said. All he has said about the influence of any of our transactions in Persia upon our Mahomedan subjects in India and elsewhere is of the highest importance. His Majesty's Government is fully alive to that and that is one of the guiding elements in their considerations. Then the noble earl offered some criticisms which were perfectly lawful, but I am not perfectly sure that they were well founded. But he was perfectly right, and he did us in the Government no more than justice when he said that he believed that the good of the people of Persia and the stability of the Government of Persia with which the good of the people was involved, are as much at heart with us as they are with himself. It would be a great wrong if we were to buy the stability of the Anglo-Russian Convention at the price of the unhappiness and the confusion and sterilization of all reform and progress in Persia. The noble earl does us no more than justice when he relieves us of any charge of that kind.

In a great deal of what he said the noble earl painted a lurid picture of possibilities that may come as the result of the present situation in Persia—from the policy of Russia on the one hand and ourselves on the other in regard to it. I am sure that the noble earl knows as well as any of us that all the mischiefs and difficulties that confront us to-day in Persia really do not come out of the Anglo-Russian Convention. He knows well that they spring from the nature of the case. Now what was the case? The experiment of Constitutional Government was tried in Persia, and everybody, even those who are most sceptical as to Constitutional Governments working well in Oriental countries, felt that here at all events, in a community like that of Persia, there was a good chance. But let me point out to your lordships and to those outside who are full, and naturally full, of uneasiness and misgiving at the transactions which the noble earl has described, that all those difficulties are not due to the action of Russia. They arise from the nature of the experiment that was being tried. You could not expect that the Persian Government should make a start in a new and unfamiliar system

without being exposed to a great number of difficulties. And the difficulties—Mr. Shuster, for example—have not been merely difficulties with Russia, not merely excited the resentment of Russia, but they were difficulties connected with the working of the Persian Parliament. The Regent has found himself repeatedly face to face with enormous Parliamentary difficulties. He found himself unable to have a Cabinet capable of any constructive work whatever, sometimes even unable to get a Cabinet of any sort. His position was constantly one of severe tension with the Mejliss whose Minister he was or professed to be.

New systems founded on new and free principles are all exposed to the risk of extreme men who, whether they are Mahomedan or Christian are carried away by a foolish logic and want to carry out the principles on which the new system was first started to all sorts of logical conclusions without any regard whatever to qualifying conditions and circumstances. Let me point this out to those who are jealous and resentful of the interference of Russia. All the inherent difficulties of carrying on the work of new government in Persia would be a thousandfold increased, multiplied, and aggravated if there was active hostility on the part of Russia. The noble earl sketched the other day what he would do if he were a Persian Minister. I am certain that what he would do if he were Persian Prime Minister would be to say to his Cabinet, "Of course we must do the best we can to maintain smooth relations with Russia in the north and with England in the south." Every member of your lordships' House will see that that would be the first maxim of a Minister carrying on a new system in Persia. It would be madness to set up what some idealists in this country seem to think possible—a system which would ignore the existence of Russia and the existence of England.

The noble earl has not dwelt so much on the Shuster line of action as I thought perhaps he might have done. Mr. Shuster, everybody now knows, is a man whose zeal, whose ability, and whose single-mindedness is beyond dispute. But the noble earl will agree that he has shown a considerable want of tact and that he has done what I venture to say no Persian Prime Minister ought to do—he has ignored altogether the position and indisputable claim of Persia's two great neighbours. He has admitted that he has had every handicap by want of knowledge of the language, the habits, and the feelings of the people of Persia. That, of course, is a tremendous difficulty and naturally ought to have made him very slow and cautious. The noble earl referred to the letters of Mr. Shuster, and here he assumed that Mr. Shuster was not responsible for their circulation. He has not quite mastered the circumstances. Mr. Shuster wrote, as we all know, a long, elaborate vindication to the *Times* throwing great obloquy upon Russia and some upon ourselves. He then had the communication translated into Persian and gave it to a few Persian friends who asked him if he had any objection to publishing it. He replied, "What did I send it to the *Times* for except for publication?" Let the House remember that Mr. Shuster was a Persian official, and it is to be denied that Russia had serious ground of complaint when she found a Persian official throwing obloquy broadcast—the official of one Government inveighing against the officials of another? Sir Edward Grey warned Mr. Shuster what would follow. This communication was sent to the British Minister at Teheran before the Foreign Secretary here heard of this circulation and before Russia had said a word about it. On 6th November Sir Edward Grey said:—"The Russian Government are sure to be annoyed by the appointment of Mr. Lecomte, and it is not unlikely that they will defend their interests by energetic measures, which might even go so far as an occupation of Northern Persia. You should advise Shuster most strongly to do all in his power to conciliate the Russian Legation, and point out the probable result of continued provocation on his part. He should be made to understand clearly that the Russian Government have it in their power to employ means which would seriously impede the discharge of his duties and which it would be impossible for him to withstand. He must be made to see that the Russians are sure to take measures for the protection of their own interests if administrative posts in their sphere are filled by British subjects, and that his Majesty's Government cannot deprecate such measures, as it would be contrary to the spirit of the Agreement of 1907. His Majesty's Government are obliged to avoid any displacement of Russian influence by British in the north, and the Russians are gaining the impression that under cover of Shuster's administration this is being done." If you set any value on the Anglo-Russian Convention it is quite natural that a Minister here, desirous to observe that Convention both in spirit and letter, and valuing it highly, should make that communication to Mr. Shuster, and it shows that our view—the Foreign Secretary's view—of the situation at that moment was thoroughly justified by the facts.

I will answer one or two of the points of the noble earl and state plainly where his Majesty's Government stand in these matters to-day. The Anglo-Russian Convention has improved the pacific prospects in Persia. In framing the Convention no one has supposed and none of its framers intended the suppression and exclusion of Russia from Northern Persia. You could not expel Russia from Northern Persia.

In what sense could it be pretended that our action in Persia, would have been more effectual if there had been no Convention? The independence of Persia would have been in far greater peril if there had been no Anglo-Russian Agreement. Some seem to assume that Great Britain is quite free to take an effective part, even a military part. I wonder what they would think if a military expedition from India to Teheran was decided upon from a mistaken policy. Suppose that they were to say that it was our duty to take responsibility for Persian Government. I cannot imagine anything less advantageous either to Persia or, certainly, ourselves. In what sense can it be pretended that our influence with Persia would have been more effectual if we had not had the Convention? Suppose we had come forward, suppose we did now, as the champion of the unconditional independence of Persia as a sovereign State. This would have led to an amount of direct responsibility which would be enormous, and we should be responsible for everything that goes on. If you do this you make yourself responsible for the military administration of Persia, a thing which I do not think anybody in England would favour.

What do the Russian Government say? Their object is to establish peace and normal relations with the Persian Government and the removal of all elements of discord. To this end the Russian Government propose to make certain further proposals with which we are not acquainted.

EARL CURZON: Is this the statement of the Russian Government?

VISCOUNT MORLEY: No, not exactly. It is practically a declaration of their undertaking. That is what it comes to. It is not their absolute wording. The Russian Government assures us that it has no aim that would violate the integrity and independence of Persia. It assures us categorically, and desires to place on record that such military measures as it has taken in Persian territory are of a purely provisional nature, and it has no intention whatever of infringing the principles of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 as to Persia. That is a very important assurance, and justifies us under all the circumstances in framing our policy on the assumption that that was theirs. As to the indemnity, it is plain that the exaction of an indemnity, whether sooner or later, would inevitably tend to deprive Persia of those very means and resources that would enable her to carry out the reforms which we all in England hope to see accomplished. The hope of his Majesty's Government is that the Russian Government, after this crisis is over, will find some way of avoiding difficulties as they arise.

With regard to the ex-Shah, our policy is definite and unalterable. Whatever intrigues may have gone on between the ex-Shah and the subordinate agents of the Russian Government, they do not affect the desire, the intention, of the Russian Government not to support the ex-Shah if he should attempt to return to his Throne, and we for our own part have warned the Russian Government that it would be impossible for us under any circumstances whatever to recognize the ex-Shah.

The first principle of our policy is that we should maintain the spirit and letter of the Anglo-Russian Convention; the second is that we should lose no opportunity by advice or benevolent mediation to ease the situation for the Persian Government; and the third is that if we can assist by legitimate means the Persian Government to meet their financial need we should not interpose any unreasonable obstacle. If all these things are taken into account, and they can get over the present acute crisis, and if Russia and England do not part company and the spirit of the Agreement is maintained, we have good reason for hoping and believing that before very long we shall see a solution of a situation which is at present full of difficulty, but which is not altogether hopeless.

Other Speeches.

Lord Jamington welcomed the statement as an assurance that no steps would be taken in the direction of the partition of Persia, and thought they might assume that the Agreement would continue to be the basis of our policy. He hoped the Convention would be carried out in a proper spirit. He regarded with admiration the efforts made by the people of Persia to set up a new form of Government, and he believed that if they had had a freer hand and had not been exposed to constant attacks they would have long since have got their affairs into smooth working order. They started on their new career with two Great Powers on either side of them, with one of those Powers maintaining a garrison in their country, without money, exposed to the plots and schemes of the ex-ruler trying to regain power, and without that sympathy and support which they had a right to expect from his Majesty's Government.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston asked whether any papers on the subject were available.

Viscount Morley said there were none available for publication at present.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston said the hour and a half which had been devoted to the subject of Persia was well spent. The

House had received from the noble viscount a most clear and explicit and, on the whole, an encouraging reply, covering every aspect of the situation. He especially took note of the seriousness and solemnity of the pledge emanating from the Russian Government which had been read by the noble viscount. That was a very important and a very categorical statement. He could only take it to mean that, given favourable circumstances, the Russian troops would not advance to Teheran, that a Russian military occupation would not take place, and that both Governments would address themselves to composing this matter before worse things occurred.

Viscount Morley interposed to say that what he had read was not a declaration, but an expression of the view of the Russian Government in practically their own language.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston said he would accept it as an expression of opinion and not a declaration. He was glad it contained something about the ex-Shah. Undoubtedly the presence of the ex-Shah on the frontier was a disturbing element, and nothing could be worse for the country than that that person should receive any encouragement whatever. It was the first condition of the independence and pacification of Persia that the ex-Shah should not return, and he was glad to hear that that view of the matter was taken by the Russian Government as well as by his Majesty's Government. He was afraid that the noble viscount had not quite appreciated the steps taken with regard to the appointment of officials. The noble viscount had said it had merely consecrated what had been the practice up to the present. If that were so, how had all this trouble arisen? But however that might be, he was glad to receive from the noble viscount a repudiation of the idea that this joint consultation in future was to be regarded as embodying any diminution of the independent rights of the Persian Government. He thought the troubles in Persia had been somewhat unfairly attributed by the noble viscount to the inherent difficulties of the case and to factors inside the country. That was true to a large extent, but it was not the whole truth. The fact was that Persia had not received that amount of assistance in making her new Constitutional effort that she was entitled to from this country. We had given her only our sympathy, and in some respects not even that, while she had been actively opposed in certain quarters. He was glad, however, to have the admission that Russia and Great Britain were to co-operate not only in removing any serious friction between themselves, but in advancing the interests of Persia.

The motion was by leave withdrawn.

Press Opinion.

The "Nation."

In the days when the predatory instincts of mankind were qualified by a tradition of chivalry, the suppliant enjoyed certain rights which it was the pride of the strong to respect. A wretch who embraced the knees of a Homeric chieftain became from that moment a *protégé*, whose life and cause he was bound by honour to defend. A fugitive who flings himself on the mercy of an Albanian clan may count upon it to espouse his interests as though they were its own. These are the pretty manners of savages; modern diplomacy has evolved its own code of honour and decency. Two weeks ago Persia, menaced by a Russian invasion, performed the conventional rites, made herself a suppliant at our doors, and embraced the stony knees of Downing Street. We accepted the flattering but responsible position. We gave her sage, though by no means heroic, advice. We recommended her to conform to Russian demands, which even our diplomatists cannot have thought equitable, and we bade her go in sackcloth and ashes to apologise for the offence of being so obviously in the right. The advice was followed and the Persians in their simplicity supposed that our influence would then be used to stay the Russian advance. If pity did not move us, one might have supposed that pride would have prompted us to aid them. They had followed our unpalatable counsels, they had made what we considered an adequate reparation to Russia. It seemed to follow that our prestige, if not our honour, required us to protect them from further exactions and aggressions. The event has taught them that one should not rashly assume that a modern Foreign Secretary will act with the spirit of a Homeric chief or an Albanian brigand. We have done nothing to protect them, but, on the other hand, we cannot be accused of mere inaction or indifference. We, have, it appears, approved of the further exactions of our Russian partner. He has presented three demands—the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, the acceptance by Persia of an Anglo-Russian veto on all nominations of foreign experts, and the payment of an indemnity to compensate Russia for her trouble in pressing these demands by an armed invasion. Of these claims, the first two have been presented with our acquiescence, and apparently with our approval, and the second of them establishes for us a privilege which we shall share with Russia. Our magnanimity is triumphantly vindicated by the reserves which we have expressed against the Russian demand for money. We have suffered the

suppliant to be torn from our knees; we have joined in violating his rights. We save our honour by averting our eyes while his pockets are rifled at the conclusion of the process.

Public opinion has not authorised the Government which acts in its name to follow a policy at once so mean and weak as this. Sir Edward Grey cannot be wholly indifferent to the wishes of his countrymen, and his policy may yet be reversed. It is worth while to show that the instinctive disgust which every normally constituted Englishman feels at this climax of a disastrous course is based on reasonable grounds. It is hardly necessary to show that the Anglo-Russian demands involve a violation of Persian sovereignty. To require the dismissal of Mr. Shuster because he dared to defend himself in the *Times* against the scurrilous personal attacks of the Russian Press, is an act which any self-respecting nation would treat as an attempt at coercion and interference to which in the last resort war would be the only possible reply. But this is not the most fundamental of the three demands. A nation may be coerced by invasion or the threat of invasion into an isolated compliance with the will of the stronger Power, and yet retain its independence, subject only to the risk of a repetition of the aggression. But the second demand renders the interference normal and continuous. Persia is so unluckily situated that she must employ foreigners to re-organise her armed forces and her finances. She cannot hope in any other way to achieve rapid and effective reform, and on no other terms could she secure the loans which she requires in foreign money markets. Mr. Shuster's integrity and strength of will was an asset which entirely satisfied the bankers. So long as Persia was allowed to go to neutral and disinterested Powers for such assistance, her independence remained intact. The new condition, imposed as much by Sir Edward Grey as by Russia, will henceforth enable them to force upon her foreign experts who will be their agents. It matters little whether they confine their choice to men of British and Russian birth, their object manifestly is to secure nominees who will be the tools of their policy. They will stand behind these men, and Persia must unavoidably be bound to do their bidding. We rule in Egypt by no other means. Our agents give "advice"—they hold in the civil departments no executive authority—but it is advice which the Egyptian Government is expected to accept. At the least this condition is a gross infringement of Persian sovereignty, it will probably amount in practice to a dual control not less drastic than our single control in Egypt.

So far have we travelled since 1907. We cannot refrain from citing the despatch in which our Minister explained to the apprehensive Persian Government the meaning of the Anglo-Russian Convention. The object of the despatch was to assure the Persians that the Convention would lead neither to intervention nor partition. Sir Edward Grey and M. Izvolsky, it declared, were in "perfect accord," that "neither of the two Powers will interfere in Persian affairs, unless some injury is inflicted on the property or persons of their subjects." No principle could be plainer than this, yet from first to last no suggestion has been made that this occasion for intervention has arisen. We need not consider whether Mr. Shuster was well-advised in choosing British subordinates, or in attempting to levy taxes on Persian grandees, or in writing to the *Times*. Nothing which he has done has touched the person or property of a Russian subject. Nor can it be urged that we are not our brother's keeper. We have, in fact, approved the Russian intervention. But if we had merely tolerated it, we should still have violated our own interpretation of the obligations which we assumed in the Convention. The despatch concluded by assuring Persia that the two Powers desired to "ensure her independence for ever" and it went on—

"Not only do they not seek a pretext for intervention, but their aim in these friendly negotiations is not to permit one another to intervene in Persia on the pretext of safeguarding their own interests."

If this sentence meant anything at all, it was intended to suggest to the Persians that the Anglo-Russian partnership was actually a league for the protection of Persia, in which each partner would check the other if he were tempted unduly to intervene. We are breaking our word to-day, and breaking it with a wanton completeness. Russia intervenes against her own pledge, and not only so we permit her to do so; we actually endorse her action. We promised that Persia should be "for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention," and that she should "enjoy complete freedom to manage her affairs in her own way." Four years later we insist that we shall nominate the foreigners who are to manage those affairs in our way. The ascendancy which Sir Edward Grey has retained over public opinion in his country during his anxious and ill-starred years of office rested, we believe, rather on his character than on his talents. No one has said of him that he was subtle, or adroit, or expert, or possessed of encyclopaedic knowledge. But on his stability, his caution, and above all upon his honour, the nation builded. The final betrayal of Persia would not be the expression of such a character.

The act is not yet completed, and we refuse to recognise that it is inevitable. The brief and embarrassed replies of the Foreign Office to questions reveal that it is all at once, and Lord Morley

reply to Lord Curzon suggests at least a change of tone, which is even echoed in the *Times*. Let us hope that it is groping to find a way of escape. Some of the consequences, if the act should be consummated, are generally understood. It means, in moral and intellectual damage, perhaps the worst blow which our prestige could suffer in the East. For no one thinks that we have been wiffully base. We appear as the weak partner who dares not check a powerful and unscrupulous associate. It means in fresh commitments a burden at which the advocates of conscription must secretly rejoice, for it draws the real boundary of India across the sandy wastes of Central Persia, with Russian Cossacks confronting our Indian cavalry upon a vague and indefensible frontier. It contains the possibilities of acute disputes with Russia, to which our present pusillanimity makes a sorry preface. One-third of Persia is neutral territory, and within it is the greater part of the Gulf coast-line. When Russia dominates Tokeran, who is to control this no-man's land? But of all the consequences latent in this situation, perhaps the gravest is the likelihood that Germany will demand the usual compensations. Russia has bought a free hand for herself at Potsdam. But we have not yet paid the usual toll. This remote Asiatic question may become, at any moment, a European problem, and if that should happen, we may find that Turkey, the neighbour of Persia and Egypt, will be deeply interested in the resulting "conversations." The Persians, indeed, are impotent to resent our share in strangling their national existence at its birth, and it will not be from motives of chivalry that another Power will embarrass us. But Empires are commonly expected to submit to blackmail for an outrage on nationality. It is into some such embroilment as this that our complaisance to Russia may drag us. From this train of disasters Sir Edward Grey can yet escape. He can enter the most emphatic protest against the Russian ultimatum. He can demand the withdrawal from Persian soil by a fixed date, not merely of the new forces, but also of the garrisons permanently settled at Tabriz and other centres. He can declare that the invasion is a breach of the whole spirit of the convention. The mere intimation by private diplomatic channels of an intention to take this course would probably suffice. But if it did not, it is time to ask for some return from France for the gift we made to her of a North African Empire. Russia could not survive a coldness which would close to her at once the Paris Bourse and the London Money Market. The means of dealing with this anxious situation are at Sir Edward Grey's disposal, if only he will bring himself to be half as rough with a disloyal partner as he was with an open, honest rival. A leading article in the *Times*, backed by another in the *Temps*, would probably avail to check the pace of the Russian advance. We can use such expedients to enslave the Moors. Let us use them to free the Persians.

The "Empire."

THE situation in Persia is developing as rapidly and as distressingly as the worst pessimist could desire. The case for Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy rests entirely upon the *bona-fides* of Russian professions, and every hour makes it clearer that those professions are utterly worthless. The Persian Government has yielded to the Russian ultimatum, and Mr. Shuster has received his *longue*, but the only notice which Russia has condescended to take of this compliance is to announce that she has no intention of withdrawing her troops for a long time, and to heavily reinforce the army which she is pouring into Northern Persia. Apparently the Russian troops caught a Tartar at Tabriz, which has always been a turbulent centre, and an encounter took place in which a number of Russians lost their lives. According to Russian sources, which may or may not be reliable, the Fidis mutilated the bodies of Russian corpses, in return for which the Russians are alleged to have butchered 500 Persians. As regards the brutality of these proceedings it is clear that it is a case of honours easy, while Russia as the aggressor must bear the brunt of the moral responsibility.

Such are the methods of the Power which Sir Edward Grey has been backing with might and main, to the exclusion of a number of Britishers from the Persian service, and the ignominious dismissal of the first honest and competent administrator who has ever been placed in charge of Persian finance. We do not know what Sir Edward Grey will make of the situation in Southern Persia, where anarchy now reigns supreme; but it is obvious to the dullest intelligence that his policy is more or less directly responsible for it. The reason why anarchy prevails in Southern Persia is simply that the national Government has not the funds to pay its administration. (It will be noted that the assailants of the British Consular escort at Kazerun were Kashgai Road Guards, who have probably received no pay for months.) And why are the funds of the Persian Government so low? Because Mr. Shuster, the expert whom they called in to put their affairs straight, was checked and hampered at every turn of his remedial efforts by the Russians, who were mortally afraid that he would succeed in restoring order and prosperity to the country. And in pursuing this sinister policy Russia was sedulously supported the whole time by Sir Edward Grey. Now, after successfully thwarting every attempt of Mr. Shuster to

restore the finances of Persia, the Russians have forced the Persian Government to expel him under pain of a Muscovite conquest. It is in complete accordance with this policy that having succeeded, with British assistance, in reducing Persia to a more deplorable state than she has ever yet been in, the Russians should remain in occupation of Northern Persia in cynical disregard of their pledges.

It is clear that Great Britain cannot remain any longer a party to these iniquities. Public opinion will demand that British diplomacy shall be immediately dissociated from them, and if this means the retirement of Sir Edward Grey from his present position we do not imagine that many people will feel any strong regret. The withdrawal of British support will be only one of the difficulties which Russia will have to encounter in her new and sinister enterprise. The outbreak at Tabriz is, one cannot help thinking, a mere foretaste of what she may expect, the more the occupation is prolonged. Feeble and forlorn as is the state of Persia to all outward appearance, there is no force on earth so resistless as the combined impulses of patriotism and despair. Nor is it conceivable that Turkey and Afghanistan can continue to view the encroachment upon Persia with calmness. It threatens to drive a wedge into the solid band of Mahomedan states stretching from the Mediterranean to the Hindoo Kush. It threatens directly the independence of Afghanistan. If the British Foreign Office were directed by the most ordinary intelligence it would be perfectly easy to checkmate Russia by utilizing the materials lying so conveniently to hand, and without shedding the blood of a single British or Indian grenadier.

Verse.

Old Year.

Year! old year! fast fading year!
Hast thou no word to say, no dying word,
Between the gloaming and the gloom
Of thy sad doom?
Or is the poor, frail, failing voice unheard,
Unseen the wan, weak tear?
Year! old year!

Year! old year! fast fading year!
Eternity was once in fierce travail,
And Fate of all things most forlorn
Ere time was born:
Did not her primal agonised wail
Pierce thine unborn ear?
Year! old year!

Year! old year! fast fading year! [wave
When from the shoreless sea rolled one more
World-ward, and the Lord knew 'twas thou,
Upon thy brow,
Scrawled He the gaunt old legend of the grave
In foam-flakes dank and drear?
Year! old year!

Year! old year! fast fading year!
Was thy last sun not pale for pity's sake
Or love's? Nay! gliding elsewhere,
O'er marsh or mere,
Glanced he not back upon his wasteful wake,
Or shed a wistful tear?
Year! old year!

Year! old year! poor, lost old year!
Thy knell is tolling now; the tale is told
Of thy brief days; thy life is done
With scarce goal won: [cold
Time claims his dead, and lays thee stark and
Upon his misty bier.
Year! old year!

Year! old year! poor dead old year!
Thy face was comely once, thy voice once sweet
To hear, and once athwart thy brow,
Not dark as now, [fleece
Shone glow-worm gleams of hope, some flashes
Of joy that came not near!
Year! old year!



A CHRISTMAS DINNER—AND AFTER.

KING VICTOR EMMANUEL (in a nightmare): "I thought I had this bird inside me!"

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

REUTER wired from Rome on the 24th instant—The Turks twice attacked the redoubts at Benghazi on the night of the 21st instant but were driven off. An action lasting six hours took place at Tobruk on the 22nd instant, the warships taking part. The Italians lost seven killed and sixteen wounded. The enemy lost heavily. The Italian warship *Puglia* has seized in the Red Sea the steamer *Menzaleh* bound for Hodeidah with £30,000 sterling on board. The steamer *Menzaleh*, which was seized by the Italian cruiser in the Red Sea, was allowed to proceed after the cruiser had taken off £30,000 and also Ottoman parcels.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 25th—The cruiser *Puglia* has seized the hospital ship *Kaiserlich* in the Red Sea, although she was flying a Red Cross flag, because the search showed an entire lack of hospital appliances. It is suspected that the *Kaiserlich* was used as a transport.

Reuter wired from Constantinople on the 25th—Papers report continuous fighting in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, resulting in favour of Arabs and Turks, who, it is stated, fought with full vigour and enthusiasm.

*Reuter wires from Rome. Several thousand Turks with artillery advanced on the morning of the 25th instant on Benghazi, but were checked by cannon fire from the Italians at a range of 3,000 yards. The Turks retreated to the oasis at sunset.

News by the English Mail.

Tripoli, December 2

The Turks and Arabs have carried away all the money and stores from the Gharan, Yefren, Zilythen, and Syrt branches of the Bank of Rome.

The Italian military authorities have taken extra precautions to prevent any possible outbreaks on the part of the native population during the celebration of the Baram festivities. To mark the occasion, the Italian Government has had 500 sheep imported from Tunisia, and these will be distributed to the Arab poor classes. The prayers of the Ulama in the mosques have been modified in the sense that there is no longer any invocation of victory for the arms of the Sultan.—(Reuter)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, December 1

A rumour is current in usually well-informed circles here that the Government has received information confirming the Italian accounts of successes at Tripoli and Barca, and has in consequence decided to send no more officers to Turkish Africa. It is believed that the Turkish officers are finding some difficulty in keeping the Arabs together and that the want of ammunition is making itself felt. On the other hand, there seems no doubt that the first Italian attack at all events, on Ain Zara was successfully repulsed, mainly by Turkish Regular troops.

*The defences of the Dardanelles have been further strengthened by the addition of a number of naval quick-firing pieces. Yesterday four old transports were towed out from the Golden Horn, and it is averred that they will be taken to the Dardanelles and there sunk with the object of forming a sort of breakwater which would protect the Turkish Fleet from Italian submarines. It would seem highly improbable that the Turkish naval and military authorities would adopt so singular a method of defence when it is always possible to withdraw the threatened vessels to the friendly shelter of the Golden Horn.

Moslem Feeling.

THE *Straj-ul-Akhbar* of Kabul, dated the 15th instant, contains the text of a stirring speech delivered by the Amir in Durbar-i-Am at Jellalabad in which His Majesty appealed to his servants and subjects to contribute to the Red Crescent Fund which has been started in Kabul under the patronage of His Majesty.

On Saturday, 23rd instant, there was a largely attended mass meeting of Muhammadans at Nehalpur, a village in the sub-division of Baurhat, District 14-Perganas, in which resolutions were adopted protesting against Italian atrocities in Tripoli, sympathising with the Government of His Majesty the Sultan on account of the unjust attack by Italy on Tripoli and expressing deep regret at the acquiescence of Great Britain in the Russian demands on Persia.

Egyptian Feeling.

THE accounts of the rioting in Alexandria on 31st October were grossly exaggerated in some of the English newspapers, whilst the *Daily Telegraph* Cairo correspondent actually declared that "martial law" had been proclaimed, an utterly unfounded statement, and an instance of the little reliance that is to be placed on much of the Egyptian news that appears in the English Press. All the jingo papers in London, in connection with the riot, celebrated the triumph of Lord Kitchener, his activity, his resource, his foresight, his promptitude, and all the rest of it. If even such an incident had occurred under a native Government, the same papers would hold it up as evidence of the incapacity of the native rulers to maintain order.

What happened, however, is easily explained. When the newspapers on the Monday published the reports of the Turkish successes at Tripoli there was a perfectly natural outburst of enthusiasm amongst Egyptians. On Tuesday a crowd collected on the quays to celebrate the Turkish victory. We quote from the official account issued by the Ministry of the Interior:—"The victory was celebrated calmly and the proceedings on the whole were orderly. When the crowd was dispersing at about 5 o'clock, a group of young men began to parade the streets uttering loud cries of congratulation for Turkey. By degrees they attracted the attention of the public, and the result was that a considerable crowd soon assembled in the main streets of the town. Whilst the procession was proceeding down the streets of Hamamil, Warsha, Anastassi, and Bahamoni, some shots were fired at it by certain Europeans. Four natives were wounded by the shots, but not seriously. Eleven others were injured, some slightly, others more gravely by stones and stabbing. One native is already dead. An Italian had also some slight wounds."

From this it is clear, as was also stated independently in the local newspapers, that the origin of the disorder was the firing of shots by some Italians at a native procession. Yet, as might be expected, we find most of the European Press laying all the blame for the occurrence, as usual, on the Egyptians. The *Bourse Egyptienne* thinks that the responsibility lies on the Egyptian Government for not preventing the publication of "mischievous articles" in the Press. What the *Bourse Egyptienne* really means is that no news of Italian defeats ought to be made public in Egypt, only the news of Italian "victories"; whilst no word criticising the Italian crime against civilisation must be said lest it excite "native" susceptibilities.—*Egypt*

Progress of the War.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT)

THE second phase of the war has now begun. The Italian Government is conducting affairs with increasing energy, and with the obvious intention of creating such a situation in North Africa that the Turkish Government will be induced to consider ulterior resistance hopeless.

On 26th November General Caneva carried out an offensive movement with a limited and topographical objective—namely, the recovery of the remainder of that portion of the eastern oasis abandoned after the fighting of 26th October. With this objective he disposed his newly-arrived 6th Brigade on the desert side, partly in order to oppose any Turkish movement from Ain Zara and partly to assist in the reconquest of Fort D of Sidr Messri, and with the remainder of his available troops delivered a direct attack upon the general line Fort D—Henni—Sciara Sciati. The 6th Brigade included the 23rd, 50th, and 52nd Regiments of Infantry, with which there marched two field and two mountain batteries and two squadrons of the Lodi Regiment. The 50th Regiment, guns, and cavalry threatened Ain Zara and engaged in some long-range firing with the Turkish troops in this position, while the rest of the Brigade co-operated in the attack on Fort D. On the eastern front the attack was conducted by General de Chaurand's 3rd Division. From right to left the troops included the 11th Bersaglieri (15th, 27th, and 33rd Battalions), 18th Infantry, 1st and 2nd Regiments of Grenadiers, and 93rd Infantry. The Italian forts and trenches at the western end of the oasis continued to be held by the 6th, 40th, 82nd, and 84th Regiments, while the newly-arrived 37th and 73rd Regiments patrolled the town and environs.

General de Chaurand's attack met with no organized resistance, but in the running fight which ensued with Arab skirmishers led by Turkish soldiers the Italians had about 120 casualties, and their enemy probably suffered a heavier loss. In the afternoon the

objective indicated to the troops was attained, and the Italians then set about the construction of a fresh line of trenches to secure the ground that had been won. Thus about a mile and a half more of the oasis had been recaptured, but the weak opposition had not by any means been crushed.

Further consideration and the reports of several reconnaissances seem to have shown the Italian commander that he might give his troops their heads without any serious risk. An attack on Ain Zara was planned and carried out on Monday last by Major-General Pecori Giraldi's 1st Division, which is believed to include the 6th, 40th, 82nd, 84th Regiments. The result was what everyone expected. The weak Turkish forces which have been bluffing the Italians all these long weeks were at once driven in and are probably now well on their way to Gharian. A slight threat by Arab Volunteers on the Italian flanks seems to have checked the advance and to have allowed the Turks to get clear away with most of their wounded and their baggage. There appears to have been no pursuit, and the weakness of the Cavalry force with the expedition probably rendered a paying pursuit impracticable. The resolute manner in which Colonels Nysat and Fethy Bey have hung upon the Italians all this time, no less than the skilful manner in which they extricated themselves at the end, deserves warm praise.

In addition to the special 4th Division, mentioned in a previous article, a 5th Division is now practically ready. This division includes the Salerno Brigade, made up of the 35th and 89th Regiments, and another brigade probably composed of the 7th Infantry and 4th Bersaglieri. The 4th and 5th special Divisions have left their garrisons and most of the troops should have embarked by this time. Their destination is said to be Tripoli, but there is no word of the arrival of any troops of these units in North Africa as yet. The serious disadvantages entailed by the skimming of regiments to make up others proceeding to the front has been exemplified in the case of the 7th Infantry, which has already sent 500 men away to the 63rd at Benghazi and to the 93rd at Tripoli. The manner in which the Italian Staff has proceeded in the constitution of its regiments is not to be taken as a model. It must also be remarked that the Tripoli expedition has now affected the strength and solidarity of almost every brigade in Italy. Counting only by Divisions, one-fifth of the Army has been sent overseas, but actually the drain is greater. It is to be supposed that the Italian Government is taking steps to fill up the gaps at home. This is not difficult so far as the rank and file are concerned, but it will not be so easy to replace the cadres, and in any case the reconstitution of missing units will represent a charge which the Government will wish to avoid.

One must, however, pay a tribute of admiration to the patriotic fervour of the Italian population at this moment. There is a good spirit in the country, and it is pleasant to read the letters from soldiers which are published in the Italian Press. There is no cavilling nor grumbling, and the sons of the poorest *contadini* display in their letters to their parents and friends a fine sense of the importance of the mission confided to them by the country. If the greatest military merit must be assigned to the Turks and Arabs, who are, with the scantiest means defending their country with a resolution bordering on heroism, praise also is due to the sons of Italy, in whose letters from Africa there breathes something of the spirit of ancient Rome.

The Italian Atrocities in Tripoli and the English Press.

With regard to the attitude of the foreign Press, and particularly of the English and American Press, towards the Italian atrocities in Tripoli, we should bear in mind the important fact that many English and American journals are represented in Tripoli by Italians. Take the case of the *New York Herald* (Paris). What correspondent did this great paper send to Tripoli to tell it the exact truth about the war? It was not an impartial American, a graduate of Harvard or Yale, or a journalist from New York. It was an Italian, the editor of a Palermo newspaper—a very capable man, but one who could hardly be expected to write in an impartial manner about the Arabs. If he did his Palermo paper—which has a great sale among the troops owing to its extreme jingoism (which makes it acceptable to the military authorities) and to the proximity of Palermo to the seat of war—his paper would be kept out of the country, he would suffer great financial loss thereby, and most probably he himself also would be ejected. This latter misfortune would mean the loss of the *Herald* correspondency and of the exclusive war news which his own paper has been publishing. Is it surprising, under these circumstances, that the *New York Herald* is bitterly anti-Arab, madly pro-Italian? A large number of London papers are or were represented by Italians. Sometimes they had an English correspondent there also; but that correspondent left early or was overshadowed by his Italian assistant. The *Daily Mail*

was represented by an Italian marquis. Even the *Daily Chronicle* was represented part of the time by an Italian. It is significant that the Italian atrocities were seen, while they were being actually committed, by an Irish Catholic; an English Anglican of Tory views; an English university graduate of Tory views; a Londoner of Scotch descent and probably a Presbyterian by religion; an Irishman of English birth, formerly a British "Tommy" in South Africa; a Prussian officer of extreme militarist leanings; five other Germans, some of them Liberal in their views, some of them Conservative; a Frenchman. The evidence on the other side is largely that of correspondents representing English papers, but really Italians. Even *Truth* has been taken in by this. It spoke a few weeks ago of an interview that the *Daily Mail* correspondent in Tripoli had had with Canova, and it seemed to attach great weight to the evidence of this Englishman. But the correspondent in question is an Italian marquis who, just before the bombardment, sent the following gem from Malta—"The spirit of our soldiers is excellent. 'We have the ships, we have the men, we have also the money' is all the cry." At the end of October there were only two English correspondents in Tripoli. One has since been expelled (as Italian correspondents are expelled daily) for not toeing the line. —*Egypt*.

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Smaller Donations	25	1	0
S. Janab Ahmed, Esq., Vakil, Shahjahanpur	10	13	0
Mozazzam Ali Khan, Esq., Shahadapur, Pulna	15	0	0
Through Mohamed Abdul Baq, Kuan, Esq.			
Mussulmans of Allahabad	1,000	0	0
Through Mohamed Kamil, Esq., Jhalkati, Bakarganj.			
Messrs. M. Abdul Ghani, Meher Ali, Kalim, Abdul Majid and Abdul Rashid, Ahmed Ali, Rahim Buksh, Fazal Mian, Re. 1 each	7	0	0
Messrs. Fa'z Baksh, Islem Mian, Rs. 2 each	4	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Majid, Mohamed Ali, A'la Mian, Meher Ali, Abdul Majid, Athar Ali, Abdul Aziz, Mohamed Muzaffar, Nazir Mian, Mohamed Mansab, Arif Rahman, Abdus Samad, Abdur Rahman, Qasim Ali, Yusuf Mia, As. 8 each	7	8	0
Messrs. Manun Mian, Hamid Ali, Mohamed Ali, Kalim, Ayub Ali, Hamid Ali, As. 4 each...	1	8	0
Messrs. Salimuddin, Owazuddin, Abdul Majid, Abdul Majid, Donoo Mian, Samiruddin, Meher Ali, Abdur Rashid, As. 2 each	1	0	0
Messrs. Samiruddin and Mohamed Ali	2	4	0
Mohamed Asghar, Esq.	1	14	0
Abdul Majid, Esq.	0	7	0
Abdul Hamid, Esq.	1	4	0
Hamid Ali, Esq.	8	9	0
Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Rahim Baksh	5	8	6
Messrs. Mohamed Karim and Ahmed Ullah	14	8	0
Mianjan, Esq.	0	12	0
Abdul Karim, Esq.	0	1	0

Amount received during the week 1,977 8 0
Less M. O. Charges 3 1 0

Amount previously acknowledged 1,974 4 5

Total 5,591 15 10



دہلی کارونیشن دربار

تسمبر سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء

جس طرح سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں دہلی کارونیشن دربار کی وجہ سے ایک زرین موقع اور لائق زمانہ اس طرح طلسمات سائنس میں سے عجیب ترین طلسم ساز بازگشت کی ایجاد ہے اور سازمائی بازگشت میں بہترین وہ ساز ہے جسکو آپ گریمو فون کے نام سے جانتے ہیں۔

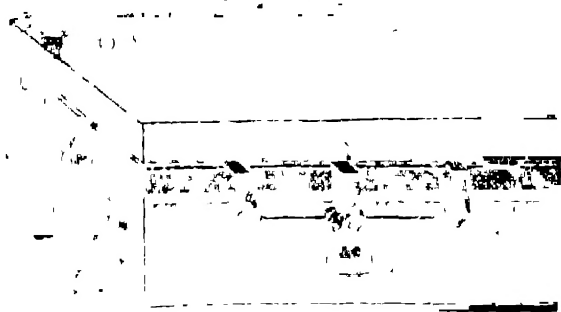
ہندوستان کی ہر زبان میں اور ہر مشہور عورت یا مرد گانے والے کے رکارڈ ہم نے محض آپ کی تفریح و تفتن طبع کے واسطے تیار کیے ہیں۔ ہندوستان میں علم موسیقی عام طور پر جس گروہ میں محدود ہے اس سے آپ کو واقف نہیں ایک مدت سے اس کی ترقی مسرور تھی اور الدیہ تھا کہ جو کچھ موجود ہے رفتہ رفتہ وہ بھی تابود نہر جائے مگر صداری ان ٹپک کر غشوں اور بے دریغ صرف ذرا لے ایسے نادر رکارڈ راک اور رگلیوں کے تیار کر لئے ہیں کہ جو کل اہل ہند کے واسطے مایہ نظروں اور ہمارے واسطے موجب امتیاز ہیں۔

گریمو فون اب سامان عیش میں نہیں بلکہ ضروریات زندگی میں داخل ہے اور اسی منہاں پر یہ گر گھر میں ہوا چاہئے۔ نہر شرف رکارڈ کا مضامین ماہ تسمبر کے واسطے حسب معمول شائع ہو گیا ہے نردان نردان رکارڈ کی صنعت بیان کرنا فضول ہے۔ ہر رکارڈ کا جواب ہے اور ہر کافا سنہ ہی کی قابل ہے۔ پس وقت کی قدر نہ مانتے اور ہوا ہنس ڈاک یا بہتر مرقا کہ ہمارے باضابطہ لوکل اجنٹ کی کوئی پر تشریف لیجا کر تازہ ترین رکارڈ خود سنجے گا۔

دی گریمو فون کمپنی لمیٹڈ
پتہ: ۱۰۸، ۱۰۹، ۱۱۰، ۱۱۱، ۱۱۲، ۱۱۳، ۱۱۴، ۱۱۵، ۱۱۶، ۱۱۷، ۱۱۸، ۱۱۹، ۱۲۰، ۱۲۱، ۱۲۲، ۱۲۳، ۱۲۴، ۱۲۵، ۱۲۶، ۱۲۷، ۱۲۸، ۱۲۹، ۱۳۰، ۱۳۱، ۱۳۲، ۱۳۳، ۱۳۴، ۱۳۵، ۱۳۶، ۱۳۷، ۱۳۸، ۱۳۹، ۱۴۰، ۱۴۱، ۱۴۲، ۱۴۳، ۱۴۴، ۱۴۵، ۱۴۶، ۱۴۷، ۱۴۸، ۱۴۹، ۱۵۰، ۱۵۱، ۱۵۲، ۱۵۳، ۱۵۴، ۱۵۵، ۱۵۶، ۱۵۷، ۱۵۸، ۱۵۹، ۱۶۰، ۱۶۱، ۱۶۲، ۱۶۳، ۱۶۴، ۱۶۵، ۱۶۶، ۱۶۷، ۱۶۸، ۱۶۹، ۱۷۰، ۱۷۱، ۱۷۲، ۱۷۳، ۱۷۴، ۱۷۵، ۱۷۶، ۱۷۷، ۱۷۸، ۱۷۹، ۱۸۰، ۱۸۱، ۱۸۲، ۱۸۳، ۱۸۴، ۱۸۵، ۱۸۶، ۱۸۷، ۱۸۸، ۱۸۹، ۱۹۰، ۱۹۱، ۱۹۲، ۱۹۳، ۱۹۴، ۱۹۵، ۱۹۶، ۱۹۷، ۱۹۸، ۱۹۹، ۲۰۰، ۲۰۱، ۲۰۲، ۲۰۳، ۲۰۴، ۲۰۵، ۲۰۶، ۲۰۷، ۲۰۸، ۲۰۹، ۲۱۰، ۲۱۱، ۲۱۲، ۲۱۳، ۲۱۴، ۲۱۵، ۲۱۶، ۲۱۷، ۲۱۸، ۲۱۹، ۲۲۰، ۲۲۱، ۲۲۲، ۲۲۳، ۲۲۴، ۲۲۵، ۲۲۶، ۲۲۷، ۲۲۸، ۲۲۹، ۲۳۰، ۲۳۱، ۲۳۲، ۲۳۳، ۲۳۴، ۲۳۵، ۲۳۶، ۲۳۷، ۲۳۸، ۲۳۹، ۲۴۰، ۲۴۱، ۲۴۲، ۲۴۳، ۲۴۴، ۲۴۵، ۲۴۶، ۲۴۷، ۲۴۸، ۲۴۹، ۲۵۰، ۲۵۱، ۲۵۲، ۲۵۳، ۲۵۴، ۲۵۵، ۲۵۶، ۲۵۷، ۲۵۸، ۲۵۹، ۲۶۰، ۲۶۱، ۲۶۲، ۲۶۳، ۲۶۴، ۲۶۵، ۲۶۶، ۲۶۷، ۲۶۸، ۲۶۹، ۲۷۰، ۲۷۱، ۲۷۲، ۲۷۳، ۲۷۴، ۲۷۵، ۲۷۶، ۲۷۷، ۲۷۸، ۲۷۹، ۲۸۰، ۲۸۱، ۲۸۲، ۲۸۳، ۲۸۴، ۲۸۵، ۲۸۶، ۲۸۷، ۲۸۸، ۲۸۹، ۲۹۰، ۲۹۱، ۲۹۲، ۲۹۳، ۲۹۴، ۲۹۵، ۲۹۶، ۲۹۷، ۲۹۸، ۲۹۹، ۳۰۰، ۳۰۱، ۳۰۲، ۳۰۳، ۳۰۴، ۳۰۵، ۳۰۶، 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2 Reliable Lines in Steel Trunks.

The "Traveler" Trunk.

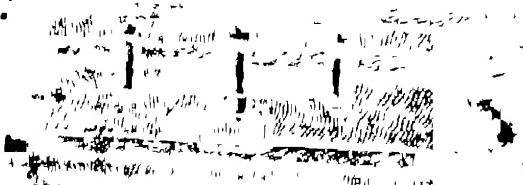


Made of best steel of 24 U. W. Gauge. Fitted nickel-plated brass triple lock and front handle. Supplied with duplicate keys. Japanned brilliant black outside and blue inside. Bottom of Trunk strengthened by iron bands and fitted brass rollers. Top is rivetted. An ideal Travelling Trunk.

32" x 18" x 12" Rs. 22-8 | 26 1/2" x 14" x 10 1/2" Rs. 15-0
29" x 16" x 12" " 18-12 | 24" x 12" x 14" " 12-0

Guaranteed Strong and Durable.

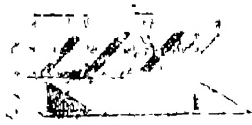
The "Orient" Best Steel Trunk.



Made from the best strong tinned steel, firmly soldered and swaged. Strengthened with angle or corner plates. Will stand any amount of rough usage or even Ocean or Railway Travelling. Fitted four lever nickel plated lock. Japanned grained Oak outside and brown inside. Made of the finest Materials by the most expert workmen.

34" x 21" x 15" Rs. 24-4 | 30" x 17" x 12" Rs. 15-12
32" x 19" x 15" " 21-4 | 17" x 15" x 10" " 12-8

Uniform Cases. Helmet Cases. Collar Boxes.
HIGH GRADE QUALITY. The Officers' Air-tight Improved Uniform Case.



Strong and useful. Made from best steel. Lid lined leather to ensure its being perfectly air-tight. Fitted 4 lever brass lock and supplied with duplicate keys. Japanned best brilliant and durable black outside and dark blue inside.

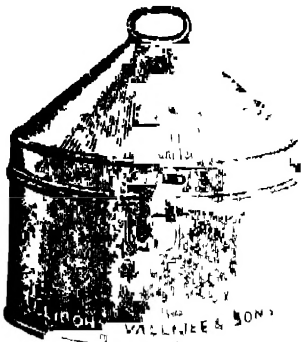
30" x 16" x 11" Rs. 25-0
27" x 14" x 11" " 20-4
39" x 16" x 10" " 32-8
36" x 15" x 11" " 28-0
23" x 12" x 7 1/2" " 16-0

The "Kitchener" Helmet Case.

A very handy article for keeping Helmets, Hats, etc. No gentleman should be without one. The best black-tinners to make this case which is fitted with strong reliable lock and handle on top for carrying. Japanned brilliant black outside and brown inside. Best workmanship throughout.

Really Wonderful Value.

14" x 11" x 13" To take a Helmet Rs. 8-12
13" x 10" x 12" To take a Helmet Rs. 6-4
16" x 12" x 13" To take a "Kitchener" Helmet Rs. 10-0
16" x 12" x 11" To take a "Kitchener" Helmet Rs. 8-12



Serviceable Collar Box



Round shape. Made from best double black-iron. Strong and lasting. Fitted with heavy for padlock and handle on top for lifting. Japanned brilliant black outside and light brown inside.

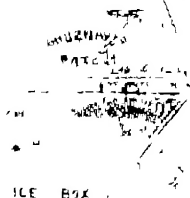
7 1/2" x 7 1/2" x 3" To hold 12 dozen collars Rs. 2-8
8 1/2" x 8 1/2" x 3 1/2" To hold 2 dozen collars Rs. 3-2

Write and ask us about anything you don't happen to find listed here. We will quote you by return.

An Extra Special Line.

Our Famous "Beetle" Patent Air-tight Ice Box

Reduces Melting to a minimum. The best yet produced.



Preserves ice and cools Whisky and Soda Bottles as well.

The most useful pattern yet invented for preserving ice. Made from best double block tin. Inside is lined with felt an inch thick and over this felt lining is a sheeting of zinc. The lid and front cover are fitted inside with thick broadcloth which ensures the box being perfectly air-tight. There is a zinc drainer inside to drain off the melted ice and a brass cock in the bottom to let out the water. The box is divided into two partitions, the upper portion for storing the ice and the lower portion for keeping Whisky and Soda-water bottles. Melting propensities of ice is reduced to a minimum when stored in this patent preserver and such small quantity (as does melt) goes to cool the bottles instead of being wasted. Fixed inside the lid is an iron spike for breaking the ice. Japanned best brilliant grained oak outside.

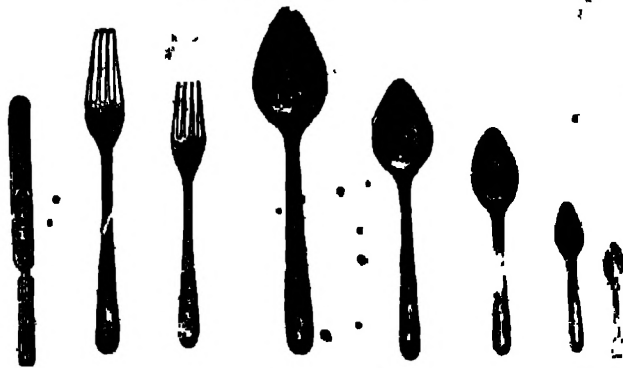
19 1/2" x 13" x 16 1/2" for 12 bottles Rs. 22-8
18 1/2" x 12" x 13 1/2" " 20-0
14 1/2" x 12" x 12 1/2" " 16-4
13 1/2" x 9 1/2" x 10 1/2" " 14-4

N.B. - Keep ice wrapped in a piece of Newspaper or in a blanket.

Aluminium Ware.

We are the Agents for The Indian Aluminium Co., Ltd., Madras, and shall be pleased to forward their original Catalogue if you cannot find the particular article you are looking for.

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No. 148 Table Spoons " 4-0 "
No. 149 Dessert Forks " 3-8 "
No. 150 Table Forks " 4-0 "
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Finger Bowls.

Frosted with Polished rim.

Plates

Reg. No. 364. Polished. Unpolished.

Chalice ... 0-9 0-8
Dessert ... 0-12 0-10
Dinner ... 0-12 0-12

Reg. No. 355. 4 1/2" x 11" As. 8. 10 Soap ... 1-2 1-0

Toast Rack.



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Butter Dish.

No. 58. Rs. 1-6

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